



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

UK 905.01 HIS/G  
The manuscripts of J.B. Fortescue .  
HARVARD LAW LIBRARY ARB5490



3 2044 038 070 363





HARVARD LAW LIBRARY.

---

Received *March, 9, 1904.*







HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

THIRTEENTH REPORT, APPENDIX, PART III.

*Grenville, William Wyndham Grenville, Baron* <sup>CH</sup>

THE  
MANUSCRIPTS

OF

J. B. FORTESCUE, Esq.,

PRESERVED AT

D R O P M O R E.

VOL. I.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.



UK  
905.61  
HIS/G

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE,  
BY EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE,  
PRINTERS TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

And to be purchased, either directly or through any Bookseller, from  
EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE, EAST HARDING STREET, FLEET STREET, E.C.; and  
33, ABINGDON STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.; or  
JOHN MENZIES & Co., 13, HANOVER STREET, EDINBURGH, and  
90, WEST NILE STREET, GLASGOW; or  
HODGES, FIGGIS, & Co. LIMITED, 104, GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN.

1892.

[C.—6660.] Price 2s. 7d.

*Rec. March, 9, 1904.*

## INTRODUCTION.

---

The founder of Dropmore, Lord Grenville appears to have devoted some time, after his retirement from political life, to arranging such of his letters and papers as he considered worthy of preservation. His system was to collect together the letters from each of his principal correspondents, and to place them in chronological order in separate portfolios. Other papers were similarly arranged under the countries or the subjects to which they related. The whole collection occupies about 300 small portfolios, of which several contain letters of an earlier period, such as the correspondence of Lady Grenville's great grandfather, Robert Pitt, some letters to Miss Ann Pitt, labelled "Literary Curiosities," and some to Richard Berenger, the author of two books on horsemanship and other works.

Although the letters at Dropmore would obviously have furnished valuable material for the Duke of Buckingham's *Memoirs of the Court and Cabinets of George III.*, and Lord Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*, they were never shown to either of these members of Lord Grenville's family, and they remained practically unknown until their present owner, Mr. J. B. Fortescue, gave permission to Mr. Maxwell Lyte to examine them on behalf of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

The present volume contains a Calendar in chronological order of the principal letters and papers down to the end of the year 1790, a date which practically corresponds with that of Grenville's elevation to the peerage. The original documents have, however, been kept in the order in which they were placed by him.

During the first twenty-eight years of the period, from 1698 to 1790, embraced in this volume, the central figure is Thomas Pitt, Governor of Madras for the East India Company, and founder of that branch of the Pitt family which gave England two of her greatest statesmen. Madras was the principal seat of English commerce in the East when Governor Pitt, accompanied by his



eldest son Robert, landed there on the 6th of July 1698.<sup>1</sup> His rule was conterminous with a most important crisis in the fortunes of the East India Company. For years before it began, the Madras Presidency had fallen into a state of disorganisation.<sup>2</sup> In the same year, 1698, the monopoly of trade between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn, which the Old, or London, Company, established in the reign of Elizabeth, had enjoyed since the first year of the century, was broken by the formation of a New, or English, Company, under a charter of William III.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the agents whom the New Company despatched to the East, went from England clothed with the authority and the privileges of British consuls.<sup>3</sup> This situation of affairs imposed on the Governor of Madras the double task of correcting abuses and restoring order in his Presidency, and of maintaining, under disadvantageous conditions, the interests of his employers against a rival enterprise, operating in its immediate neighbourhood. And although, as appears from a letter of George White, dated March 10, 1702-3,<sup>4</sup> a sense of the ruinous consequences of their strife soon led the Old and New Companies to coalesce as a United Company, under a common Board of Managers, the union for several years afterwards was neither cordial nor complete. The correspondence shows that passions engendered by rivalry continued to run high, and that trading interests continued to clash both in London and in India, during the whole term of Pitt's Government.

Another circumstance of great moment in the history of the Company marked his tenure of office. This was the death of Aurungzebe in 1707, an event speedily followed by the dissolution of the Mogul Empire.

The correspondence opens with letters from Robert Pitt to his mother and other friends in England, referring chiefly to private trade with China and Japan, in which his father was extensively engaged.<sup>5</sup> Besides carrying on this external commerce, Thomas Pitt, soon after his arrival at Madras, opened a lucrative traffic in diamonds with native merchants from the interior of the country.<sup>6</sup> In March 1702, he purchased for 48,000 pagodas, from Ramchund, one of these dealers, a stone of extraordinary

<sup>1</sup> p. 2.<sup>2</sup> p. 1.<sup>3</sup> p. 2.<sup>4</sup> p. 7.<sup>5</sup> p. 2, 3, 4.<sup>6</sup> p. 48.

size and beauty, with which his name has since been associated. A very full account of this transaction will be found under date of July 29, 1710.<sup>1</sup> In October 1702, he sent his son Robert to England in charge of the great diamond. Robert was also entrusted with the guardianship of his younger brothers, and the general management of his father's affairs. A paper, entitled "Memorandums to my son Robert Pitt on his going to England," contains minute instructions for the safe keeping of the gem during the voyage, and for Robert's future conduct as his father's representative at home.<sup>2</sup>

Several letters written during the following twelve months, reveal the Governor's anxiety for the safety of his diamond, and the high estimate he had formed of its value. They also complain bitterly of his son's silence.<sup>3</sup>

It appears by a letter to Governor Pitt from Thomas Styleman, dated November 18, 1703,<sup>4</sup> that Robert, within a few months after his return, married Harriet Villiers daughter of Viscountess Grandison. She is referred to several times in the correspondence, and always in terms of extraordinary praise.<sup>5</sup> His marriage and preparations for his election as M.P. for the borough of Old Sarum, of which Thomas Pitt had acquired control by purchasing the site of the castle from Lord Salisbury in the year 1691,<sup>6</sup> would seem to have so engrossed Robert's mind as to cause him to neglect his father's instructions, and particularly that one enjoining frequent correspondence with Madras. His first letter from London announcing to the Governor his safe arrival with the diamond, and subsequent marriage, is dated December 30, 1703.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, he was soon engaged in violent quarrels with his mother, brothers, and sisters;<sup>8</sup> highly-coloured accounts of which, sent to Madras by the parties themselves and by candid friends, excited the Governor's bitter indignation.

The great diamond was also, in many ways, an occasion of trouble to Governor Pitt. Circumstances relating to its purchase and transmission to England, which he had desired to shroud in absolute secrecy, were noised abroad, with much fictitious embellishment, through, as he thought, his son's indiscretion.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> p. 5, 6, 7, 9.

<sup>4</sup> p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> p. 8, 10, 17.

<sup>6</sup> p. 89.

<sup>7</sup> p. 8.

<sup>8</sup> p. 10, 12, 16, 19, 21.

<sup>9</sup> p. 9, 18.

Then, the process of cutting reduced it to less than one-half the original size, contrary to expectations raised by Robert.<sup>1</sup> And to these private causes of anxiety were added others of a more public nature. The vigour with which he pursued his own particular interests, and those of the Old Company, stimulated by a personal quarrel with his kinsman John Pitt, President of the Coast of Coromandel for the New Company; and his high-handed manner of dealing with refractory members of the Madras Council, raised up formidable enemies against him both in London and in Madras.<sup>2</sup> Charles Du Bois, writing from London on January 15, 1704-5,<sup>3</sup> warns him that one of his letters had given deep offence to Sir Gilbert Heathcote, the most considerable member of the New Company. "Back friends," as another correspondent writes, November 18, 1703,<sup>4</sup> accused him of oppression and rapacity in the execution of his office; and afterwards fastened still more disgraceful charges on his traffic in diamonds. It was even proposed in London to seize his person and effects.<sup>5</sup>

All these sources of vexation, Robert's negligence and ungoverned temper, the disorder and extravagance of his family, the alleged misconduct of his wife, the "villany" and "hellish designs" of his enemies are animadverted on in the Governor's letters to England in a trenchant style and with powers of invective that his grandson the Great Commoner might envy. Nor is the style wanting in variety. When matters that seem to involve grave peril to the honour or welfare of his family are dwelt upon, as in his letters to Robert dated September 22<sup>6</sup> and 30,<sup>7</sup> 1706, the emotion sometimes rises to tragic vehemence or pathos. In his comments on minor delinquencies, such as Mr. Cope's perverse industry in sawing off great pieces from his diamond, October 12,<sup>8</sup> 1705; or Robert's High Church politics in the House of Commons, February 6,<sup>9</sup> 1706-7, sarcasm is charged with grim humour.

Having been informed by Robert that his landlords, the Dean and Chapter of Sarum, claimed as "top and lop" some trees blown down at Stratford, he writes on September 12,<sup>10</sup> 1704; "Does the Dean of Sarum think that God Almighty sent that

<sup>1</sup> p. 15, 25.<sup>6</sup> p. 20.<sup>2</sup> p. 7, 8, 18, 37.<sup>7</sup> p. 22.<sup>3</sup> p. 14.<sup>8</sup> p. 15.<sup>4</sup> p. 38.<sup>9</sup> p. 27.<sup>5</sup> p. 37.<sup>10</sup> p. 11.



storm for they to make advantage out of other's losses? I hear there was a fast ordered for that storm. Sure those gentlemen that design to get by it will make a feast, and be so ungodly as to wish for more such. It is my order to withstand their injustice, and not to suffer them to meddle with a tree, although I spend the value of the estate in defence thereof." Robert's soft answer that "Mr. Dobbyn," his lawyer, "being of opinion that the Church, by the lease, had an undoubted right" to the timber, "I consented to accept half the value," appears to have turned aside his father's somewhat hasty wrath.

In other respects the correspondence throws a favourable light on Thomas Pitt's character. Several letters from London highly commend the ability and success with which he promoted the interests of the Company;<sup>1</sup> good service which strengthened the hands of his friends on the Board of Managers. His own letters give excellent advice to Robert,<sup>2</sup> who, as described by Robert Raworth, February 7, 1706-7, "has a great deal of wit, but wants solid wisdom"; show constant solicitude for the welfare of all his children; and occasional liberality to poor relations or acquaintances, the education of whose families he sometimes takes upon himself.<sup>3</sup> Two letters may be cited as illustrating his readiness to perform kindly offices for humble friends in India. In one, dated April 14,<sup>4</sup> 1701, John Haynes, a book-keeper at Coodalore, moralizes, with cheerful philosophy, on the failure of the Governor's attempt to marry him to a rich widow at Madras; "Which is a great affliction hard to beare, but that my eavill stars of late years have been predominant, which have accustomed me to frequent disapoyntments; therefore hope and believe this will not quite breake my hart; though to misse a rich widdow, tolarable handsome and not verry old, is, in my opinion, a much greater misfortune than to lose halfe a dousen other mistresses, though in their prime of youth and beauty, if without M[oney]. I find there is no coming in for a rich widdow in Maddaras without securing the reversion some years before their husbands' death, therefore thinke had best bespeake the present widdow against her becoming so a second time." After some ungenerous reflections

---

<sup>1</sup> p. 7, 18, 20.

<sup>2</sup> p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> p. 32, 35, 40.

<sup>4</sup> p. 4.

on "the current of a woman's inclinations" and cognate matters, inspired no doubt by his disappointments, he suggests that raising him to the rank of Deputy Governor would make him a more acceptable suitor in the eyes of another "pritty widdow," whom the Governor recommends to him as a wife.

In the second case Isabella Haynes, writing from Fort St. David, May 3,<sup>1</sup> 1704, thanks "your Honour" for making "the gentlemen pretty civil to me now"; and asks the Governor's advice as to her "marreing Captain Greenhaugh." "The only reason that endusses me to it is, I formerly made him a kind of promiss . . . but he has now again so importunately renued his courtship, that I know not how how to be rid of him. Another reason is that I may be freed from the courtship of some others in this place, which I think wod be but as indifferent matches as the other." She winds up the letter with the ungracious remark "Could I have got home to England I wod not have staid here for the best husband in India."

To his own wife in England the Governor's letters give little but hard words. Accounts that reached him in 1706<sup>2</sup> of her indiscretions, appear to have confirmed an estrangement of which there are earlier indications.<sup>3</sup> She was evidently a woman of spirit, and in every respect his match. In a characteristic and somewhat mysterious letter to her eldest son, dated August 1, 1708,<sup>4</sup> she boasts of having secured for herself a position of independence, which enabled her to set her husband at defiance. The discord in his family, his dissatisfaction with Robert, and the threats of his enemies induced Thomas Pitt to transfer the guardianship of his younger children and the custody of his "grande affaire" the diamond to the judicious friendship of George Pitt of Strathfieldsaye,<sup>5</sup> head of the principal branch of the Pitt family, whose good offices were exercised in subsequent embroilments with beneficial effect.

Other cares, public or private, no matter how harassing, never seem to distract the Governor's attention from his "grande concerne." The changes of European politics during the War of the Succession affect him chiefly by their possible bearing on the great question of its advantageous sale. A victory of the

---

<sup>1</sup> p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> p. 23, 39.

<sup>3</sup> p. 11, 14, 31.

<sup>4</sup> p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> p. 21, 31, 34, 43, 49.

Allies suggests the hope that the British nation, or the Archduke Charles, will present it as a thanks-offering to Queen Anne.<sup>1</sup> A prospect of peace directs his thoughts to the French Monarch as the most "likely chapman." In every letter to London he insists on precautions for its safety; and that, under no circumstances, shall it be sold for an inadequate price.

Several letters to Governor Pitt from old friends in London are brief chronicles of political events at home, of the progress of the war, and of the strife of rival factions at the India House. In one, of exceptional interest, dated July 25, 1707,<sup>2</sup> Captain Harrison relates how the smouldering feud between the Old and New Companies burst out in open warfare with such disastrous results as to call for the intervention of the Lord Treasurer, who offered himself as arbitrator. By the exertions of Lords Godolphin and Halifax a thorough amalgamation of interests was effected, which soon led to the ascendancy of Sir Gilbert Heathcote's party in the Court of Directors. With this party Governor Pitt had been in open strife for several years, in consequence of their partially repudiating liability for a financial transaction, by which he reaped large profit from the embarrassments of Mr. Tillard, their Governor at Fort St. David.<sup>3</sup> In 1708, his arbitrary conduct in dismissing from the Company's service and threatening to whip and hang Mr. Fraser,<sup>4</sup> a leading member of the Madras Council, for participation in a local feud, by alienating some of his staunchest supporters in the Court of Directors, enabled his enemies to carry a vote for his recall. Full accounts of the motives and action of the Company in thus discarding an able servant, will be found in Robert Pitt's letters, dated November 15, 1708,<sup>5</sup> and January 13, 1708-9.<sup>6</sup>

In a long and interesting letter to his son, dated May 30, 1710,<sup>7</sup> the Governor relates, with characteristic strength of language, his proceedings on receiving the letter of recall; his triumphant exposure of false charges, in connexion with his acquisition of the great diamond, trumped up against him by members of the Madras Council; the sudden and mysterious death of his successor Governor Addison; and the prosperity of Madras under his own rule.

---

<sup>1</sup> p. 26, 32, 34.

<sup>2</sup> p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> p. 14, 17, 22.

<sup>4</sup> p. 32, 37.

<sup>5</sup> p. 37.

<sup>6</sup> p. 40.

<sup>7</sup> p. 43.



On his way home, for his greater security, he embarked in a Danish ship at the Cape of Good Hope, where he found a Dutch Admiral and squadron in very bad humour with their English allies. After a narrow escape from shipwreck on the coast of Norway, he was detained for a long time at Bergen by the dangers of the narrow seas. It was here that, under a deep sense of the malignity of his foes, and of the perils of a voyage to England, he penned, July 29, 1710,<sup>1</sup> the solemn and circumstantial narrative, already noticed, of his purchase of the great diamond, in order that, in the event of his own death or captivity, the possession of it might be secured to his heirs.

After his return to England in 1711, Governor Pitt entered Parliament as M.P. for the borough of Old Sarum. The hostile action of the Directors appears to have severed permanently his connexion with the East India Company. But his wealth and borough influence, and the marriage of his daughters—Essex, who contributes one or two amusing letters,<sup>2</sup> with Charles Cholmondeley of Vale Royal, M.P. for Cheshire, and Lucy with General, afterwards Earl Stanhope—gave him political weight under the Hanoverian dynasty, of which he was a zealous supporter.

The one letter of Secretary Stanhope in this collection is dated September 16, 1715.<sup>3</sup> It assures Robert Pitt that the appointment of Clerk of the Green Cloth to the Prince of Wales which has been conferred on him, is only intended as a step to more important employments.

The great majority of the letters from the date of Governor Pitt's return to England to that of his death in 1726, are written by him to his eldest son, who had fixed his residence at the family house of Stratford, near Salisbury. But several breaks occur in their correspondence. Robert's Tory connexions, the laxity of his attendance at Court and in Parliament, whether caused by political feeling as his father insists, or by broken health and a narrow income as he himself alleges, his jealous feuds with his brothers and sisters, constantly excite the old man's wrath; which, nursed in long fits of sullen silence, suddenly explodes in storms of bitter reproach. Many of the letters written during the year 1715 refer with unsparing animosity

---

<sup>1</sup> p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> p. 51.

to the abortive Jacobite insurrections.<sup>1</sup> But even in these, private grievances generally point, or diversify in an amusing way, the comments on political news. In two, dated November 17 and 26, the Governor's second son Thomas, a Colonel of Horse, is mentioned as serving with some distinction against the rebels in Lancashire. The younger Thomas, marrying soon afterwards Lady Frances, daughter and heiress of the last Earl of Londonderry of the Ridgway family, was raised, during his father's life-time, to the Irish peerage by the same title.

The great diamond still remained on Governor Pitt's hands. On October 2, 1714,<sup>2</sup> he reports having shown it to the King and the Prince of Wales, who admired but did not buy it. On June 19,<sup>3</sup> 1716, he announces that he has accepted the post of Governor of Jamaica, with the view, as he afterwards explains, of increasing his fortune without parting with the diamond for an inadequate price. But before his preparations for the journey were completed, a negotiation seems to have been opened which ended in the sale of the stone to the Regent of France. On June 29, 1717,<sup>4</sup> the Governor informs his son that the French Government have agreed to pay for it 125,000*l.*, a sum that fell far short of his previous expectations. The sale, however, enabled him to resign the Governorship of Jamaica, and to buy several estates, that of Boconnoc in Cornwall being the most considerable. All were purchased in the names of trustees, with the intention, or at least the effect, of barring future claims of his wife to dower.<sup>5</sup>

From 1717 to 1726 the Governor's letters relate, almost exclusively, to domestic incidents and to the mismanagement of his affairs, which he invariably denounces in the most unmeasured language. One from him, dated April 23, 1720,<sup>6</sup> and another of May 7<sup>7</sup> from his wife, announce in enthusiastic terms to Robert the reconciliation of the King and Prince of Wales, and of their respective households.

In several letters mention is made of William Pitt, as a boy at Eton.<sup>8</sup> He appears to be a favourite of both his grandfather and his father. The former writes of him to the latter on May 12, 1724, "He is a hopefull lad and doubt not he will answer yours and all his friends' expectations."

<sup>1</sup> p. 52, 53, 54, 55, 56.

<sup>5</sup> p. 89, 90.

<sup>2</sup> p. 50.

<sup>6</sup> p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> p. 59.

<sup>7</sup> p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> p. 62.

<sup>8</sup> p. 66, 73, 74.

A letter from Sir Thomas Hardy to Robert Pitt, dated January 13,<sup>1</sup> 1725-6, describes minutely the pompous burial of Viscountess Grandison, in the vault of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, in Westminster Abbey.

The same correspondent and others send Robert curious bits of intelligence about the Governor in his last days.<sup>2</sup> From these letters and from his own, it clearly appears that the irritability of temper, and the careful economy which had always characterised Governor Pitt, acquiring a morbid development in his old age, completely mastered him; and that a rooted distrust of his dependents, which found vent in "curses and reproaches," made his prosperity a torture to himself, and to many others who were necessarily affected by it.

A letter of Robert Pitt, dated May 2, 1726,<sup>3</sup> conveys intelligence to his eldest son Thomas, at Utrecht, of the Governor's death, and of the dispositions of his will. By this instrument, of which Lord Londonderry was an executor, the landed estates were left in strict entail to Robert, who was also made residuary legatee of personal property exceeding in value 100,000*l*.<sup>4</sup> Among the numerous legacies, there is an annuity of 100*l*. to young William Pitt.

Robert Pitt's tenure of Boconnoc was brief and troubled. As residuary legatee, he became immediately involved in bitter strife with his mother and brothers, and more especially with Lord Londonderry. His correspondence after his father's death,<sup>5</sup> relates almost exclusively to litigation in the Court of Chancery, and to pecuniary arrangements with his son Thomas, which, in their unexpected developments, reflected little credit on either party. He died in 1727, probably of gout, to which he had been all his life a martyr.

This event is indicated by a few letters on matters of business from the Earl of Grandison to his sister, Robert Pitt's widow.<sup>6</sup> Then comes a break in the correspondence of nearly seven years, from 1728 to 1736.

Of the two sons and four daughters of Robert Pitt, only the eldest son, Thomas of Boconnoc, and a younger daughter Anne, figure at all prominently in this volume. Thomas Pitt, M.P. for

---

<sup>1</sup> p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> p. 67, 71, 73, 76.

<sup>3</sup> p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> p. 85.

<sup>5</sup> p. 76, 91.

<sup>6</sup> p. 91, 92.

Oakhampton, was Warden of the Stannaries and Steward of the Duchy of Cornwall for Frederick, Prince of Wales. His part of the correspondence relates chiefly to the general election of 1747, during which he was a principal agent, under the general management of his brother-in-law, Dr. Ayscough, in procuring the return to Parliament of the Prince's adherents. The letters<sup>1</sup> give some curious information in regard to the working of the electoral system in rotten boroughs, but are devoid of general political interest. Of the famous band of statesmen and wits who gathered around Frederick towards the close of Sir Robert Walpole's administration, some had vanished from the public stage, others had joined the Pelham Government. With one exception none of them is even mentioned in connexion with the political campaign of 1747. A long and severe letter<sup>2</sup> dated July 10, from Dr. Ayscough to his brother-in-law George Lyttelton accuses the latter, in circumstantial terms, of breach of faith in opposing Mr. Montagu, the Prince's candidate for the borough of Oakhampton. This somewhat obscure transaction appears to have resulted in an abrupt termination of Lyttelton's long connexion with Leicester House.

Under date of July 7, 1747,<sup>3</sup> will be found a letter of the Prince of Wales expressing, in gracious language, his high sense of Thomas Pitt's services during the election.

The correspondence of Anne Pitt, Maid of Honour to Queen Caroline, and afterwards Keeper of the Privy Purse to the Dowager Princess of Wales, possesses both literary and social interest of a high order. No letter of her own appears in the collection. Perhaps she is now best known by Horace Walpole's answer to a foreigner who asked if her brother the great Minister was like her : *Ils se ressemblent comme deux gouttes de feu*. But the letters addressed to her by Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk, the Duchess of Queensberry and her brother Lord Cornbury, Mrs. Montagu, Lord Chesterfield, George, Lord Lyttelton, and Horace Walpole, indicate the high rank she held as a wit and beauty in the most brilliant society of her time. Lady Suffolk's familiar gossip and badinage open amusing glimpses of life at the fashionable watering-places of Bath and Spa.<sup>4</sup> The letters of the Duchess of Queensberry, from Ambres-

<sup>1</sup> p. 107-135.<sup>2</sup> p. 122.<sup>3</sup> p. 122.<sup>4</sup> p. 92-94, 105, 106.

bury, are characterised by sprightly wit and wilfulness and generous feeling.<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Montagu describes a visit to Northumberland in the more high-flown and erudite style proper to a reigning Blue-stocking.<sup>2</sup> One or two short letters from Lord Chesterfield, in which he laments the deafness which condemns him to privacy, are chiefly valuable, perhaps, as specimens of finished elegance.<sup>3</sup> But it is the letters of Horace Walpole,<sup>4</sup> especially those written from Paris during the years 1765 and 1766,<sup>5</sup> that appear to be best entitled to the name of "literary curiosities," by which Lord Grenville distinguished Anne Pitt's particular collection.

It is noteworthy that, although the correspondence preserved by Miss Pitt ranges over a period of more than thirty years, from 1734 to 1768, during which her brother William fills so great a place in English history, it does not contain a single letter from him, or, indeed, any definite allusion to him.

Interspersed, in chronological order, with the later Pitt letters, are others<sup>6</sup> addressed to Richard Berenger, Gentleman of the Horse to King George III. Berenger, a near kinsman of the Grenvilles, appears to have been an accomplished scholar, and a writer of repute on the Art of Horsemanship. He numbers among his correspondents Lord Temple and George Grenville, Lord Chatham and George, Lord Lyttelton, Mrs. Montagu, Miss Hannah More, and David Garrick. They write, as a rule, on matters personal to himself, in strains of jocose and affectionate compliment, inclining sometimes to banter. Lord Chatham's letter, dated May 4, 1771,<sup>7</sup> acknowledging in more formal, but kindly, terms the receipt of a "Book on Horsemanship," tells of the writer's suffering from "much head-ach." Those of Mrs. Montagu<sup>8</sup> and Miss More<sup>9</sup> are carefully composed; the pleasantry or sentiment, as the case may be, being perhaps a little laboured. Garrick's letters,<sup>10</sup> dashed off with little regard for form or date, "always in a hurry and a d——d bad hand at the best," are very bright and natural. Generally overflowing with high spirits, they at times reflect the varying moods of a mercurial character.

---

<sup>1</sup> p. 94–104.

<sup>2</sup> p. 140–3.

<sup>3</sup> p. 137–9.

<sup>4</sup> p. 135–158.

<sup>5</sup> p. 146–155.

<sup>6</sup> p. 144–162:

<sup>7</sup> p. 161.

<sup>8</sup> p. 159, 160.

<sup>9</sup> p. 160, 162.

<sup>10</sup> p. 151, 152, 156–160.

With the year 1779 the papers of the Pitt family, and the miscellaneous papers of which the interest is mainly literary or social, come to an end. The remainder of the volume is occupied by part of the correspondence of William Wyndham Grenville, beginning with his official life in 1782, and continuing to his elevation to the peerage at the close of 1790.

W. W. Grenville was the third son of George Grenville, who succeeded Lord Bute as Prime Minister in the year 1763. In 1782, his eldest brother, Lord Temple, having accepted the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the Administration of Lord Shelburne, Grenville accompanied him as Chief Secretary.

The new Lord Lieutenant suddenly found himself confronted by an Irish difficulty of the most formidable character. The Rockingham Ministry, by repealing the old Irish Act known as Poyning's law, and other restraining laws passed subsequently in the British Legislature, had conceded the legislative and judicial supremacy of the Irish Parliament in Ireland, in a manner accepted as sufficient by the Irish leader Grattan and his friends. On the other hand, Grattan's political rival Flood insisted that a formal renunciation by the British Parliament of the power of binding Ireland by enactments, was necessary to the security of Irish independence. At first this controversy appeared to have little practical importance; moderate men of all parties being opposed to further agitation. But a speech of Lord Abingdon in the British House of Lords, to which Lord Shelburne made no reply, and a judgment pronounced by Lord Mansfield in the English Court of King's Bench on an Irish case brought before him by appeal, creating an impression of English bad faith, stirred all Ireland into angry ferment. In the course of a few weeks, the great body of public opinion veered round to the side of Flood, and raised what had been regarded as a factious cavil into a national question.

This rapid change of popular feeling is graphically described in letters dated July 12 and 23, and August 1,<sup>1</sup> from the Earl of Mornington, an Irish peer, better known by his later title of Marquis Wellesley, offering congratulations and assistance to his old school friend Grenville. The sudden rise of Flood, and the growing unpopularity of Grattan, "that first of all men in ability and virtue," are vividly sketched. And "Ned Cooke,"

---

<sup>1</sup> p. 162-165.

their school-fellow at Eton, who had served his apprenticeship in Irish state-craft under Lord Carlisle, is specially recommended as a safe guide in the crooked ways of political management. "The hot-bed of Eden's corruption forced out every man's principles, and Cooke was witness to the whole process."

Lord Mornington's letters, on various topics, appear henceforward, at intervals, to the end of the volume, and are always excellent reading; being conspicuous for clearness of view, felicity of expression, variety of interest, and a rare power of giving or adding attraction to every subject they touch upon. They also evince warm affection and gratitude to Grenville, who, by his influence with Lord Temple and W. Pitt, appears to have been mainly instrumental in opening for the writer a public career in England.

A very short sojourn in Dublin completely converted Lord Temple to the Irish view of the political situation. In concert with most of the leading Irish politicians, including Grattan, he drafted a Renunciation Bill, and strenuously pressed its adoption on the English Government.<sup>1</sup> And in order that he might have a confidential channel of communication with the Cabinet, and with the King, he sent his Chief Secretary, who was M.P. for the County of Buckingham, to reside in London.

Lord Temple's letters to Grenville,\* following each other in rapid succession, almost monopolize the space covered by the period of his first residence in Ireland; namely, from the end of November 1782 to the end of April 1783.<sup>2</sup> They show intense irritation at the reluctance, to which, however, he applies much harsher epithets, of the English Ministry to adopt his Bill; irritation arising to some extent from a sense of the justice of Irish demands, and of the danger of refusing them. By repeated threats of resignation, to which the state of Ireland lent emphasis, he in a manner coerced the Cabinet into accepting his proposals. "What have we not gained," he writes to his brother, December 31, "by that spirit of independence which has here carried everything?"<sup>3</sup> But the Renunciation Bill did not become law until Lord Shelburne had resigned office. Strong

---

\* It has not been thought necessary to include in this volume letters belonging to the Grenville Correspondence which have been published in *Memoirs of the Court and Cabinets of George III.*

<sup>1</sup> p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 165-212.

<sup>3</sup> p. 175.



distrust of the Prime Minister pervades this part of the correspondence.

The order of St. Patrick, of which he was founder, also fills a large space in Lord Temple's letters to Grenville during this period.<sup>1</sup> He appears to have framed the statutes in an exclusive spirit. They limited the number of ordinary members to sixteen Irish peers; and no peer below the rank of Earl was admitted as an original member.

Another project which appears, from a letter dated February 9, 1783,<sup>2</sup> to have been suggested to him by Lord Shelburne, occupied much of the Lord Lieutenant's attention. This was to plant a colony of Genevese exiles, and endow a Genevese College, in Ireland. Its execution seems to have given him much trouble. On December 21, 1782,<sup>3</sup> he announces that he has "at last determined to settle them on the Curragh of Kildare." On January 17 following,<sup>4</sup> he reports that "they are very unreasonable in their demands." On February 9,<sup>5</sup> he has decided to fix them in the neighbourhood of Waterford, "wishing to remove them from the Northern republicans, and place them where they might make an essential reform in the religion, industry, and manners of the South, who want it more." A little later on, March 2,<sup>6</sup> a proposal of the Swiss "that Ireland should lend 100,000*l.* more" has cooled his philanthropic ardour. It is not clear from the subsequent correspondence whether the scheme was a success or a failure.

In a letter dated December 21, 1782,<sup>7</sup> Lord Temple announces the establishment of the Bank of Ireland.

Another letter of his, dated February 9, 1783,<sup>8</sup> gives examples of the "astonishing" growth of the Irish fishing industry during the few years that had elapsed since Lord North conceded free trade. On the 20th of the same month,<sup>9</sup> he sets his face against a proposal from London to favour Scotch fishermen to the detriment of Irish enterprise.

A letter from W. Pitt to W. W. Grenville, dated February 12,<sup>10</sup> asking the latter, in flattering terms, to move an Address in the House of Commons approving of the preliminaries of peace with the American States and their European Allies, is noteworthy as

---

<sup>1</sup> p. 177, 183, 195, 199.      <sup>2</sup> p. 191.      <sup>3</sup> p. 172.      <sup>4</sup> p. 183.  
<sup>5</sup> p. 191.      <sup>6</sup> p. 200.      <sup>7</sup> p. 172.      <sup>8</sup> p. 189.      <sup>9</sup> p. 196.      <sup>10</sup> p. 198.  
 o 67609.      b

affording the earliest evidence, in this correspondence, of the long and intimate connexion of the two statesmen.

As the end of the Shelburne Ministry visibly approaches, in the early spring of 1783, Lord Temple's letters teem with surmises as to possible party combinations. If not always sagacious, they give interesting estimates of the relative strength, and the tendencies, of political forces in England. When Lord Shelburne resigned office, and Mr. Pitt declined to form an Administration, the King, in conversation with Grenville, appears to have hinted a wish that Lord Temple should undertake the task.<sup>1</sup> This idea, however, if ever seriously entertained, was soon abandoned as impracticable. During the crisis, the Lord Lieutenant's constant aim throughout his Vice-Royalty of establishing, through the agency of his Chief Secretary, separate relations of a confidential nature with the King is more clearly avowed. And Grenville's judicious advice dissuades him from pressing unseasonably for some mark of Royal favour, on which he had evidently set his heart.<sup>2</sup>

Both Lord Shelburne on leaving office, and the Duke of Portland on entering it, seem to have expressed hopes of support from the Lord Lieutenant. He, however, peremptorily refused to serve under the Coalition Government, and attached himself to Mr. Pitt.<sup>3</sup> During his first short residence in Ireland, indefatigable application to business, and an earnest desire to promote Irish interests, appear to have won for him a considerable share of popularity, in which he rejoices exceedingly at every opportunity, while affecting to disdain it. These cordial relations were no doubt promoted by the social influence of his wife, who was the only daughter and heiress of Earl Nugent, an Irish peer. On April 29,<sup>4</sup> he writes to his brother that he has received a not very gracious letter of recall from Lord North.

In a letter from W. Pitt to Lord Temple, dated July 22, 1783,<sup>5</sup> will be found a curious account of an interview which Lord Thurlow sought with Pitt, after a long conference with the King on the previous day. From this letter it appears that Lord Thurlow endeavoured, without expressing definite views of his own, or committing the King, to ascertain Pitt's political intentions, more particularly in reference to Parliamentary reform, and to

<sup>1</sup> p. 206, 208.

<sup>2</sup> p. 205.

<sup>3</sup> p. 198-202.

<sup>4</sup> p. 212.

<sup>5</sup> p. 215.

the system of personal government of which Lord North's Ministry had been an instrument. And while throwing out a suggestion that the King, in accepting the Coalition Ministry, had "gone through the worst," in the hope, as Pitt surmises, of inducing compliance with the Royal wishes on those cardinal points of policy, Lord Thurlow gave emphatic assurances of His Majesty's unalterable aversion to his official advisers. Pitt, on the other hand, is represented as declaring frankly and clearly against the unconstitutional influence of the Crown, and for electoral reform; and as expressing disinclination to take any decisive step with a view to resumption of office, unless formally commissioned to form a Government on those principles. The interview had no immediate result. But, writing to Grenville on September 10,<sup>1</sup> before setting out on a short excursion to the Continent, Pitt says, "I have just made my bow at St. James's. The King inquired as to the time of my return, in a manner which I thought rather significant. I named about six weeks."

Letters from Lord Mornington to Grenville, written in the autumn of 1783,<sup>2</sup> give interesting information of Irish affairs during the short rule of Lord Northington. Mornington had now cast in his political fortunes with those of Pitt and the Grenvilles; but common opposition to the Reform movement led him to give an independent support to the Irish Government. The most important topics with which his letters deal are, the Volunteer Convention which met to frame a Reform Bill; and the rejection of the Bill, on November 30, when introduced by Mr. Flood into the Irish House of Commons.

There are several brief letters, at this time, from W. Pitt to Grenville, and to his cousin Thomas Pitt of Boconnoc, couched in terms of affection and confidence.

Owing to a gap of more than three months, from the end of November 1783 to the middle of March 1784, the correspondence throws no light on the transactions connected with the fall of the Duke of Portland's Ministry, the elevation of Pitt to power, and his struggle in Parliament with the forces of the Coalition. When it is resumed, Grenville appears as Joint Paymaster in his cousin's Administration, and, soon afterwards, as a member of the newly-formed Board of Control; Thomas

---

<sup>1</sup> p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> p. 220-5.

Pitt has been raised to the peerage as Lord Camelford ; the Duke of Rutland is Lord Lieutenant of Ireland ; and Lord Temple is in retirement at Stowe.

During the years 1784 and 1785, Lord Mornington continues to send his English friends lively accounts of Irish affairs under the Government of the Duke of Rutland. In March 1784<sup>1</sup> the views are rose-coloured ; the Duke's conciliatory policy is giving general satisfaction. In April<sup>2</sup> they are less sanguine ; the restrictions imposed on Irish commerce by the Navigation laws and English tariffs have provoked popular tumults, and seditious cries for protective duties. In September<sup>3</sup> they assume a gloomy cast ; there is a very strong spirit of reform at work in Ireland, the disastrous tendencies of which Mr. Pitt has failed to appreciate ; the Catholics are disaffected ; French crowns are circulating mysteriously in the country ; the Lord Lieutenant and his Chief Secretary Orde have "fallen into utter abhorrence and contempt." This alarming transformation, however, seems to result in a great measure from the operation of a personal grievance on the writer's mind. Office in the Irish Government promised to him by Mr. Pitt, has been withheld in Dublin on pretexts which he describes to Grenville, September 5, as "a complication of treachery and folly."<sup>4</sup> And a sense of this ill-usage is expressed in sharp criticism of Irish administration, in warnings of public danger, and in charges of systematic duplicity against Mr. Orde. He, however, maintained terms of personal friendship with the Duke of Richmond, and took charge of Government business in the Irish House of Lords. In 1785, when the British Parliament altered Mr. Pitt's proposals for free trade between England and Ireland, which the Irish Parliament had adopted, Lord Mornington earnestly cautioned the Prime Minister, through Grenville, April 1,<sup>5</sup> May 30-31,<sup>6</sup> against being misled by the confident assurances of the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Orde into a belief that the alterations would be accepted in Ireland. He relates afterwards, on August 13,<sup>7</sup> how his predictions of failure had been verified by means "of a most eloquent, but most inflammatory and mischievous speech" of Grattan in the Irish House of Commons, followed by a hostile

<sup>1</sup> p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 227-230.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 233-9.

<sup>4</sup> p. 235.

<sup>5</sup> p. 248.

<sup>6</sup> p. 251.

<sup>7</sup> p. 253.

resolution proposed by Flood. In 1786, having obtained a seat in the British Parliament through the Grenville influence,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Pitt gave him a post in the English Ministry.<sup>2</sup> This appointment, most gratifying to himself, put an end to his Irish letters, and, for a time, deprives the correspondence of its most attractive feature.

A letter of Lord Temple to Mr. Grenville, written in the first week of September 1784,<sup>3</sup> betrays still greater alarm and ill-humour than those of corresponding date from Lord Mornington in Ireland. And the dissatisfaction seems to originate in like causes. In the writer's opinion, the misconduct of the Duke of Rutland's Administration has been so flagrant that its continued existence would be a public calamity. It is, he considers, "worse than no Government"; he "does not see the hopes of salvation" from it. After solemnly protesting "that my own individual objects do not bias my mind," he complains bitterly of the ill-usage and neglect with which his services have been repaid. And he threatens opposition in the House of Lords. Throughout the correspondence, Grenville's almost absolute devotion to the head of his house is shown in a complete subordination of his personal aims to those of his brother, and by the unfailing zeal and tact with which he serves his brother's interests, and even unreasonable pretensions. The whole patronage of his Office seems to be applied, as Lord Temple directs, to extend the family influence in Buckinghamshire. On this occasion, as on every other referred to in the correspondence, his appeal to Mr. Pitt met with a prompt and cordial response. On October 3rd,<sup>4</sup> Lord Temple, writing in a more cheerful vein, mentions the receipt of a "general letter of affection" from Pitt, and accepts "with great satisfaction" the Marquisate of Buckingham, "though the value is a little sunk by the accession of Lord Townshend to the number," and a promise of the Garter at no distant period.

Under the soothing influence of those anodynes, Lord Buckingham's anxiety about Ireland slumbers for several months. But, on the rejection in the Irish House of Commons of Pitt's commercial proposals, as altered in the British Legislature, his

---

<sup>1</sup> p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> p. 265.

<sup>3</sup> p. 232.

<sup>4</sup> p. 239.

denunciation of official blundering in Ireland is resumed with unabated vigour. On August 18, 1785<sup>1</sup> he exclaims against "the folly or treachery" which has involved English Government in Ireland in such a desperate muddle. "I feel," he continues, "everything most kindly and most truly for Pitt; and if he thinks I am likely to assist him by conversing with him for half-an-hour upon Ireland, I will come to town immediately, though I own I have little to offer him but execrations against his deceivers, and the most cordial friendship for him." On August 25,<sup>2</sup> he has not "cooled yet upon the scandalous negligence or treachery of those to whom the conduct of the business has been entrusted; nor can I conceive how they can again be trusted by Mr. Pitt whom they have so cruelly injured." On September 1,<sup>3</sup> he insists that "in all its parts the business speaks the foulest mismanagement or treachery, and Mr. Pitt is mad if he trusts to them for a repetition of this game." All this indignation, however, does not seem to have disturbed Mr. Pitt's confidence in the Duke of Rutland; and the Irish Government held its way, little the worse, apparently, for an unexpected reverse.

On May 7, 1786,<sup>4</sup> Lord Buckingham informs Grenville, in strict confidence, that the Duchess of Chandos has proposed to him a marriage between his eldest son, Lord Temple, and the Duke's daughter and heiress, to be celebrated when the parties chiefly concerned, as yet infants, shall have arrived at a suitable age.

From other letters,<sup>5</sup> written in the same month from Bath, it appears that an intention announced by the King to invest Lord Cornwallis with the Garter, which Lord Buckingham understood to have been promised to himself, aroused all the latter's jealous susceptibilities. The rival claims seem, however, to have been adjusted by Mr. Pitt's mediation.

A visit from an Austrian Archduke, in September 1786,<sup>6</sup> gives Lord Buckingham an opportunity of contrasting the splendid hospitality of Stowe with the churlish parsimony of Blenheim, where "the D. of M. would not see him (the Archduke) nor offer him a glass of wine; and though the rain kept him in the house, and waiting in the very room where the cloth was laid, for four hours, he sent him away without a morsel."

<sup>1</sup> p. 254.<sup>2</sup> p. 255.

p. 256.

<sup>4</sup> p. 259.<sup>5</sup> pp. 259, 260.<sup>6</sup> p. 267.

In November 1787, on the death of the Duke of Rutland, Lord Buckingham was appointed, for the second time, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He took with him Alleyne FitzHerbert, afterwards Lord St. Helens, as his Chief Secretary; and Lord Mornington's younger brother, Arthur Wesley, who had lately entered the army, as a member of his military staff.<sup>1</sup>

There are several letters during the three and a half years ending with the autumn of 1787, from W. Pitt and Henry Dundas to Grenville, and from Grenville to Dundas, his principal colleague on the Board of Control, bearing on Indian and commercial affairs. In one, dated October 27, 1784,<sup>2</sup> Dundas writes in desponding terms of the difficulties thrown in the way of the Board by the East India Company's officials. Grenville replies in a more hopeful tone, admitting the unfavourable circumstances, but concluding with the maxim, *Nil desperandum*.<sup>3</sup> His public services were by no means confined to the discharge of his ordinary official duties. It appears from Lord Buckingham's letters to him in October 1786,<sup>4</sup> that he had a chief part in framing the commercial treaty concluded with France in that year. On the occasion of disturbances in Holland in 1787, which threatened to bring France and Prussia into armed collision, he was despatched on a confidential mission to the Hague; and later in the same year to Paris, to assist Mr. Eden in his negotiations with the French Government. Lord Buckingham, while making Grenville the confidant and vehicle of his own claims and grievances, always evinces the most affectionate solicitude for his brother's advancement, and a disposition to spare neither purse, nor influence, nor personal exertion, in promoting it. In a letter dated August 6, 1787,<sup>5</sup> he shows great anxiety for Grenville's success in Holland. In another, dated September 20, 1787,<sup>6</sup> he strongly opposes his brother's journey to Paris, from apparently exaggerated fears that Grenville's reputation might be compromised by the line of negotiation pursued there, and by association with Mr. Eden.

From December 1787 to the autumn of 1789,<sup>7</sup> the correspondence consists chiefly of confidential letters from the Marquis of Buckingham, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to Mr. Grenville

---

<sup>1</sup> pp. 288, 290.

<sup>2</sup> p. 240.

<sup>3</sup> p. 241.

<sup>4</sup> p. 270.

<sup>5</sup> p. 278.

<sup>6</sup> p. 282.

<sup>7</sup> pp. 291-529.

in London. The principal subjects with which these letters deal are, the illness of George III., the Regency Bill, and the controversies arising out of it. For about five months of this period, from the beginning of January to the beginning of June 1788, Mr. Grenville's election as Speaker of the British House of Commons severed his ostensible connexion with the Ministry. But he continues throughout to be his brother's principal adviser and correspondent, and medium of communication with Mr. Pitt. Interspersed, occasionally, with Lord Buckingham's letters, are others from his private secretary, Scrope Bernard, giving lively accounts of debates in the Irish House of Commons, in which Grattan is the leading figure.<sup>1</sup>

During Lord Buckingham's second term of office, the course of Irish business at first runs smooth. The system which he inherited from the Duke of Rutland, and followed for a time, of winning the support of all the great borough-owners, by distributions of place, pension, and patronage, irrespective of English party lines, gave his Government enormous strength in both Houses of Parliament. Attacks by a small band of independent members, led by Grattan, on the pension list, "that most disgraceful of all accounts," "the profligate articles of mismanagement and abuse which swelled to a most enormous total," as the Lord Lieutenant frankly describes it, January 27-31, 1788;<sup>2</sup> and on the tithe system, then causing great commotion, were defeated by overwhelming majorities. Of Grattan's motion for a commutation of tithes, Lord Buckingham writes, February 18,<sup>3</sup> "The victory in numbers was decisive," but, "the impression sank deep," and the clergy "certainly depend only on the support of the Crown for their existence." He illustrates this state of public feeling by an amusing account of the conduct of the Government majority in a debate on a "Compensation Bill" in respect of unpaid tithes. "We were forced to adjourn on Saturday night, having only gone through half the Bill, because all the Crown servants (most of whom had spoken early in favour of the Bill), got drunk in the coffee-house, and at midnight were loud in every part of the House abusing it." A vote for a considerable increase of the Irish army, and other successful measures, enabled him to close a brief session with much

<sup>1</sup> pp. 293, 298, 303, 305-6, 329, 408, 416, 432.    <sup>2</sup> p. 300.    <sup>3</sup> p. 305.



exultation and self-applause, February 1<sup>1</sup> and 6,<sup>2</sup> and April 18.<sup>3</sup> But, by setting his face against any reform of abuses, he exasperated the independent party of Grattan and Lord Charlemont, with whom he had formerly maintained friendly relations.

Many letters of Lord Buckingham during the spring of 1788,<sup>4</sup> are given to the discussion of a project, "the point which I have most at heart" he writes, March 19, of conferring on Mr. Grenville one of the rich sinecures which the Chief Governor of Ireland occasionally had in his gift. The death of Mr. Rigby, formerly Chief Secretary under the Duke of Bedford, leaving the post of Irish Master of the Rolls vacant, offered an opportunity, in April, of effecting this purpose.<sup>5</sup> The large emoluments of the vacant office, which had no judicial or other functions annexed to it, were mainly derived from the sale of subordinate places; a practice which Rigby had turned to lucrative account.<sup>6</sup> English statutes, however, prohibiting the practice, and the well-known judgment in the case of Lord Macclesfield, seemed to Grenville conclusive as to its impropriety for an English Minister.<sup>7</sup> And, although the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, Lord Earlsford, protested against his scruple, not only as unwarranted by Irish law or custom, but as a revolutionary idea that assailed the foundations of Irish property,<sup>8</sup> he held to his objection; to the great mortification of Lord Buckingham, who, for several weeks, racked his ingenuity in vain endeavours to open another vacancy of equal profit. After fruitless negotiations with Hely Hutchinson, Provost of Trinity College, who is credited with most robust views of official privilege, for an exchange of his office of Secretary of State without duty, for that of Master of the Rolls, the Lord Lieutenant partially accomplished his object by giving his brother the reversion of another well-endowed sinecure, the post of Chief Remembrancer, then held by the Earl of Clanbrassil, an old and infirm Irish peer.<sup>9</sup>

Lord Buckingham's somewhat exaggerated estimate of his political successes served, however, only to deepen his chagrin at what he considered a want of appreciation of his merits on the part of the King. His whole correspondence bears evidence that he allowed an eager craving for marks of Royal favour,

---

<sup>1</sup> p. 800.    <sup>2</sup> p. 301.    <sup>3</sup> p. 328.    <sup>4</sup> pp. 311-331.    <sup>5</sup> p. 321.  
<sup>6</sup> p. 313.    <sup>7</sup> p. 318.    <sup>8</sup> pp. 320-322.    <sup>9</sup> p. 331.

and a jealousy of such distinctions when bestowed on others, to govern his conduct, warp his judgment, and trouble his peace. A high sense of desert for special services rendered to the Crown, and of the dignity and importance of his office, made him regard every disappointment of his personal aims not only as inexcusable ingratitude, but as detrimental to the public interests. And, at the same time, an arrogance of temper that hardly brooked the slightest control, an obstinate intolerance of the most trivial act or omission that seemed to him to derogate from his pretensions, by provoking powerful resentments, defeated those aims, and embittered his public life. Almost from the first moment of his resuming office, these various influences brought him into angry conflict with the Home Secretary, Lord Sydney, and with the King, on the subject of military promotions. The King appears to have regarded the administration of the army as a branch of the public service reserved to his own prerogative. Lord Buckingham, on the other hand, insisted that the right of recommending to all appointments in the Irish army, below the grade of Colonel, appertained to the Lord Lieutenant, and was essential to the system of Irish Government.<sup>1</sup> How fruitful this system was in abuse of military patronage is fully explained by Lord Buckingham himself in a letter to Grenville, dated April 14, 1789.<sup>2</sup> The detention for a few weeks of the first military list he forwarded to the Home Office, drew from him complaints of ill-usage, at which Lord Sydney took umbrage.<sup>3</sup> Grenville's judicious mediation somewhat allayed, but failed to heal this quarrel; and thenceforward the task of advocating or defending the Lord Lieutenant's army nominations was thrown on Mr. Pitt. In June 1788, a personal act of the King, appointing his equerry, Colonel Gwynne, to a Lieutenant-Colonelcy of Cavalry for which Lord Buckingham had recommended his own nephew, Lieutenant-Colonel Nugent, and an unsympathetic letter from Lord Sydney, in which he saw only multiplied insult, stirred the Lord Lieutenant's resentment to the highest pitch<sup>4</sup>. Grenville's suggestion that "all the Colonels and Lieutenant-Colonels in the Army were not worth a competition of this nature," only served to inflame his brother's anger, and is answered by reproaches. In letter after letter, betraying extraordinary excite-

<sup>1</sup> p. 337.<sup>2</sup> p. 451.<sup>3</sup> pp. 299, 304-5, 328.<sup>4</sup> pp. 336, 340-1.

ment, he insists on resigning his Government unless Gwynne's appointment is cancelled.<sup>1</sup> Circumstances in his position in Ireland, of his own creating, aggravated the Lord Lieutenant's mortification. A haughtiness of manner which he seems to have systematically cultivated in his intercourse with leading supporters of his Administration,<sup>2</sup> inspired enmity; and caused every sign of his waning influence to be noted with unconcealed satisfaction, and interpreted in the most unfavourable sense. These malicious comments touched Lord Buckingham's pride in the most tender point, and made him insist more strongly on public marks of the King's good-will, as necessary to his official position. The soothing assurances of Mr. Pitt, who however, as well as Grenville, pointed out to him that his claims were untenable, and a promise wrung from the King of some future arrangement in favour of Nugent, at length induced him to recede from his demands. "I feel," he writes, July 8, "with strong resentment that the King has done towards me what he has done only to the Earl of Buckinghamshire to disgrace him. I feel that I cannot show my resentment without making too severe war on the country and upon those I love best."<sup>3</sup> But his manner of insisting on his nephew's promotion had given deep offence to his Sovereign. George III. kept vigilant watch on his exercise of military patronage, carefully scrutinized his lists, demurred to every irregular nomination, and finally rejected all that were prompted by private partiality.<sup>4</sup> Repeated tokens of royal displeasure, and a consequent loss of prestige in Ireland, so preyed on Lord Buckingham's mind as to make his Government a martyrdom, until the King's illness in November brought military promotions to a standstill, and diverted his thoughts to more important subjects.

It would appear from Lord Buckingham's letters dated May 20<sup>5</sup> and 24,<sup>6</sup> and June 6<sup>7</sup> and 7,<sup>8</sup> 1788, that the post of Secretary of State was offered to Mr. Grenville at the close of the Parliamentary Session in England. But as his vacating office during the recess would entail a long contest for the county of Buckingham at his brother's expense, or resigning the county to a hostile interest, he asks Mr. Pitt, on June 11,<sup>9</sup> to

<sup>1</sup> pp. 336-344.

<sup>5</sup> p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> p. 330.

<sup>6</sup> p. 331.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 344-346.

<sup>7</sup> p. 332.

<sup>4</sup> pp. 350-2, 354-5, 357-9.

<sup>8</sup> p. 333.

<sup>9</sup> p. 335.

postpone his promotion to the beginning of the following Session. The letters on this subject are honourable to both brothers, and throw a very pleasing light on their personal relations.

In letters dated October 8,<sup>1</sup> and 18,<sup>2</sup> 1788, the Lord Lieutenant reports the discovery of great frauds in the Ordnance Department at Dublin, and adverts to a strange defect in the laws of Great Britain and Ireland, which secured impunity to the offenders. "Mr. Smith, the Secretary of the Ordnance," he writes on October 18, "run away to England with his family, on Thursday last, and every day brings forward fresh scenes of speculation and dirty frauds. This subject suggests to me a proposal made by Fitz-Gibbon in December last to Pepper Arden, and *never answered*, to enable by law the Attorney General of either kingdom to sue in either kingdom for the King's debts. I cannot give you stronger cases in point than this Smith, an Irish defaulter, and Colonel Bruen, who as Deputy Quarter-Master-General in America has amassed upwards of 400,000*l.*, and is now in Ireland, buying every estate, and laughing at your processes *ad computandum*. At present the public is the only party to whom the law gives no relief in matter of debt contracted in the other kingdom."

On October 15 and 18, 1788,<sup>3</sup> Lord Buckingham refers to the death of his father-in-law, Lord Nugent, from whom he inherited considerable estates.

Letters from Mr. Pitt and Lord Buckingham, written during the winter of 1788-9,<sup>4</sup> are filled with interesting details in regard to the condition of the King, the schemes of Parliamentary leaders, the political views of the Prince of Wales, the constitutional powers of the Lord Lieutenant, the Regency Bill, and the uncertain state of Irish opinion. The policy of Government was to postpone consideration of the King's illness in the Irish Parliament until Pitt's proposals for a limited Regency had been adopted by the British Legislature; and then to pass an Irish Bill framed on the same lines. In order to carry these points, Lord Buckingham laboured during the recess, by a liberal use of patronage and promises, and a still more liberal use of threats, to confirm the wavering allegiance of his majority in both Houses. At first his hopes of success were sanguine, provided

<sup>1</sup> p. 358.

<sup>2</sup> p. 359.

<sup>3</sup> p. 358.

<sup>4</sup> p. 360-406.

Mr. Pitt remained in office. But, as the meeting of Parliament drew near, they were in a great measure dashed by the "treachery" of Lord Earlsford<sup>1</sup> and others in whose fidelity he had most trusted; and gave place to gloomy forebodings. The prospect grew darker every day. Grattan,<sup>2</sup> in concert with Fox, declared against restrictions on the Prince's authority as Regent. The news from England left no hope of the King's convalescence, or of Pitt retaining office under the Prince of Wales. The Lord Lieutenant's threats and promises availed nothing against those "lavished" with equal freedom in the Prince's name.<sup>3</sup> In these circumstances he shrank nervously from calling Parliament together.<sup>4</sup> And when, in deference to the wishes of the English Cabinet, the Irish Session was opened on February 5, 1789,<sup>5</sup> he saw himself, with intense mortification and dismay, abandoned by the whole mercenary army of placemen and pensioners, who had hitherto sustained the power of Government in both Houses.<sup>6</sup> Of his official advisers only Fitz-Herbert, the Chief Secretary, and Fitz-Gibbon, the Attorney General, who aspired to the office of Lord Chancellor, and had everything to dread from Mr. Fox, remained faithful. An Address to the Prince of Wales asking him to assume the Government of Ireland with full regal powers, during the incapacity of his father, was voted without a division by both Houses. "I did not dare," Lord Buckingham writes on February 8,<sup>7</sup> "to resist the question, or any question, without promising that there should be no division; for, if I had not, the Bench [of Ministers] would actually have been left to my Secretary and the Attorney General, as every one had declared their intention of quitting the House rather than divide against the new Government." After much vacillation, and in some fear, shown by his writing, "if you hear of me flung into the Liffey, you must not be surprised,"<sup>8</sup> the Lord Lieutenant, yielding to pressure from Mr. Pitt, refused to forward the Address of Parliament to the Prince of Wales. Although proud of his audacity, and his "martyrdom" for the King and Mr. Pitt, he still takes a gloomy view of his position. He dreads a vote of censure which will drive him from his Government in disgrace. He insists to his brother<sup>8</sup> that, even

<sup>1</sup> p. 396-7.<sup>2</sup> p. 397.<sup>3</sup> p. 401-2.<sup>4</sup> p. 392, 399, 403.<sup>5</sup> p. 406.<sup>6</sup> p. 408-12.<sup>7</sup> p. 410.<sup>8</sup> p. 413.

should the King recover, his own retention of office, after having incurred so much odium, would fatally compromise English rule in Ireland. But while all the great borough owners complained loudly of his offensive bearing towards them, and Grattan, in the House of Commons, severely criticised his public conduct,<sup>1</sup> they refrained from any act of retaliation that might have the complexion of personal rancour.

On February 20,<sup>2</sup> unexpected intelligence of the King's convalescence changed, as if by magic, the whole political situation, and the views and feelings of the actors. A panic spread through the ranks of Opposition. As the fact of the King's recovery became better established, panic developed into rout.<sup>3</sup> In order to check this tendency, the great borough owners combined with Grattan and Lord Charlemont in an association pledged to oppose any Administration that should deprive a member of place or pension for his vote on the Regency question. On the other hand, Lord Buckingham emerges "wild with satisfaction"<sup>4</sup> from his "misery" and "martyrdom" in "a hell upon earth." Instead of doleful complaint, his letters breathe vengeance and assured hope of triumph. And he abandons his intention of quitting Ireland till he shall have crushed the confederacy of borough proprietors, who by their desertion exposed him to such bitter humiliation, and, by forming a ring to overawe the Government, now make it his duty to assert with unsparing vigour the authority entrusted to him. In a long letter, dated February 25,<sup>5</sup> he unfolds plans, for which he solicits Mr. Pitt's support, of stripping the great borough proprietors and their adherents of office and pension, and forming by a redistribution of their spoils, and a large creation of peerages, a new Parliamentary majority which will enable him to set them at defiance. In order to effect this purpose, he finds it necessary to invoke the aid of "old stagers" in political corruption, such as Cooke and Lees, who had served Lord Carlisle and Mr. Eden; and to replace his Chief Secretary, Fitz-Herbert, to whom the business on hand is altogether uncongenial, by Major Hobart, whom he describes as the fittest instrument for it. Through the skilful practice of these agents, he soon

---

<sup>1</sup> p. 409, 417.

<sup>2</sup> p. 414.

<sup>3</sup> p. 417, 420.

<sup>4</sup> p. 419.

<sup>5</sup> p. 420.

mustered a strong body of supporters in the House of Commons. A motion by Grattan, directed against the reversion conferred on Grenville, was rejected by a small majority.<sup>1</sup> Lavish promises of promotion in the peerage, and the return of the Bishops to the ministerial fold, restored the ascendancy of Government in the House of Lords.<sup>2</sup> But experience and the able counsels of Fitz-Gibbon soon forced on the Lord Lieutenant a most unwelcome conviction that his heroic policy was impracticable. He confesses in a letter dated March 21,<sup>3</sup> that a league of the great borough owners under the patronage of the Prince of Wales, and sustained by the Whig party in England, must prove too strong for an Administration founded, as his was, on a system of corruption. The county members whom he thought he had won over from Grattan, carried a Pension Bill against him in the House of Commons. Nor did he feel quite sure of receiving adequate support from England. Some of his most influential antagonists, who had long been main props of Irish Government, writing to powerful friends in London, appear to have attributed their opposition during the King's illness to the intolerable arrogance of the Lord Lieutenant. The Prince of Wales wrote to an Irish adherent that his father was displeased with Lord Buckingham.<sup>4</sup> From another source the Lord Lieutenant learned that the whole Cabinet, with the exception of Mr. Pitt, strongly condemned his general conduct.<sup>5</sup> And although a private letter from Grenville,<sup>6</sup> followed by an official letter from Lord Sydney,<sup>7</sup> conveying full though somewhat tardy assurances of the Prime Minister's support, calmed his apprehensions, Lord Buckingham had good reason to believe that Lord Thurlow, the English Chancellor, and Lord Townshend, a former Chief Governor of Ireland, both of whom were known to possess the Royal ear, had declared strongly against measures of punishment for opposition on the Regency question.<sup>8</sup> After much searching of spirit, he allowed the olive branch to be held out, in separate negotiations, to the members of the coalition. Most of these, disregarding their mutual engagements, and the dismissal of Mr. Sheridan, Secretary for Military Affairs, whom Lord Buckingham sacrificed to his

<sup>1</sup> p. 425.<sup>2</sup> p. 426-7.<sup>3</sup> p. 434.<sup>4</sup> p. 427.<sup>5</sup> p. 431.<sup>6</sup> p. 426.<sup>7</sup> p. 433.<sup>8</sup> p. 435.

resentment and replaced by Mr. Cooke,<sup>1</sup> eagerly grasped at conditions of amnesty, which had been made "personally humiliating."<sup>2</sup> The Duke of Leinster and Mr. Ponsonby, more closely connected with the English Whigs, and Lord Shannon, coerced by his wife, held to their agreement, were dismissed from office, and brought a large body of adherents to re-enforce the party of reform. By a skilful use of the rich sinecures and pensions thus placed at his disposal, and by adding largely to every grade of the peerage, an unfailing expedient of Parliamentary management in Ireland, the Lord Lieutenant was able to recruit his ranks in the House of Commons, so as to re-establish the superiority of Government on a narrower and more precarious basis.

Letters to Grenville from the Marchioness of Buckingham, describing the rejoicings at Stowe and Buckingham for the King's recovery,<sup>3</sup> sparkle with humour, and agreeably relieve the political jeremiads of her husband.

The unmeasured exultation displayed in Lord Buckingham's accounts of the defeat of the Irish coalition, and of the "agony" and ruin of the "wretch" Sheridan, and other victims of his resentment or policy, was soon and severely chastened by fresh proofs of Royal disfavour. In letter after letter he eagerly presses for a few lines of approbation from the King's hand, which would confound the malice of his foes, and repay all his sacrifices.<sup>4</sup> Grenville's significant silence on this topic only increases his brother's impatience and chagrin. Nor does the latter find much comfort in Grenville's report of the few cold words of Royal approval which Pitt's importunity at last extorted. "The King's approbation," he writes, on March 22, "might have been more gracious if he had felt as I had hoped he would. On Pitt's side everything has been most affectionate."<sup>5</sup>

Worse soon followed. The very first act of the King after his recovery, in relation to the Irish Army, was to appoint a Major Taylor to a Lieutenant-Colonelcy of Cavalry, which the Lord Lieutenant again claimed for his nephew.<sup>6</sup> A brief letter from Lord Sydney, dated March 20, 1789, announces the arrangement as settled, and requests the Lord Lieutenant to give it effect.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> pp. 440, 445.

<sup>2</sup> p. 435.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 431, 433.

<sup>4</sup> pp. 425-7, 431, 433.

<sup>5</sup> p. 437.

<sup>6</sup> p. 437.

<sup>7</sup> p. 438.



The latter resenting both act and letter as gross outrages to his public character and private feelings, announces to his brother a fixed resolution to resign. In a letter to Pitt, dated March 27-28,<sup>1</sup> Grenville warmly expounds Lord Buckingham's quarrel. The Prime Minister seems to have awaited a favourable opportunity before entering on such a thorny question with the King. But this delay only increased Lord Buckingham's irritation. Stung to the quick by the King's insensibility to "personal and public risk and misery unexampled in the political history of Ireland,"<sup>2</sup> and by the taunts of unfriendly circles in Dublin, and convinced "that Pitt is master, in such a moment particularly, of the King's mind," he complains on April 11 of "being possibly betrayed and certainly abandoned."<sup>3</sup> No charge could be more unfounded, as the writer is soon compelled to acknowledge.<sup>4</sup> One of the most remarkable features of the correspondence is the unflinching friendship with which Pitt supports Lord Buckingham in most trying circumstances, and in respect of measures that do not always seem to commend themselves to his own judgment. The King unmoved by Pitt's entreaties and the Lord Lieutenant's resignation, refused to revoke Major Taylor's appointment. Replying, on April 16, to a letter from the Prime Minister which conveyed this intelligence in sympathetic language, Lord Buckingham expatiates in a highly tragic vein on his own services and sufferings and his Sovereign's ingratitude; but consents to remain in office until the end of the session in the persuasion "that the existence of the King's Government in Ireland depends on my continuance in this trust."<sup>5</sup> On April 20,<sup>6</sup> news from Grenville that the King, yielding to Pitt's renewed solicitations, had made concessions in favour of Lieutenant-Colonel Nugent, have brought him to a happier frame of mind. On April 26 he is again "wild with exultation"<sup>7</sup> on account of victories over Grattan, which left him, at the close of the session, master of the political situation. But in the height of his contentment, as he rejoices in the prospect of returning in triumph to England to recruit his shattered health, and perhaps to find dignified repose in the easy Cabinet office of Lord President of the Council or Lord Privy Seal,<sup>8</sup> the arrival from the

<sup>1</sup> p. 438.<sup>2</sup> p. 445.<sup>3</sup> p. 449.<sup>4</sup> p. 451.<sup>5</sup> p. 455.<sup>6</sup> p. 456.<sup>7</sup> p. 459.<sup>8</sup> pp. 470-1.

Home Office of a military list, with some of his nominations struck out, renews all the Lord Lieutenant's grief. He finds himself "disgraced by this palpable and marked outrage of a partial approbation."<sup>1</sup> The fact that these omissions were caused by the complaints of a body of officers, whose prospects would have been injured by the promotion of a member of his household, only incenses Lord Buckingham more.<sup>2</sup> "I shall now," he writes to his brother, on May 16, "insist on my *instant recall* if this should have been done by the King's directions, and, if not, the only way that now remains that can satisfy me is the King's acquiescence. His Majesty must likewise be reminded that nothing has yet been done towards the completion of Colonel Nugent's promotion."<sup>3</sup> The remonstrances of Grenville, who was about to succeed Lord Sydney as Home Secretary, only added fuel to the flame. But before the Lord Lieutenant could take any decisive step, a severe illness, brought on by the agitation and overwork of many months, completely prostrated him; and, in June, compelled him to repair to Bath.<sup>4</sup> He did not return to Ireland. Continued ill-health, of mind and body, unfitted him for any arduous occupation; and, in October 1789, he resigned his appointment of Lord Lieutenant, and was succeeded by Lord Westmorland.<sup>5</sup>

The death of Lord Lifford, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, in April 1789,<sup>6</sup> enabled Lord Buckingham to requite the staunch support of Attorney General Fitz-Gibbon, by strenuously advocating his claim to the vacant dignity, with Mr. Pitt.<sup>7</sup> The chief impediments in Fitz-Gibbon's way appear to have been political usage which, since the reign of James II., had given the Irish Seals to an English lawyer approved by the Lord Chancellor of England, and his own unpopularity in Ireland. Lord Thurlow and Lord Camden strongly opposed his elevation on these grounds. But Fitz-Gibbon's political services, and the friendship of the Grenvilles, outweighed Lord Thurlow's objections, in the Prime Minister's mind. On June 13, Mr. Grenville, now Home Secretary, congratulates the Irish Attorney General, in most cordial terms, on having been appointed to succeed Lord Lifford.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> p. 473.<sup>2</sup> p. 475.<sup>3</sup> p. 473.<sup>4</sup> p. 475-482.<sup>5</sup> p. 531.<sup>6</sup> p. 461.<sup>7</sup> p. 463, 465, 467-8.<sup>8</sup> p. 479.

Lord Buckingham's Irish troubles pursued him to England. Promises of peerages which he made in the stress of conflict, but had meant to be evasive or had forgotten; injudicious measures of punishment or reward, which provoked angry discussion; came under the review of the English Cabinet, and involved him in painful controversy with his brother.<sup>1</sup> The King refused to ratify a military appointment, to which he had pledged the Government, as being contrary to regulation. And the letter, dated October 17, in which his Majesty yields the point to the earnest entreaties of Mr. Grenville, sharply reproves the Lord Lieutenant's irregular action.<sup>2</sup> Grenville seems to have held back this reprimand. But, in an official letter dated October 15, he conveys the King's emphatic approval of the Lord Lieutenant's conduct during his Majesty's illness.<sup>3</sup>

In the beginning of October, the Duke of Chandos dying without male heirs, his title became extinct. Thereupon Lord Buckingham, tortured by a constant sense of his "disgrace," and by jealousy of honours conferred on Lord Sydney and the Duke of Dorset when they retired from office, renewed, through his brother, an application for a Dukedom, which the King had more than once refused.<sup>4</sup> Grenville, in a letter full of good sense and good feeling, written at Holwood, Pitt's country house, on October 5, sought to divert his brother's mind from morbid brooding on insignificant grievances and unattainable aims, which seriously affected his health and happiness.<sup>5</sup> But, on the 7th, the Marquis vehemently insists that the "object shall be formally proposed to his Majesty, and if he persists in his refusal of a Dukedom to me, I shall resist with every degree of open violence that exception which his late graces to others makes now so glaring."<sup>6</sup> Pitt's renewed appeals to the King to bestow the coveted dignity, urged both by letter and in a personal interview, were answered by unqualified denials.<sup>7</sup> And although the Prime Minister, by a visit to Stowe, appears to have averted any public expression of resentment, Lord Buckingham's official life closed in bitter chagrin.

On June 5, 1789, Mr. Grenville succeeded Lord Sydney as Secretary of State for Home and Colonial Affairs. His corre-

<sup>1</sup> p. 481, 485, 487, 491-6, 498-502, 511-516, 519-522, 531-4.

<sup>2</sup> p. 538.

<sup>3</sup> p. 530.

<sup>4</sup> p. 526.

<sup>5</sup> p. 527.

<sup>6</sup> p. 529.

<sup>7</sup> p. 537-539.

spondence after this date contains many letters on matters of business pertaining to his office, from the King, Mr. Pitt, the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Dundas, and others.

In September 1789, an apparently novel case occurs of three convicts who had been condemned to death at the Old Bailey, refusing to accept a commutation of the capital sentence to transportation for life. The King, by Mr. Grenville's advice, orders one of these men, named Chaffey, to be immediately executed, to awaken a sense of gratitude in the others. But, before the penalty can be inflicted, Mr. Justice Gould expresses doubts as to its legality, which Lord Thurlow considers well founded. The culprits are brought to a more compliant mood; and their submission relieves the executive authority from a position of some embarrassment.<sup>1</sup>

A short correspondence between the King and Mr. Grenville, dated May 1 and 2, 1790, occasioned by a difference with Spain in regard to Nootka Sound, gives a view of the practice of pressing seamen for service in the Royal Navy.

It appears from a letter of Mr. Grenville to the King, dated May 18, 1790, that disturbances caused in the parish of St. Sepulchre by another ancient practice of burning women alive for coining or other treasonable act, had induced the Ministry to bring a Bill into Parliament changing the penalty to hanging. The King, on the same day, respites a condemned woman until she can be hanged according to law.<sup>3</sup>

A letter from the Marquis of Stafford, dated September 27, 1789, throws light on the wretched condition of convicts in over-crowded English gaols. The "desperate and miserable people" in the county prison of Stafford, are represented as being packed together more closely than "negroes used to be" in the hold of a slave-ship. Lord Stafford also asks Mr. Grenville to compose a quarrel prejudicial to the public interests, between Lord Thurlow and some other powerful member of the Government, apparently Mr. Pitt.<sup>4</sup>

There are several letters from Lord Thurlow, dealing with points of law, colonial questions, and judicial appointments submitted for his opinion by Mr. Grenville. The deferential

---

<sup>1</sup> pp. 516-523.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 579, 580.

<sup>3</sup> p. 586.

<sup>4</sup> p. 524.

tone and measured language of the Secretary of State contrast strikingly with the pungent criticism in which the Lord Chancellor's letters abound. In discussing the claims of settlers removed from the Mosquito Shore to compensation from the British Government, Mr. Grenville is provoked, on April 17, 1790, by the caustic remarks of his colleague, into adding a paragraph of formal remonstrance. But his resentment is disarmed by a prompt reply, disclaiming any intention of giving offence.<sup>1</sup> Lord Thurlow's letters are generally characterized by strong sense, and a captious spirit.

On October 18, 1789, Mr. Dundas, in a letter declining on public grounds, and out of consideration for the claims of the Lord Advocate, to accept the vacant Scottish office of Lord President of the Court of Session at Mr. Grenville's suggestion, gives an interesting account of his own political position as the mainstay of Mr. Pitt's Administration in Scotland.<sup>2</sup>

In December, 1789, there is a correspondence between the same Ministers in reference to Mr. Grenville's scheme of employing convicts to cut a Scottish canal between Fort William and Fort George. Dundas, while sympathising with his colleague's desire to substitute forced labour on public works, as a system of punishment, for confinement in the hulks, "a very mischievous institution," which "produces more crimes than it punishes," alleges various local objections which, in his opinion, render the Scottish project impracticable. He, however, offers all the help in his power to further it.<sup>3</sup>

An election of representative peers of Scotland in the summer of 1790<sup>4</sup> is the theme of several letters between Grenville and Dundas. The knowledge and training of the latter gave him great advantage over the English statesman in the intricate manœuvring of this political campaign. On August 1 and 4, he urges, as the only sure means of securing a permanent majority for Mr. Pitt, that an Act of Parliament should be passed enabling Scottish noblemen on whom British peerages have been conferred, to vote in elections of representative peers.

A project for a commercial treaty with Holland which Lord Auckland, British Ambassador at the Hague, drew up in concert

---

<sup>1</sup> pp. 573-575.

<sup>2</sup> p. 534.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 553-560.

<sup>4</sup> pp. 590-604.

with the Dutch Government, and advocated in confidential letters to Mr. Grenville, dated June 30<sup>1</sup> and July 27,<sup>2</sup> 1790; also supplied a subject of frequent communication between the latter and Mr. Dundas. Alterations drafted by Mr. Pitt, and embodied in an official despatch by Mr. Grenville,<sup>3</sup> so modified the project, to the disadvantage of Holland, as to drive the Ambassador to despair. It would be hopeless, he writes, on September 4, to propose them as bases of negotiation.<sup>4</sup> The correspondence seems to show that Lord Auckland's estimate of the benefits resulting to England from a Dutch alliance was far higher than that formed by the British Cabinet.

In November 1789, the ultimate disposal of eighty Irish convicts, sentenced in customary form to be transported to His Majesty's American colonies, landed in Newfoundland, and sent back by Admiral Millbanke, Governor of that dependency, in irons to Portsmouth, perplexes the English Government, and occasions a long and somewhat heated controversy between Mr. Grenville and the Irish authorities.<sup>5</sup> The Home Secretary, acting on the advice of Lords Thurlow and Kenyon, directs the convicts to be taken back to Ireland in order that they may be imprisoned there until Parliament shall make further provision for their punishment. On being informed of this step, Lord FitzGibbon and the Irish Speaker, governing as Lord Justices in the absence of Lord Westmorland, despatch a revenue cruiser to intercept the vessel conveying the prisoners, and bribe its captain to hold aloof from the Irish coast. The motives of this proceeding are explained in letters from the Irish Chancellor, and Chief Secretary Hobart, dated December 1 and 2.<sup>6</sup> The condemned men having been discharged from legal custody in Ireland in pursuance of sentences of transportation, Lord Clonmel, Chief Justice of Ireland, was unable to commit them to prison except on informations sworn against them as convicts found at large in Ireland during their terms of banishment; a capital charge on which they must be tried and sentenced to death, or set free, as juries might determine. Irish law also made every person aiding or abetting their return liable to the penalties of felony. Both letters express great fear of the storm

---

<sup>1</sup> p. 591.

<sup>2</sup> p. 595.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 597-602.

<sup>4</sup> p. 605.

<sup>5</sup> pp. 589-555.

<sup>6</sup> pp. 544-548.

that would be raised in Ireland by an illegal exercise of authority, at the instance of English Government. "Should the Government of England," Hobart writes, "support Admiral Millbanke, the Parliament of Ireland will be much pressed to resent it as a national indignity." After a somewhat prolonged wrangle, in which great lawyers freely engage, an opportune discovery by Mr. Grenville that Newfoundland was not, and never had been, a British colony, solves the difficulty. Fortified by this plea, Lord Clonmell agrees to re-commit the convicts to the gaols from which they had been discharged.<sup>1</sup>

There are many letters from Lord Westmorland and his Chief Secretary, Major Hobart, during the course of the year 1790. These deal chiefly with creations of peers and bishops, and other details of political management in Ireland. In one, dated May 10,<sup>2</sup> the Vice-Roy, who elsewhere conforms with good grace to the King's views of military promotion, strongly opposes a proposal to raise a militia force in Ireland, as fraught with danger to English rule.

In another letter, dated March 31,<sup>3</sup> he gives a curious account of a duel, arising out of words spoken in the House of Commons, between the Chief Secretary and Curran. The King, on being shown the Lord Lieutenant's letter, highly approves of Major Hobart's conduct.<sup>4</sup>

On May 7,<sup>5</sup> Mr. Grenville acknowledges the receipt of a private letter from Lord Westmoreland complaining of the persistent opposition of Mr. Stewart, afterwards Lord Castlereagh, in the Irish House of Commons, and adds, "I trust I have put that business in a proper train." Lord Camden, through whose patronage Mr. Stewart's father had recently obtained a peerage, was a member of the Cabinet.

There are also a few letters, written during the same year, from Lord Buckingham, to whom retirement has restored bodily health and serenity of mind. One, dated January 31,<sup>6</sup> refers to a renewed attack by Grattan in the Irish Parliament on Mr. Grenville's reversion, which was granted with full knowledge that such an exercise of patronage would excite discontent.<sup>7</sup> Another, dated February 21,<sup>8</sup> relates, in part, to clamorous demands of the Archbishop of Dublin for a peerage that had

<sup>1</sup> p. 554.<sup>2</sup> p. 583.<sup>3</sup> p. 568.<sup>4</sup> p. 570.<sup>5</sup> p. 581.<sup>6</sup> p. 560.<sup>7</sup> p. 321.<sup>8</sup> p. 562.

been promised to him, and the Irish Primacy. On the subject of the peerage Hobart writes, on February 17,<sup>1</sup> "My private opinion is that Lord Buckingham had gone very far in his expressions to the Archbishop . . . always looking to the possibility of its being refused in England." Lord Buckingham, however, treats Grattan's invective, and the anger of his episcopal dupe, with the lofty indifference of one whom Irish malice can no longer wound. The Archbishop urged his claims in a personal interview with Mr. Grenville; and was courteously informed that, by official usage, they could only be submitted to the King on the recommendation of a Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.<sup>2</sup> Lord Buckingham's other letters are concerned with matters of private interest.

In July and September 1790 the correspondence is greatly enlivened by two letters from Lord Mornington who had left England on a foreign tour. The first<sup>3</sup> gives an amusing account of mishaps that befel the writer in a journey to Spa; and animated descriptions of that watering-place and the surrounding localities. The second<sup>4</sup> sketches, in vivid colours, the social and political aspects of the French capital in the early days of the Great Revolution. It would be difficult to imagine a more startling contrast than that which Paris of the new era, as described by Lord Mornington, presents to the Paris of the old monarchy portrayed in Horace Walpole's letters, only twenty-two years before.

The volume closes with two letters of Lord Auckland from the Hague. One, dated December 15,<sup>5</sup> congratulates Mr. Grenville on his elevation to the peerage, and on the termination of disturbances in the Austrian Netherlands, by the mediation of England and Prussia. The second,<sup>6</sup> written on the last day of the year, deprecates the adoption of measures, proposed by the Prussian Government, which might have the effect of involving England in a premature and an unprofitable quarrel with Russia, for the protection of Turkey.

An index to the whole Calendar will be given in the last volume.

WAITER FITZPATRICK.

---

<sup>1</sup> p. 561.    <sup>2</sup> p. 564.    <sup>3</sup> p. 593.    <sup>4</sup> p. 607.    <sup>5</sup> p. 612.    <sup>6</sup> p. 612.



## THE MANUSCRIPTS OF J. B. FORTESCUE, ESQUIRE, PRESERVED AT DROPMORE.

---

### INDIAN AFFAIRS.

"The 2nd of January last, Mr. Dolben was examined upon oath in relation to the farming out by public outcry the tobacco farm, the 22nd of March 1693-4, who was then one of the Council, and says that he remembers that one Jango and Dasharama bid against one another for the farm till Jango bid 2,000 pagodas, when Dasharama desisted. Then the President asked Jango whether he could not bid 50 pagodas more, who answered, if your Honour will have me I will, and accordingly did. Then the President bid fifty more, and then Jango 50 more, the President 50 more, which made 2,200. The President asking Jango whether he would bid any more, answered he would not, for that he had out-bid his competitor Dasharama, and if he, the said Rama, would bid, he would bid also. Upon which the President declared it to be his, and ordered his servant Kisna, who was present, to call Vincaly Putty upstairs, saying he had bought it for him, and asked him whether he would accept of it, which he did. But as soon as Vincaly Putty appeared, Jango bid 50 pagodas more, but the President told him it was too late, upon which Jango said Vincaly ought to have been present at the time of bidding. Mr. Dolben and Mr. Fraser discoursed the President about his bidding and declared their dislike, who answered, why was not he as free to bid as anybody else? and declared it fairly let, and had it entered in the consultation, which Mr. Dolben and Mr. Fraser refused to sign. And on the 26th of the same month Jango delivered in a petition offering 2,800 pagodas for the farm, but the President still insisted that it was fairly let for 2,200. But Mr. Dolben and Mr. Fraser persisting in their dislike, about the middle of April following the President was prevailed upon to alter the sum in the consultation book from 2,200 to 2,800; but it was continued to Vincaly Putty and not to Jango, though he was the first bidder of 2,800 pagodas; and then the consultation was signed by all. I make this remark, that Jango's petition is not taken notice of in the consultation book, and that Mr. Fraser's disagreement with the President in this matter was the original cause of their differences.

"In relation to the Armenian merchant which was let to freight to China for pagodas 4,100, Mr. Dolben says he did ask the question in Council whether if he brought a person that would give 4,500 it would be accepted; but Mr. Hatsell, who was then one of the Council here,

taking him up very short, told him he proposed it for his own ends; upon which he desisted, and says he doth not remember any more of that matter.

"In relation to the late President filling up the Council in August 1694, Mr. Dolben and Mr. Fraser entered their reasons in your consultation book against his so doing, nor do I find you had then given him any power so to do, though afterwards you yourselves confirmed what he had done.

"I am of opinion that the reflections and hard censures made upon Mr. Fraser, on Nellakuntee's business, are without just cause, for that I find upon inquiry that Mr. Fraser, before he gave judgment in that cause, was fully informed by that Cast as to their customs of marrying and dividing their estate; and accordingly he proceeded to give judgment.

"The business of the measures of grain was not complained of by Mr. Fraser without cause, for that upon examination one of them was found guilty, for which he was fined and ordered to be punished; the fine was taken and the punishment remitted.

"As to all other matters contained in Mr. Fraser's paper dated 28 November last, he urges them only to show the occasion of the difference between him and the President, and I find there were many hardships put upon several people here, which would have been much more for your service had they been let alone. And much better now to be buried in oblivion than raked into; and hope that what has been done amiss by our predecessors will be amended in ourselves; and that what time has been spent in quarrelling and ruining one another will be spent in improving your revenues, lessening your charges, and sending of you full ships in season."

[It appears from Bruce's "*Annals of the East India Company*" that Thomas Pitt was selected as Governor of Madras, on account of his known energy and ability, to put an end to irregularities and dissensions which had sprung up in that Presidency under Governors Yale and Higgenson. The foregoing paper, without date or signature, but partly in Governor Pitt's handwriting, appears to be a copy of a report to the Old, or London, Company, of an investigation held by him after his arrival at Madras. The Mr. Fraser whom he here exonerates, appears to be the same official for treating whom with undue harshness he was recalled from his governorship by the United Company.]

ROBERT PITT to his mother JANE PITT [wife of Governor Pitt, in England].

1698, September. Fort St. George [Madras].—"We arrived here July 6. I am bound for China in a few months." *Copy*.

ROBERT PITT to LORD CUTTS [in England].

1698-9, January 7. Fort St. George.—This country has long been embroiled in wars between the Nabob who governs the province and the Morattoes, a sort of Pythagoreans who scour the country in vast numbers of horse, sometimes fifty or sixty thousand in a body.

The pirates that swarm in these seas cause the English much trouble. We hear that all the Europeans at Surat are imprisoned in consequence of the pirates having taken a ship belonging to that port, with 500 Turks, several women of great quality, and a cargo valued at 2½ millions of rupees. *Copy*.

ROBERT PITT to [his uncle] the Rev. MR. CURGENVEN [in England].

1699, April. Batavia.—This place is certainly the metropolis of India, well fortified, with a garrison of 3,000 European soldiers. They [the Dutch] under pretence of assisting the King of Bantam, are now making war on the island of Borneo, and will undoubtedly make themselves masters of the greater part, if not all of it. *Copy.*

ROBERT PITT to his mother JANE PITT in England.

1699, November 5. Amoy.—I received advice yesterday of my cousin John Pitt coming out in the New Company's service as President of the coast of Coromandel, and consul for the King. To all appearance the Old Company, in whose interest my father is, stand on a very bad footing; their servants in India being under the consuls now come out, and the sending of ambassadors to negotiate at [the Mogul's] Court being prejudicial to them. I congratulate you on the birth of my young brother John.

ROBERT PITT to the Rev. FATHER GERBILLON, Superior of the French Jesuits, Pekin.

1699, November 23. Amoy.—Expressing good-will to the Jesuits, and recognition of services they have done Englishmen in China. *French. Copy.*

ROBERT PITT to his uncle the Rev. MR. CURGENVEN, at Folke, near Sherbourne [Dorsetshire].

1699, December 20. Amoy.—“The establishment of the new Company has not a little surprised all people in these parts; the sending out Embassadors and Consuls looks as if they would drive all before them; notwithstanding they may happen to make good the old saying, *nihil violentum est diuturnum.*” *Copy.*

JOHN FELLOWS to THOMAS PITT at Fort St. George.

1699–1700, February 14. London.—“The two Company's enmity to each other is like to continue, and for preventing any trouble that may happen here when diamonds come home, uncle thinks it would [be] better not to consign them to the Company, but intrust them to the Captains to be privately delivered to my hands.” *Seal of arms.*

ROBERT PITT to his mother JANE PITT in England.

1700, December 12. Canton.—I am here, super-cargo of a Dane ship freighted by the gentlemen of Madras, and if it please God, shall make no small advantage of it. On my return to Madras I intend going home by the first ship that sails thence for England. As to the agreement between my father and me, the duty I owe him shall make me endeavour never to disoblige him. *Copy.*

THE SAME to the SAME.

1700–[1], February 20. Fort St. George.—I arrived here on the 17th instant, and continue in my resolution of returning home. I find my father wavering in the matter, but unless his positive commands detain me, I design for England next September. *Copy.*

JOHN HAYNES to THOMAS PITT, Governor of Fort St. George.

1701, April 14. Coodalore.—“Yours of the 11th instant I received, whereby find my expectations of the widdow wholly frustrated, which is a great affliction hard to beare, but that my eavill stars of late years have been predominant, which have accustomed me to frequent disapoyntments; therefore hope and believe this will not quite breake my hart; though to misse a rich widdow, tolerable handsome and not verry old, is in my opinion a much greater misfortune than to lose halfe a dosen other mistresses, though in their prime of youth and beauty (if without M[oney]); which some, whither wise or otherwise . . . have run mad for the loss of . . . I find there is no coming in for a rich widdow in Maddaras without securing the reversion some years before their husbands' death, therefore thinke had best bespeake the present widdow against her becoming soe a second time, thereby to anticipate other pretenders. Soe much for widdows at present, haveing but to return your Honour thanks for your kind offer of assistance had there been hopes of succeeding, which could not be expected against the current of a woman's inclinations, which seldom move progressively, but are hurried on more violently than a rapid torrent.

“In the postscript you are pleased to commend one Mrs. Middleton for a pritty woman, and who, you believe, will make an excellent wife. I cannot doubt but your experienced judgment therein must be stanch as in other more weightie affaires . . . and should thinke myselfe extreemely happy in such a wife, but cannot, in conscience, endeavour to compasse it by making the lady miserable. You well know that the perquisites of a poor drudging booke-keeper will not maintaine that lady as she deserves . . . but were I thought worthy to have the title Deputy Governor conferred on me by your Honour, should readily become a sutor to the good lady to compleat my happiness in this worlde.” *Seal of arms.*

ROBERT PITT to EDWARD HARRISON, at Amoy.

1701, October 14. Canton.—“We live here very sociably together. Instead of bohea, and damned strong sherry, and country beer, we drink every night good claret; and by midnight, after the shake of the elbow, and several hearty curses, some people, by degrees, abate the commissions on the gross.” *Copy.*

ROBERT PITT to his mother JANE PITT.

1701, December 20. Canton.—“I am here super-cargo of the *Hampshire* freighted by the freemen of Madras, and, thanks to the assistance of my father, in a post of the most trust, credit, and profit, of any private person in India. I hope to arrive at Fort St. George ten days before the *Bedford* sails, on which I design [sailing] for England.” *Copy.*

ROBERT PITT to the EARL OF PEMBROKE [in England].

1701, December 20. Canton.—Sending a small pot of jensem. *Copy.*

ROBERT PITT to the EARL OF SCARBOROUGH [in England].

1701, December 20. Canton.—Sending a small pot of jensem. *Copy.*

THOMAS PITT to his son ROBERT PITT. "MEMORANDUMS TO MY SON ROBERT PITT ON HIS GOING TO ENGLAND."

1702, October 9. Fort St. George.—"Having made Sir Stephen Evance and you my attorneys, revoking all others, I earnestly desire you to be very carefull of my business in generall, and receive all papers from your mother to give you an insight therein."

"I have shewed you severall letters wherein you have seen complaints against your mother which tend to my prejudice in many respects . . . to prevent which like for the future, she is no more to meddle in any businesse of mine."

"I must also desire you to write mee by all conveyances whatever, overland, Surat, or any other way; advising what relates to public and private affairs, and more especially what regards my interest, which I desire you to be very carefull and sollicitous in. And whereas I have intrusted under your care that which is of great value [the Pitt diamond], which you must by all meanes and diligence preserve lett what accident will befall you, which God deliver you from; and if you should have the misfortune, which God forbid, to be taken by an enemy, you must be sure to throw overboard every paper you have, and secure itt in the best manner you can, and be carefull afterwards that you are not discovered."

"But, if it pleases God that you arrive safe in England, I strictly charge you not to stirr out of the ship till Sir Stephen Evance or Mr. Alvarez comes on board, and would have you write from the first port you can send a letter to Sir Stephen Evance, desiring him to meet the ship as soon as possible; till when you will remain on board, for that you have business of importance to impart to him. You must also be very carefull of this concerne on board the ship at sea and in harbour."

"Your brothers William and Thomas . . . I would have sent for Holland to learne that language and French, mathematics and merchants' accounts, and write an excellent hand; or putt to the best schooles in England to learne the before-mentioned and all other accomplishments."

"I would also have you putt your mother in mind that she gives her daughters good education, and not to stick at any charge for itt."

"When you go into the country . . . see that my plantations are well looked after, and large nurseries full of all sorts of trees, ready to transplant when I come home."

"And as you have occasion to be in company with any relations or acquaintance of mine, and heare anything discoursed for or against my interest, I desire you to take memorandums and acquaint mee of the same." *Signed.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1702, October 15. Fort St. George.—I received no letter from you after you got aboard. I hope you will not be so forgetful of my instructions, and the good advice I have often given you. I hope this will meet you arrived safe at St. Helena, or in England, with what I have committed to your charge, which I hope will be well disposed of by you and those I have conjoined with you. The true value I must never expect; but I hope you will never part with it for much less. I gave you an account how to estimate the value, which I hope you are master of.

It is no small charge that I have entrusted you with, being the management of all my affairs; so that it requires your utmost care and industry to discharge it to my liking. Be sure not to let slip any opportunity of writing. My credit as well as interest depends very much on your prudent management of yourself. If any should be inquisitive (I mean Sir Stephen or Mr. Alvarez) what that [the great diamond] cost, you may tell them about 130,000 pagodas. If the thing be kept secret, and well managed, it must yield an immense sum of money.

Enclosed is the Captain's receipt for a jar of mangoes, a jar of nutmegs, and a quarter-cask of Goa arrack. If any of them will be acceptable to the Duke of Ormond, Lord Pembroke, or Lord Scarborough, present them with my duty.

Avoid all vices, and an inconvenient or disreputable marriage. *Seal of arms.*

THOMAS PITT to SIR STEPHEN EVANCE, MR. ALVARO DE FONSECA,  
and MR. ROBERT PITT, at London.

1702-3, January 28. Fort St. George. — I have lately for my diversion been perusing *Taverneir*, whose method of calculating the value of great stones I observe; and if what I sent you, being made a single stone and when cut, will weigh about 300 carats, according to his calculation it would be worth 800,000*l*. How that calculation will hold in the present time I am to seek, and therefore depend on your knowledge and integrity.

We are informed here that it is a war; God grant this concern may escape the danger thereof. I believe, whenever peace comes, the King of France or Spain will be the fairest chapman for it, being the greatest jewel in the world; though I could wish it were purchased for the Crown of England, provided they will come up to the value of it.

Since it went hence, there has been some smattering of it in the country as having been seen in the mines; and several eminent persons thereabout have been sent for by the King, and been put to great charge and trouble, but have at last returned in a whole skin.

I doubt not you will take care that it be lodged in a secure place, and if the times will not admit of your selling it for its full value, I hope you will be very cautious of letting it go out of your own possession. I am thinking of many things relating to this matter, but, having entrusted it to men of honour and judgment, shall leave it entirely to your disposal. *Signed.*

*Holograph postscript.*—"Since writing the above, Abendana is come hither with his family, who, by his discourse, I find he has heard something of this business in the mines, but knows nothing of my having bought it. You may be sure I think daily of this matter, and upon often meditating thereon, I am of opinion it be kept intire, and if you think fitt to cutt it, I believe it will come out a cleane stone of about three hundred caratts, which, I hope, may be worth, att least, fiftene hundred pounds per caratt. It must be sold directly to some great prince, and not to a club of people that shall make more advantage of it than mysele, who have run the greatest of risgoes to purchase it. The foregoing is my opinion, but noe order to you, being well satisfied in your worth, and assured you will doe for mee as for yourselvee." *Seal of arms.*

GEORGE WHITE to THOMAS PITT, Governor of Fort St. George.

1702-3, March 10. London.—“With the news of these great wars I can now tell you also news of a great peace between the two Great Companies, and you will find that the Court of Managers have so great an esteem for you [as] to continue you in your Presidency for account of the United Stock.”

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT.

1703, April 29. Fort St. George.—I hope you are by this time arrived in England to look after all my affairs, more particularly the grand concern you carried with you. Pray fail not to write to me by all sea and land conveyances. *Copy.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1703, July 23. Fort St. George.—I received yours from the Cape with news that was most welcome to me. I enjoined you at parting not to be sparing of your advices, which you have hitherto neglected; and I believe you had hardly written to me from the Cape but for the accompanying bill, which I hope you took up for the ship's expenses and not your own, for no one went better provided than yourself, in a condition to spare rather than want. You have been a little acquainted with the difficulty of getting money, therefore practice the preserving of it. *Copy.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1703, September 17. Fort St. George.—I advised you, overland, that Mr. John Pitt was dead, upon which I wrote a compliment to his lady, who answered it, and some months after wrote to me about interring her husband here, which I did not refuse her, but would pay no respects to his corpse. When he came out of England his will was in favour of your brother John; but since he came into India he has made a new one and left him out, and every relation he had, except an uncle from whom he had expectations. *Copy.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1703, November 8. Fort St. George.—I hope you have, long since, safely arrived in England, and delivered that which, if it answers my expectations, has not its fellow. I could wish, though I abated something of its true value, that the Crown would buy it, for the like will never be had again in these parts. I sent Sir Stephen Evance the model by the *Duchess*, but have received no answer. I strictly enjoin you to be dutiful to your mother, and loving to your brothers and sisters, and advise you to enter the Inns of Court, and go to Oxford for three or four years for the study chiefly of civil law. You should also make yourself master of fortification and gunnery. Take great care of what company you keep, and make it a strict rule never to lend money but where you have unquestionable security, for generally by asking for it you lose your friend and it too. *Copy.*

THOMAS STYLEMAN to THOMAS PITT, President and Governor of Fort St. George.

1703, November 18. London.—Your son Robert is married, with his mother's consent I am told, to Lord Grandison's daughter, a very

virtuous fine young lady, with a good fortune. I do not find but you are in favour with the new managers, and I believe you may continue in the post you are in as long as you please, though most people here have expected you would be coming home by this shipping. Some of your back friends have reported that you have got a prodigious estate, all being fish that comes either in or near your net; and that you have so racked the inhabitants of Madras, especially the freemen, that they are all ready to leave the place. I do not find, however, that much credit is given to these reports.

ROBERT PITT to his father, THOMAS PITT, at Fort St. George.

1703, December 30. London.—I can now give you full tidings of the safety of your great concern here in England. Your letters by the *Phenix* came not to hand till the 3rd instant, as the Company would not suffer any packet to be delivered unless first brought to them. Mr. Hornage, however, kept mine until I went for it almost to Gravesend, incurring thereby the Company's displeasure, which I preferred to the risk of allowing an account of all your concerns to pass through hands said to be very expert in opening and sealing letters. The United Company is a great tyrant, and, of all persons, your usage by them is the most ungrateful. I have taken several occasions to express the opinion that your services have been ill-requited; and that you are not likely to relish the loss of the subordination of Fort St. David, and being confined to one vote in the Council. How many soever of the Company write fairly to you, I know but two who stickle for you heartily, namely Sir Thomas Cooke and Mr. Coulson. In my opinion your absence from England is, on all accounts, prejudicial to you, and your difference with Mr. [John] Pitt will make the New Company more uneasy.

As for public news, nothing is now talked of but the King of Spain [Archduke Charles of Austria], who landed on the 26th instant at Portsmouth, and is now at Windsor with the Queen. I hope our Spanish expedition, in concert with Portugal, will succeed, for our affairs are in a most dangerous crisis. We have a powerful enemy abroad, heartburnings and plots in Scotland, and never were parties higher in England. An *aide-de-camp* of the Duke of Berwick lately come from France, with a design, it is said, of organising rebellion in Scotland, has been seized.

As to your affairs in the country, we have a dispute with the Dean and Chapter of Sarum about some trees blown down in the late storm, which they claim as top and lop. The borough of Old Sarum has been much abused, but Mr. Harvey and Mr. Mompesson have promised me to stand by none but the legal voices at the next election. It is hard to trust them, but I have secured an interest for myself that nothing can shake, unless some stranger steps into Philips' estate, which is for sale. He has promised me the refusal of it, and it is worth 200*l.* or 300*l.* more to you than to anyone else; for to lose his voices, which you have always had, would be a prodigious diminution of your interest.

I hope that something will be done in your grand affair by next spring, and that I shall be able to have a crystal model made of it in its true polite shape, by showing which as representing a thing that might possibly be found, and by consulting Amsterdam Jews, some insight may be obtained as to the real value. The King of Prussia, if able, is the likeliest chapman at present; though, were peace made, the King of France would certainly be the man. Mr. Cope has the cutting



of it. Our present design is a single stone, and we hope to make it a brilliant. It proves the first water, but will be diminished almost one-half in cutting. We have so managed it that what is cut off is in great pieces, and will sell for a good sum of money. Mr. Cope says that when finished it will weigh about 280 carats, and will be the wonder of the world. We found means to enter it safely through the customs, and go on briskly perfecting it for sale. When you write, it were better, for fear of the miscarriage of a letter, to say little about it, and what you do say, to have a key to; by which means none but ourselves will understand it. On coming near England I thought it not safe to keep it as you delivered it to me; and, for better security, let Captain Boulton into the secret. We secured it, I think, so effectually that, had we been taken, we had preserved it. I presented him with a large silver punch-bowl to the value of thirty odd pounds, on your account, which, for his fidelity ever since in the matter, he deserved.

Your affairs have been in all respects mismanaged, and we hope by the next ships to give you a particular account of them.

You always advised me against a disreputable marriage, which I have avoided by marrying a lady of family and character, with the approval of my mother, and of uncle Curgenven. Her fortune is but 2,000*l.*, and 1,000*l.* more after the death of her father-in-law, Lieutenant-General Stewart. I hope I shall not be abandoned by you at a time when I have no other support but yourself, since my alliance with the greatest families in England is as much to your credit, as my wife will be a comfort to you when you know her. My present happiness is altogether due to you, as it was the universal report of your good and generous character that induced Lady Grandison to give me her daughter. Her age is 21, her portrait and letter, herewith, speak for themselves; and I hope to obtain some genteel employment by the intercession of her relatives. *Copy.*

ROBERT DOUGLAS to his brother [in-law] THOMAS PITT,  
Governor of Fort St. George.

1703[-4], January 10. London.—Complaining of negligence on the part of his nephew, Robert Pitt. *Seal of arms.*

R[EBECA, LADY] GRANVILLE to THOMAS PITT, President  
of Fort St. George.

1704, January 14. St. James's [London].—Asking for a continuance of his favour to her cousin William Warre, and for an account of her *small adventure* in his hands. *Seal of arms.*

ROBERT PITT to his father THOMAS PITT, Governor of Fort  
St. George.

1703[-4], January 15. London.—Intelligence of your great concern was certainly divulged before I came home by some person you let into the secret. The minute I arrived it was said I brought it. The same person has said that he was sure you would not have let me come home, unless it was to bring that. There was a great bustle at first, but now it is safely entered, and all is hush.

Parliament has been hard upon the East India Company about the exportation of bullion. Our war with Spain, by hindering the im-

portation of bullion, has made it very scarce here; nevertheless the Company procure sufficient for their use, as they say, from Holland. It has been thought, however, that they melt down English coin and send it by stealth to Holland in order to bring it back as foreign bullion; and Parliament to-day, after debate, has restrained them from exporting it to a greater value than 150,000*l.*, unless in manufactures. This is a fatal stroke to them, for which they have to thank themselves. So great are their exactions that let a man, as in my case, bring home what sells for 100*l.*, his net produce shall hardly be 50*l.*

The bad feeling between the Houses of Lords and Commons in consequence of the former throwing a Bill of Conformity, will end in a dissolution. The Lords have taken on themselves to examine into elections, and this will make the breach wider. It is an ill time to quarrel at home, affairs being desperate in Germany, through the successes of French armies and Hungarian rebels. *Copy.*

ROBERT PITT to his father, THOMAS PITT, Governor of  
Fort St. George.

1703[-4], January 20. London.—Reporting a violent quarrel with his mother in regard to the control of property near Salisbury, which she claimed as hers by settlement. The King of Spain is, by violent weather, blown back to Plymouth, and the fleet much shattered. The Houses of Lords and Commons are in open conflict. *Copy.*

GEORGE WHITE to THOMAS PITT.

1703-4, January 20. London.—“Your gentlemanly son Mr. Robert Pitt does indeed deserve the character of a very ingenious person, of very quick parts. He cannot be wanting in giving you a particular account of his marriage, and therefore I have only to tell you that his lady is as beautiful, as sensible, and as well-behaved as most I have seen in my life. They reside in Golden Square.”

T. DAVENPORT to THOMAS PITT, Governor of Fort St. George.

1703-4, January 26. London.—Thanking him for kindness to a brother in India, and commending the ability and judgment of Robert Pitt, and the great virtues, beauty, and accomplishments of his wife.

LORD CONINGSBY to THOMAS PITT, Governor of Fort St. George.

1703-4, January 27. [England.]—Thanking him for favours conferred on a son at Madras, and promising to send him a cargo of the best cider.

ISABELLA HAYNES to THOMAS PITT, Governor of Fort St. George.

1704, May 3. Fort St. David.—“The gentlemen are pretty civil to me now, but I can attribute that to nothing but your Honour’s goodness in making them soe . . . I now humbly make bold to acquaint your Honour that I have some thoughts of marreing Captain Greenhagh, if your Honour shall approve of it, but not else. Indeed the only reason that enduees me to it is I formerly made him a kind of promiss, though, after which, with my own free consent, it was quite, as I thought, broke off by my . . . brother, but he has now again so importunately renewed his courtship that I know not how to be rid

of him. Another reason is that I may be freed from the courtship of some others in this place, which I think woud be but as indifferent matches as the other. Could I have got home to England I woud not have staid here for the best husband in India." *Seal*.

THOMAS PITT to SIR STEPHEN EVANCE and ROBERT PITT  
[in London].

1704, September 12. Fort St. George.—It was welcome news to hear of the safe arrival of that concern of mine. It is very fortunate that it proves so good; and it is my advice that it be made one brilliant, which I would not have sold unless it be for a trifle less than 1,500*l*. a carat; though, by all computations I can make, it is worth much more. It is my whole dependence, and, therefore, must be sold to the best advantage. I approve of your locking it up, and deferring the sale until after the war.

You may permit my wife to receive the income of my land at Old Sarum, and St. Mary, Blandford, in Dorsetshire, to maintain her, her two daughters, and three sons. If two of the latter have left her, you may disburse their maintenance; in which be thrifty and charge them to be so too, or I will put them on short allowance when I come home. If my wife draws any bills on you, I order them to be returned, and not a penny paid. I am coming home shortly, for I find the Company are resolved to give me no encouragement to stay. My son, Robert Pitt, is to make good to my cash 300 dollars paid to discharge his bill from the Cape; also 1,000*l*. which his mother gave him, she not having power to dispose of a penny of mine, nor ever shall. *Copy*.

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT [at London].

1704, September 12. Fort St. George.—“I have received several letters from you, and little expected you would have paid so little attention to the memorandums I gave you at parting, since my advice, in one particular, had saved you from utter ruin. You may remember how importunate you were to go home on the *Bedford* [lost at sea], and how uneasy you made me by your ill-natured carriage, till I permitted your going on the *Loyal Cooke*.

“In your letter of the 27th of May, you say there is a match on foot between you and the lady mentioned. I believe you play the same game with me as with your mother, who writes me you were married before she saw your wife; and I believe you were so before you wrote to me, for several correspondents tell me that was the first thing you did, which has justly brought you under the character of a giddy inconsiderate young fellow. I guess the cause of your writing so slender an account of my affairs, and taking no notice of brother or sister, friend or relation; nor do you mention anything in regard to the delivery of many letters I sent by you.

“I shall leave this place, if not next January, certainly in September or January following, being desirous of a little discourse with the Company, and also to settle my own affairs. If they [the Company] like my service and I their terms, I will return hither on their next shipping. Does the Dean of Sarum think that God Almighty sent that storm for they to make advantage out of others losses? Houses and barns wanting repair should be made good with the value of those trees. I hear there was a fast ordered for that storm. Sure those gentlemen that design to get by it will make a feast, and be so

ungodly as to wish for more such. It is therefore my order to withstand their injustice, and not to suffer them to meddle with a tree, although I spend the value of the estate in defence thereof.

"I hope you carried the election at Old Sarum, the effectual plan for which was to secure the writ through Cousin Pitt in Chancery, or some other interest with the Lord Keeper, and set up the old officer to execute it.

"You cannot but know the reason why your sisters are not with you, as I have a letter from Essex who resents your ill-treatment of her, and so do I, who know your temper too well. Your brothers and sisters have no dependence on you, nor ever shall; and as my children behave themselves, one better than another I shall consider them, and no otherwise.

"The Duke of Florence is more likely to be a chapman [for the diamond] than the King of Prussia, but the kings of France and Spain are better than either. I order you never to part with it under 1,500*l.* a carat.

"As to your marriage, what I chiefly dislike is its suddenness; and much wonder you desire a present enlargement of your fortune, which, with your wife's, cannot be much less than 10,000*l.*; a very good fortune for a young man qualified for business. I hope the great interest you value yourself on, will procure you some considerable employ.

"I like not the face of our public affairs abroad or at home. God send a miracle to save Old England at last.

"If what you write of your mother be true, I think she is mad, and wish she was well secured in Bedlam; but I charge you let nothing she says or does make you undutiful, in any respect whatever. Inclosed is a letter sent to me, without a name, by which you will see what a character you have already got." *Copy.*

JOHN STYLEMAN to THOMAS PITT, Governor of Fort St. George.

1704, December 12. London.—I am very sensible that the Companies are taking pains to ruin their affairs in India; but they think themselves so wise and so well acquainted with Eastern affairs as to be above all manner of advice. "*Self doe, self have.*"

I have changed my mind since writing to you last year, as to the Company's behaviour towards you, having been an ear-witness of hard things which some of the great ones say of you. I have made it my business to defend you on all occasions, but perceive that others are believed before me, and now think the sooner you return to England the better. There was a hot discourse that Mr. Lucas was to have your post, but I believe you are continued.

I am sorry I have had so little correspondence with your son, Mr. Robert Pitt. Though I waited on him at his first coming home, I have never had the honour of seeing him at my poor house. He has always been very shy of me, for what reason I cannot imagine. I pray God the character you will receive of him from his friends be such as may answer your expectations. *Seal of arms.*

ROBERT PITT to THOMAS PITT, Governor of Fort St. George.

1704, December 18. London.—The cutting of your grand concern licks off a world of money, and I hope that by the next ships you will have made us some remittances, else it will be very bare with us. I also hope that the pieces that will be cut off will greatly help to defray

the charge. We have lately sold three for 2,000*l.*, and anticipate that those still to come off will fetch as good a sum. The sawing them off is a vast charge; but otherwise they must have been cut into powder, so that what they produce above the charge is clear gain. I hope that when you arrive you will find it finished, and the finest brilliant in the world. The only defect I fear is the want of a chapman while the war lasts; but the victories of the Duke of Marlborough, last summer, give hopes of a speedy peace. I wish the trouble from Scotland may not be an expedient of the French King to divert us from following up our success. The Scotch insist on not settling the succession of their Crown on the House of Hanover, and on being independent of England. They may be very uneasy neighbours to us, especially after the Act of Security passed by the Queen and Parliament at Edinburgh last summer, by which they are allowed to have a permanent standing army for their own protection. That Act has given great offence here; and it will be very difficult now to reduce them to reason without a Union and free trade, which must certainly be of the last prejudice to us.

Mr. Harvey and Mr. Mompesson have agreed that one of them shall retire from the representation of Old Sarum, in my favour, at the approaching election. The storm of last year destroyed your out-houses and many trees at Stratford. We intended to claim the timber, but Mr. Dobbyn [your lawyer] being of opinion that the Church, by the lease, had an undoubted right to it, I consented to accept half the value.

My two brothers are at Mr. Meure's Academy, near Soho Square, esteemed the best in England. They learn Latin, French, and accounts, fencing, dancing, and drawing. I think of settling them in Holland for their better education next summer; and, should my wife's father-in-law, Lieutenant-General Stewart, accompany the Duke of Marlborough, of placing them under his care, to see a campaign. My sisters are at Bath with my mother, and we seldom meet except in the country during summer. I always invite them to pass the winter in London with my wife, in order that they may have the benefit of masters and of the best society; but my civility is thrown away, they being, for some unknown reason, set against me. My cousin, John Pitt, died little lamented either by his relations or employers. It was reported here that you denied him Christian burial, until I showed the copy of your letter to his widow. I hope that the good accounts you have received of my marriage have induced you to approve of it, and that you will send your blessing to your little grand-daughter Harriot, born in May last, of whom I have presumed to name you godfather. My dependence on your love and generosity has made me endeavour to put myself on a footing in the world becoming your son; but without your support I must soon sink under the pressure of my own narrow fortune.

*Copy.*

CHARLES DU BOIS to THOMAS PITT, Governor of Fort St. George.

1704-5, January 15. London.—When any competition arises between the two Companies in their court of managers, about their servants, the Old Company are very zealous in maintaining the rights of theirs, and think themselves so obliged by fidelity shown in the time of the contest, that everybody may depend on their protection. Your account of improvements, and the saving thereby effected, is very agreeable to us. I am sorry you could not send mangoes to St. Helena, the committee being desirous of furnishing that island, by means of stones, seeds, or

plants, with useful fruits. I hope the union of the Companies will be of use to us all. Sir G[ilbert] Heathcote showed me your letter to him, with some sort of warmth, as if you treated him wrong. I wish you would please to write to him a little smother. He and his family have a very large stock, and seem to bend their heads to the business, and one brother or other of them will always be of the managers. We have had a good deal of rumour of your coming home, but I hope you will find reason to stay and put our old bottom on a good foot of winding up. *Seal of arms.*

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT [in London].

1704-5, February 7. Fort St. George.—I was surprised to see in Sir Stephen's [Evance] letter by the *Martha* that the pieces sawed off [the great diamond] would yield no more than 1,500l.; although, from the model I have by me, judged by those that understand such matters to be worth as many thousands. Never consent to part with the main business under 1,500l. a carat, or very near that price.

The New Company being much indebted to their merchants at Metchlepatam, their president, Mr. Tillard, has taken up a great deal of money for the payment thereof, in which I am considerably concerned, in my own name and other people's. All is consigned to Sir Stephen Evance and you, in bills of exchange, and let none be known to be for my account but the ten thousand five hundred pagodas. If the Company are not in cash, you may take their bonds, but if they pay in ready money, you may lay it out in an advantageous purchase in Dorsetshire or Wiltshire, with the advice of Mr. Dobbyn, cousin Ettrick, and cousin Thomas Pitt in Chancery.

I should be glad to hear that you had more duty, and your mother more wit, than to let differences between you become so public as to be, as they are, the discourse of these remote parts.

I think you have been very unkind in not writing by all opportunities to Mr. Fleetwood in regard to his son, who is with you; but that you cannot as much as afford me. The *Horsham* and *Anna* left England in April, by neither of which I had as much a line from you, for which I thank you.

I have sent nothing to your wife but a letter, because I intend to follow speedily. Remember, both of you, that good management is as necessary to preserve an estate as to raise one. Stick close to your studies so as to make yourself master of common and civil law; and preserve what you know of mercantile and maritime affairs.

Here was a young man in the hospital, very ill and like to die, when he confessed he was son of Brigadier Ingoldsby, who had run away from school. Upon which I took care of him, and, when recovered, discharged him from duty, and lent him money as per enclosed bond, to fit him for a homeward-bound voyage, and put him on board [the *Chambers* frigate with] Captain South, who has promised that he shall eat at his table. If his father does not satisfy Captain South for his passage, pray do you. If he should prove an impostor, there is but so much lost; if otherwise, give my service to his father, and tell him I doubt not but his son has seen his errors, and will be dutiful for the future, having sowed his wild oats.

Sir Theodore Jansen had a nephew taken on the *Canterbury*, to whom I lent 30 pagodas, which at 12s. 6d. bottomry is 18l. 5s., for which I enclose his bill and letter to his uncle. If the latter grudges paying the bottomry, take the principal or what he will give you. It

was pure charity induced me to the loan of these and other frivolous sums. *Signed.*

The SAME to the SAME [in London].

1704-5, February 24. Fort St. George.—I think Sir Stephen [Evanse] and you mind my interest very little when you would not send me out one penny [in merchandise] by Captain Harrison or Mr. Petty. Such opportunities should not be let slip, even if you have to borrow two or three thousand pounds on my credit. I send quicksilver in the name of Messrs. Douglas and Sherley, and tea and dragon's blood in Captain Cradock's name, the produce from the sale of which will be paid to Sir Stephen and you.

Cousin Cradock informs me that Sir Joshua Child, before his death, was buying Mr. Chettle's estate [near Blandford]. If not sold, let it be bought for me. I would not let it slip for 500*l.* more than ordinary, or anything else that can be purchased in that parish. Never part with that concern of mine under 1,500*l.* a carat. *Signed.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1704-5, March 14. Fort St. George.—I have sent several articles of Chinese and Japanese manufacture by Captain Goodman with orders to sell them in his own name at a fair price, but not otherwise. I have also sent two chests of old Goa arrack and six jars of Mangoes to you, in order that you may, if you find it necessary, distribute them among my friends.

China voyages from these parts being no longer profitable, I am knocking off all trade. What pays best now-a-days is good husbandry, which I hope you will think of before it is too late.

See that your brothers and sisters keep close to their studies, and let not my money be spent in vain on them; "if it be, I'll pinch 'em hereafter."

The Japan jars are filled with fine rice. If your mother desires any of them, you may deliver them to her, that is, if they will not sell well. The remainder I will distribute among you when I come home. *Signed.*

THOMAS PITT to Mr. COPE [in London].

1705, [October 12.] Fort St. George.—Sir Stephen Evanse and my son advised me that you would write me an account of a concern of mine which has been under your direction and management for the cutting of it, but all the account I received was a slip of paper which very much surprises me.

My son, by your direction, wrote to me in January 1703, when you had the stone in your hands about eight months, and, as I suppose, begun to work it, that it would make a clean stone, a brilliant of 280 carats, and the pieces sawed off worth a great sum. Now you tell me it will be but 140 carats, and the pieces worth little that are sawed off. Certainly Mr. Cope's judgment cannot fairly vary so much, there being a window in the crown of the stone when [it] went hence, and the body very clear, when the skilful here could discover only two small flaws at one end. And then I cannot but make one remark more on the paper; after the nine pieces sawed off, the stone is still to lose 102½ carats in

working, before finished. This is hard, after it cost me a prodigious sum, and that I have run so many eminent hazards, for me to meet with such usage. I flattered myself I was in good hands when in Mr. Cope's, but I am sure now I have better reason to alter my opinion than Mr. Cope can have [to alter his] from 280 to 140. None can believe but that it was my interest to have preserved the magnitude of the stone, although there had been a flaw or two in it; and, as you told my son, 280 would make it the wonder of the world. I am sure it will be so, your paring it to 140. I will be speedily with you and discourse more fully about this matter. *Copy.*

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT [in London].

1705, October 12. Fort St. George. "The disappointment in that grand concerne has not a little disquieted mee, and you nor Sir Stephen [Evance], nor any one of you never as much as hinted what, in all probability, it would fetch, which, you know, could not but have been some satisfaction to mee; and surely you must have had some discourse about it, and their opinion of it, which it seems must be kept a secret from mee. I charge you that you never permit the selling of it under 1,500*l.* a carat, and that all my buisness bee managed with the greatest secresye and quiett immagenable, and without ostentation. But I thinke it is too late to forbid that, since you have sett up to live at the rate I heare you doe, which has not created mee a little envye, and makes mee often remember Osborne, that children are certaine trouble but uncertaine comforts."

R[EBECA LADY] GRANVILLE to THOMAS PITT, Governor of Fort St. George.

[1705,] December 5. [London.]—Concerning the proceeds of her "venture"; thanking him for favours to her cousin, William Warre; and introducing her cousin, Mr. English. *Seal of arms.*

ROBERT PITT to THOMAS PITT, Governor of Fort George.

1705 [-6], January 3. London.—Deprecating his father's displeasure, answering accusations of his mother and his sister Essex, exposing the origin of family disorders, and of an anonymous letter reflecting on himself.

Your bill on Sir Theodore Jansen for money advanced to his nephew is paid; but that Ingoldsby proved an impostor.

The bills drawn [by you and others] on the Company are protested for non-acceptance, and we cannot proceed against them at law until after the long vacation. If we are all hearty in the business we shall certainly cast them, but I fear that Lord Halifax, who is concerned in those bills, will not join with us; as well because he will be satisfied underhand, as that he will be tender of his own brat. You know he was a great promoter of the New Company, and in discourse we held lately, seemed unwilling to take rigorous measures against it for the recovery of money.

My election for Old Sarum was unanimous; and had not Mr. Mompeyson opposed your right of bailiwick I should have joined with him. Finding, however, that he intended taking that course at the instigation of Mr. Harvey [the retiring member] who is chosen for Appleby, I set up Lord Grandison against him. There was a double return; five,



including himself, voting for Mr. Mompesson, and five, including one Carter, for Lord Grandison; and although the former, through superior party influence, was voted duly elected, your bailiwick, by means of the contest, is now settled by the House of Commons. Carter voted for a garden which I bought for you from Mr. Phillips for 500*l.*; the land, being let for 15*l.* a year, counts for 300*l.*, the timber was valued at 100*l.*, and 100*l.* was paid for the vote, which was pretty dear: but the other side were ready to give the money if I refused it. The late Lord Keeper would have assisted me in gaining the precept, only that a recent Act of Parliament has transferred his power in that respect to the Sheriff.

My cousin Douglas intends going abroad again next year if the Company give him any encouragement; but gentlemen have no longer the same motives for serving them, since they have grown so strict as to hinder private adventures to India, and suffer none but their own [merchandise] to go aboard their ships. Trade in England is quite dead in consequence of the war, which we cannot long support.

Your grand concern is now almost finished. It is a most glorious sight, but the outer coat was so foul, and the flaws went so deep in it, that it will not come net above 140 carats, which still, being not to be paralleled, is as inestimable as if it were much more. The reason why the pieces [sawn off], although well-spread, yielded no more was that they were very full of flaws; Mr. Alvarez and Mr. Cope both think they have been sold for their full value. When finished the stone will be locked up pending your arrival or further order. *Copy.*

SIR GILBERT DOLBEN to THOMAS PITT, Governor of Fort  
St. George.

1705[-6], January 4. London.—You will have been informed by Sir Stephen Evance and your son that the Directors of the English Company refuse to accept the bills drawn on them by Mr. Tillard, although it has been sufficiently demonstrated to them that the money for which these bills were drawn, was applied in satisfaction of their debts and to support their credit. If not in a better mind when the bills become due, effectual measures will be taken to compel them to make payment, although they are mightily exalted since their union with the other Company. Although that union be advantageous to the Companies, and perhaps to the trade, it will, in my opinion, prove very prejudicial to their fellow subjects. For, besides their engrossing the market, they have gained such an addition of strength and interest by being united, that scarce any particular persons are able to cope with them. But we who have demands on them resolve to unite in encountering them.

I am glad to observe Mr. [Robert] Pitt's diligence and integrity in Parliament, wherein I doubt not but he will, in a little time, become considerable, since his parts and application cannot fail of rendering him knowing in the business of the House of Commons. He already attempts to speak where it is proper, and will succeed very well as soon as he shall have overcome the maiden modesty of a new member. I tell him he is one of the happiest men of my acquaintance, being eldest son of a good and rich father, and having an excellent wife. I must declare I do not know a more accomplished person than Mrs. Pitt. It is a great dispute among those who have the pleasure of conversing with her, whether her beauty, understanding, or good humour be the most captivating; and I am much pleased to hear her husband frequently express a just sense of her merit and his own happiness.

Although you are in an opulent post, I cannot but wish you a speedy and safe return, and that all your honey may be well hived in England.

LORD DELAWARR to THOMAS PITT, Governor of Fort St. George.

1705[–6], January 8. London.—Requesting him to give effect to a resolution of the Committee of the East India Company in favour of Mr. Vicessimus Griffith. *Signed. Seal of arms.*

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT.

1705–6, January 16. Fort St. George.—The account you gave me last year of my grand concern still sticks with me, and nothing but a good market, and better management for the future can ever make me forget it. Secresy, of which I fear there has been great want, though often and strenuously precautioned, may contribute to making the stone more valuable.

I hold to my resolution of leaving for England next September, and not knowing but that I may go to Holland from the Cape, would have you lodge letters for me there in good hands, with information as to whom I may trust anything of value. I can think of nothing to hinder my coming unless it be some extraordinary news from England, or great confusion caused by the death of the King of this country, in which case I could not, with honour, allow the government of this place or Fort St. David to fall into the hands of Fraser, and such as are here.

When this reaches you, your brothers will be 17 years old. If their genius leads them to be scholars, I would have them sent to Oxford, but placed in two distinct colleges; and if inclined to study law, you may enter them in the Temple. But if they are inclined to be merchants, let them learn all languages and obtain perfect knowledge of the sciences bearing on trade. I would have them get some insight into military affairs, not knowing what revolutions they may have to see, for I believe that trade will flourish rather than decay. If they go to the University, I am willing to allow them what is necessary, in which I would not have them prodigal or pitiful. If they do not keep good courses, I shall discard them for ever; and so tell them. Do you also follow the good advice I give you. Give good example to your family by your life and conversation; avoid lending money or being surety for others; be cautious what company you keep, and do not misspend your time. There are some now at the head of the Government who, contrary to their own expectations, have acquired high position by hard study and great diligence in business; and you can only hope to make a figure in the world by using the same means. If you are in Parliament, show yourself on all occasions a good Englishman, and a faithful servant to your country. If you aspire to fame in the House, you must make yourself master of its precedents and orders. Avoid faction, and never enter the House pre-possessed; but attend diligently to the debate, and vote according to your conscience and not for any sinister end whatever. I had rather see any child of mine want than have him get his bread by voting in the House of Commons.

*Postscript*, January 26. Since writing the foregoing I have met with some diamonds and consign them to you the bill of loading amounting to 2,370 pagodas. You will see that I have made windows in the large stone, fearing it was yellow. If the water be good make a

brilliant of it, which will be worth 2,500*l.* or 3,000*l.*; if it be yellow make two roses of it. Sell them all to the best advantage, and invest the money in some parliamentary fund. Do not let any money of mine lie idle or unemployed.

JOHN WYNDHAM to THOMAS PITT, Governor of Fort St. George.

1705[-6], January 27. London.—Your son, my opposite neighbour in Golden Square, lives very handsomely and in esteem with all good men, and also very happily with a good lady.

As for news of more general concern, our Parliament members have divided themselves into High and Low Church. The High Church are for observing the rubric and ceremonies. The Low Church men go to our church, but so far flatter the dissenters as at any time to have their assistance at elections, and consequently the best places in Court, Army, and Navy; and will not stand with them for a small matter rather than lose their so useful favours. The Church is also something party coloured, I wish I could also say without a rent on account of interest; but your Stratford landlords have sufficiently convinced you that though churchmen preach down money as the root of all evil to us laymen, yet they themselves have no aversion to it, and the expectation of the fat bishoprick of Winchester after old and infirm Doctor Mew, is a great softener of obstinate dispositions.

As for our temporal masters, they doubtless love the Government very well, for I am sure they make very much of it.

You know old England too well to think it can be without some grumblers, who would insinuate that we have dipped ourselves in original sin, and have been ever since making aprons of fig-leaves to cover our shame; but these men we leave to their proper censurers. *Endorsed* "from Colonel Windam."

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT, merchant in London.

1705-6, January 31. Fort St. George.—I have met with a stone of 18 mangleens, which cost me 2,100 pagodas. [It is of] the first water, without flaw or foul, so I hope you will sell it for at least 2,000*l.* If cutting will advance the price, let it be done with the advice of Mr. Alvarez, and remember that you trust no acquaintance at Court with a penny of mine, under any pretence whatever. This stone which comes by Mr. John Nicholas on the *Somers*, is the clearest that ever I saw in India. Pray see if you can manage this affair to my satisfaction, without noise or publishing it to the world. It is a noble stone, such as I have known sold for 4,000*l.* God send that it comes safe to your hands, and that you meet with a good market for it. *Duplicate.*

ROBERT PITT to THOMAS PITT.

1705-6, February 6. London.—Entering into further particulars of family discord, defending himself from the charge of extravagant living, and professing entire submission to his father's will. *Copy.*

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT.

1705-6, February 7. Fort St. George.—I enclose the invoice of what I sent to you by the *Somers*.

The stone of 18 mangleens is the most perfect as to water I have ever seen, which induced me to give so great a price for it. I hope you

will immediately sell it with the advice of Mr. Alvarez, without you have a prospect of advantage by keeping it, for I had rather sell and repent, than keep and repent. Most diamonds that go hence this year are sent upon Abendana's and Plymer's bills at 13s. 4d. the pagoda, though I hope mine will yield much more. Their cost you must conceal, and take care you are not betrayed in any respect after you receive them. I remember when I came out of England, Sir Geffory Geffryes presented me with a box of tobacco, and to this day I forgot to make him any returns, so send him some nutmegs, mangoes, and arrack with my service.

"I have by this shipping consigned all to you, that none may thinke I have a diffidence of you; and what I chiefly enjoyne you to is not to trust, and act with secrecy, and bee upon your guard in all your actions. If the arrack, mangoes, and nutmegs comes safe . . . remember your mother and sisters." *Invoice, with seal of arms, enclosed.*

CHARLES DU BOIS to THOMAS PITT.

1705-6, February 8. [London.]—You will see, by the Company's letter, their sense of your service to them, especially in the affair of the joint-stock merchants, whose debt you have so well secured. This has stopped the mouths of everybody on that head; and the new Company have now nothing but Tillard's bills of exchange to talk of. I have told their leaders my opinion of that matter, but I see they apprehend themselves ill-dealt with by too high an exchange taken on the bills. I hope you will think fit to remain in your Government some time longer. Since you have made so great a progress in settling matters, you ought to have the glory of finishing.

SIR ROBERT SUTTON [Ambassador at Constantinople] to THOMAS PITT, Governor of Fort St. George.

1705-6, March 18. Pera.—The oaths and promises of the Ministers of the Porte for the restitution of the ship *Diamond* and her cargo proving of no effect, Captain Cockroft was unwilling to lose any more time in soliciting for satisfaction, and is now departing for England on his return to the Indies. I am heartily sorry, after all the pains I have been at for three years, to have the mortification at last of not being able to procure the owners and freighters any justice; for all that remains to be done is to frighten Isuf Bey to a composition, the Vizir Azem acknowledging that the Grand Signor has not authority and power enough in Egypt to cause him to be brought hither to be punished; the said Isuf Bey being one of the richest and principal Beigs, and having besides put himself under the protection of the Janissaries by listing himself in their order, and having moreover spent great sums of money, both here and at Cairo, to purchase his safety.

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT.

1706, September 22. Fort St. George.—"This comes by the Danes' ship, who, not staying for convoy anywhere, may chance to get home a month or two before the *Loyall Cooke* . . . by whom I shall write as fully as the confused condition you have all put me in, will permitt. What hellish planet is it that influences you all, and causes such unaccountable distraction, that it has published your shame to the world; which has so affected me that I cannot resolve what to doe. I wish you nor none of your family be at the bottome of it. My letters from

several friends are full of your extravagancies, and in what vain-glorious manner you went down to the election at Old Sarum, and what charge you put me to in house-keeping whilst there. What is it that you mean by this? I find you have exhausted your own fortune and your wife's too; and are you now broaching mine? Have a care what you doe, for I assure you if I find a just cause, I will cutt off you and all your family from ever haveing to doe with any thing of mine; and I have very much adoe to forbear turning you out of being one of my attorneys by this ship, for, one of your principles and that takes such courses as you doe, is not to be trusted. I wish gameing bee not rife in your family, or otherwise you could never have spent soe considerable an estate in soe short a time. Whenever I am certain that any of my children game I will, by all that is good, disinherit them. Have all of you shook hands with shame, that you regard not any of the tyes of Christianity, humanity, consanguinity, duty, good morality, or anything that makes you differ from beasts, but must run from one end of the kingdome to the other, aspersing one another and aiming at the ruine and destruction of each other?—that you should dare to doe such an unnatural and approbious action as to turne your mother and sisters out of doors?—for which I observe your frivolous reasons, and was astonished to read them; and I no less resint what they did to your child at Stratford. But I see your hand is against every one of them, and every one against you, and your brother William to his last dying minute. How do you thinke this has chagrined mee, and what anxious as well as desperate thoughts has it brought into my mind, and damp't my desire of ever seeing you more, or any of you all, for I can promise myselfe noe comfort of you. I have by my letters on the *Loyall Cooke* put your brother and sisters under the care and disposall of cousin George Pitt and brother Curgenvin, for the disquiet and uneasyness of these unhappy and unparalleled distractions amongst you, have extremely discomposed mee and obstructed mee in my business, and has made mee to defer my coming till January on the *Tankerville*."

"I hope what I consigned you last year came safe to your hands, and that you disposed of it, with Mr. Alvarez's opinion, much to my advantage . . . and, if sold, that the money is put into some national fund; for remember it is a consignment and not to be embezzled . . . I see you are got into great acquaintance. I wish you may not repent of preserving a friendship with your father's old friends." *Duplicate. Signed.*

THOMAS PITT to SIR STEPHEN EVANCE, JOHN DOLBEN,  
and ROBERT PITT [in London].

1706, September 27. Fort St. George.—I perceive Mr. Cope's demands for cutting are extravagant. I could wish the magnitude [of the stone] had been preserved, though there had been some speck or flaw. Since it proves so excellent, I hope this will make amends for the loss in weight, and that it shall never be disposed of till I meet with its value; therefore lock it up and never expose it to view. I am sorry it is so much discoursed of as you mention, and do most earnestly desire you all to suppress gossip about it. I will not part with it for less than 1,500*l.* a carat, which I look upon not to be above one-third of the real value.

I still positively order that my wife and daughters live on the income of my land. I will make them live on a quarter of it when I come home, and wish I may find they deserve that. If my son Robin had followed my orders, which he has neither done in that nor anything else, those boys had been in Holland learning accounts as well as

languages and the mathematics, which would have fitted them for business, for my children must busk for their bread or starve. Two years were enough at an academy to varnish them over; therefore I think they were right to leave that place and to learn what would do them more good. I have now put my family under care of my kinsman Mr. George Pitt, and my brother[-in-law] Curgenven, and have empowered them to marry off my daughters, designing to give them 6,000*l.* apiece; which I desire you to pay them on my account, with what incident charges they may think necessary on such an occasion. I have given my son Thomas leave to choose his profession, and if he does not behave himself as he ought, tell him I shall make short work with him.

I notice your reason for not sending any venture on my account by Captain South to China, the ship being small; but you will see that the super-cargo has a great heart by the impudent saucy letter he wrote me from Batavia, without the least provocation.

I received the protests [of my bills on the Company], and enough of them to have roasted a Bartholomew Fair pig. I like your first resolutions as to compelling the Company to pay the bills, but afterwards I find you are become very pusillanimous, and incline to abatement. I had rather lose the whole sum than a day's interest. Mr. Tillard can neither say nor do anything to our prejudice. Messrs. Dolben and Afflick, on their arrival, will join heartily in the prosecution, thereby easing Sir Stephen, and will justify it to be false that the merchants were not to have their money until after the bills were paid; who had most of it down, and the remainder soon after, for their condition is such they could not stay for it, no more than the nation could for the two millions for which they have made the Company pay 8 *per centum per annum*. An honest country gentleman Parliament may chance to take a review of that too. For my part I wonder at the foolish questions they ask, as why was it not done for them?—when they had not a penny on the place, nor credit. I am not insensible of the kindness the new Company have for me, and shall not be backward in making them suitable returns when it lies in my power. They have written us some very odd sorts of letters, and we have given them such answers as they deserve.

I cannot imagine why my son Robin should live at such an expensive rate in town. If he has spent his own and his wife's fortune already, it is time for me to look about me to prevent his doing the same by mine; and, in order thereto, I shall hasten home.

Mr. Tillard's examination before the Committee does not prejudice the bills; and for the four you mention that make it their business, within and without doors, to oppose the payment of them, I doubt not they would rob upon the highway, if they had but courage.

I earnestly recommend to you the care of all my affairs, and I will use no less in what of yours come to my hands. Let no money lie still if you can help it; and take care that what you do put out be on good national funds, with the most advantage; but be cautious of deficiencies; or you may lend on good mortgages. Pray advise all my family to be very thrifty in their expenses, for I cannot, nor will I, bear so great a charge as they threaten me with. *Signed.*

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT [in London].

1706, September 30. Fort St. George.—“Not only your letters, but all I have from friends are stuffed with an account of the hellish confusion that is in my family, and by what I can collect from all my letters,

the vileness of your actions on all sides are not to be paralleled in history. Did ever mother, brother, and sisters study one another's ruine and destruction more than my unfortunate and cursed family have done? and I wish you have not had the greatest share in it, for I cannot believe you innocent. This has so distracted my thoughts, staggered my resolutions, broken my measures, that I know not what to resolve upon, nor in what part of the world to seeke for repose. What have I fateagued for after this manner, and lived soe many years in exile from my country and friends (I had enough to subsist on, and that very handsomely too,) but to make my children easy in their circumstances and mee happy in their company; and haveing, by God's blessing, acquired such a competency as I never expected or could hope for, soe as that I should have been able to establish a family as considerable as any of the name except our kinsman G[eorge] P[itt] [of Stratfield-saye], and now to have all blasted by an infamous wife and children. It is such a shock as man never mett with, and whether [I] shall overcome it or sink under it, God knows. Is this the way to invite mee home? When I am well assured you are all of you thoroughly reformed I may think of it; but as matters stood at the writing of your letters, I think your company hell itselfe. I cannot but think of your turning your mother and sisters out of doors, and your frivillous pittifull excuses for it; and I think their resentment just . . . and remember it will be a caution to somebody else when he arrives. You say your house has two rooms of a flour, and a closett, and, as I suppose, four or five storeys high. It was very hard you could not spare them one storey. I should have done it to your wife and children had they been twice as many. . . And must you disorder your familly for being a Parliament man? I did not, nor increase my charge; but I suppose you bring home company every night, as being soe considerable a man, and have affairs of weight to carry on. Remember this action will stick to you as long as you live, and I noe less resent and think ill of those who turned the poor child out of doors at Stratford. Then, it is said, in all companies you expose your brothers and sisters, who ought to conceale their faults and support their character! It is ill to do any such thing to either, more espetially your sisters, whose reputation ought to be as dear to you as your life; and I had rather you would cutt their throats and mine too, than that you should doe any *such* thing, or have as much as a thought to their prejudice. What makes you quarrel with them? Is it that you would have mee thinke that you are the Saint of the family? Noe, I know you too well and parted with you when you were at man's estate, but left them all poor innocent children . . . I have various thoughts of all your actions, and how barbarously and inhumane like you treat each other. Will dyed with complaints in his mouth against you. It is much that no one should be of your party; or it may be the designe is that I should discard them all, that soe I might be the better able to contribute to the supporting of your extravagancies.

"I have heard from others, the truth of which I cannot question, that that scoundrell rascally villain has been too intimate in my family, to the prejudice of my honour and their reputation, for I make noe distinction between women that are reputed ill, and such as are actually soe; wherefore I have discarded and renounced your mother for ever, and will never see her more, if I can avoid it."

"Then for your circumstances in the world, I am surprized at [them] next to the unaccountable and unheard of distractions amongst you.

You say you were not worth above 8,000*l.*, your wife's fortune and all . . . Suppose you had but 8,000*l.*, is it all gone in little more than three years? . . . But when I hear in what a manner you went down to Old Sarum against the election, sent down a man cook sometime before, coach and six, five or six in liveries, open house for three or four months, and put me to about 500*l.* charge. Where was the need of this? It never cost me above 10*l.*, which was for a dinner the day of election. Your mother's and your extravagancies has begot mee noe few enemies at the East India House; and had I not taken care to have engaged them by my good services, I could not have held the employ half soe long . . . I wish gameing drinking and other debaucheries has not been the bane of you, for all your actions seem to be the produce of a hot head and a giddy braine. You tell me you have but soe many dishes of meat and soe many servants? I had a house in London which stood me in 120*l.* per annum, kept coach and horses, servants and all answerable, always three or four good dishes of meat at my table, as good wine as the world afforded, and plenty, and made my friends and relations very wellcome, and had always twelve or fourteen in familly, my pocket expenses and all manner of others included, it never exceeded a thousand pounds per annum. But you are got to the expensive end of town, where money melts like butter against the sun, and your acquaintance chargeable; whereas if you kept company with my old friends, and adhered to their advice, you would have avoided many of those inconveniencies that now you are groaning under; but they were all scorned and despised as not fit company for you, who fancy yourself wiser than your teachers and your father too."

"Take care to plant the peice of new ground [garden purchased at Old Sarum] with as many trees as it will well take, and the improvement of which may in time pay for the Vote, and doe the same on my other estates. . You say my great concerne is the wonder of the world—soe is the confusion in my familly. As for the former, I adhere to the price formerly ordered, and let it be locked up, and be you sure to keep one of the keys, and soe that neither will open it alone, and that it be never shown till I come home. . You have all put me to a vast trouble in reading and answering your long letters stuffed with nothing but confusion, and of such a nature as have very much disordered me to the great prejudice of my affairs; therefore I conjure you all to reforme or never let me hear more from you; soe conclude this letter that for ever cursed be the children of mine that love not one another, and give their utmost assistance to each other on all occasions." *Signed.*

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT, in London.

1706, October 1. Fort St. George.—You do not write one word of any of the Company as to their being well-affected or otherwise to me, nor have any of them said one word about you, so that I believe you are wholly strangers to one another. My interest lies at the East India Houses, which you should have always attended to, and been very vigilant that nothing passed to my prejudice. But I perceive you have not minded anything of it, for which and other of your actions, I think that no son in the world deserves more to be discarded by a father. You have not answered me fully in as much as one letter since you went hence.



You mention not one word of Lord Coningsby giving you 120 bottles of cider for me. There is as great confusion in my accounts as in my family. Pray discharge that adventure of Lady Granville's and let me hear no more of it. If your brother Thomas goes into the fleet or army, let him not want wherewithal to equip himself as my son; and I hope, by your hearty solicitation of my old friends and your new ones, he will not want a suitable recommendation. *Copy.*

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT, in London.

1706, October 8. Fort St. George.—Referring to various matters of business; reproaching him with neglect of old friends in Madras, and want of kindness to his sisters in England.

ROBERT PITT to THOMAS PITT, Governor of Fort St. George.

1706-7, January 10. London.—I find you lay very much to heart the disappointment in the weight of your grand concern, Mr. Cope, when he first began to cut it, told me it would come out near 280 carats; when more pieces were taken off, finding it fouler than he had expected, he told me 180 carats; after which the sawing off of two more pieces reduced it to its present weight. The stone was entirely perfect in the middle, and of the best water in the world, but the flaws in the outside went so deep that it was necessary to saw off all those pieces, one of the last of which was so rotten that it crumbled into dirt. We never visited Mr. Cope but all together; and it was the opinion of Mr. Alvarez and all that it was better to make it a pure stone of a less weight, than to keep it greater and have it foul; for the reason that its being at once the largest stone in the world, and without flaw, makes it more valuable. I cannot imagine that you were in any ways cheated, for there was never a piece sawed off that I did not myself put on the place whence it was taken, and see if it exactly fitted. Mr. Alvarez was the chief manager in the sale of the pieces, and he protested that he would not have given so much for them, and that, had they been his own, he would have sold them for the same money. It has been finished ever since March last, and locked up in an iron chest which stands in Sir Stephen's back shop; he keeps the key of the padlock, and I keep two large keys which unlock the chest. I fear frequent advices have been given of it from Fort St. George; but am sure that by me it was never divulged. I have been asked about it by a hundred people, and all the answer I ever made was that I wished it were true, or that they could make their words good. The spread of it is not at all diminished; it is a perfect star to look at, and has no other significant defect than that of a chapman to buy it.

Since my brother William's death of small-pox last February, my mother, brothers, and sisters have lived chiefly at Bath. I have left town, and, for the benefit of my family, have taken a house and gardens with 50 acres of land about it, for 60*l.* a year, near Enfield, at a place called Forty Hill, twelve miles from London. *Copy.*

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT [in London].

1706-7, February 6. Fort St. George.—I send you the invoice and bill of lading for a bulse of diamonds on the *Tankerville*. They are very good, and every one will make a brilliant, and they are not dear considering the times, the like of which has not been known for many

years, which we impute in a great measure to the villainy of Pluymer who informed the merchants here how they sold in England.

Mr. Finch, a nephew of Lord Nottingham, went hence on the *Loyal Cooke*, whom I recommended to be one of their Council here, and was very kind to him on all occasions; but, on reprimanding him for being guilty of a very impudent action, he laid down the service, and went away disgusted. What he did was no less than sending for the cook to the general table, and there beating him till he bled like a pig. He is a "melancholly man," unfit for business, and loves to keep mean company.

I would have you send to cousin Craddock at Blandford 20*l.* to be given to cousins Thorne and Obourne, for I believe they are in great want; therefore hasten it to them. Be sure to be at the opening of all pulses of diamonds consigned to you, for I have been told "that some has the knack of changing stones, which is one of the worst of villainies."

I have answered Lady Granville's letter by her kinsman Mr. English, a mate in the *Tankerville*, and sent her a jar of mangoes and ginger. I send you four casks of arrack and six jars of mangoes to be distributed among old friends, such as cousin George Pitt, Sir Cloudesley Shovell in the Channel, Lords Peterborough, Pembroke, and Scarborough, for the last of whom I have a handsome present by me.

We have no less than three pirates here capturing our ships; these seas will swarm with the rogues when we have a peace, which I hope is not far off. "And if wee settle Charles III. on the throne of Spaine, I know nothing that is portable he can [so] make his acknowledgements to our Queen in, as that concerne of mine. The like is not to be seen in this world, and whatever prince buys it, it will be afterwards reckoned inestimable. The price I have set upon it is very moderate, and [I] will not recede from it; and when wee have a peace, it is not unlikely but the French King may buy it out of his wonted vaine-glory, that the world may see that, after so expensive a warr, he is able to buy such a jewell from all the princes in Europe."

Send no more wine than what the Company will permit to come out freight free; and none of your mixed stuff; but all that is red let it be true claret or Florence, for I would not be destitute of a little liquor if detained here.

I could not but observe how hasty Sir Stephen [Evance] was to abate on the bills [drawn at Madras on the Company], which looked as if he desired ready money. On my arrival here I found that some persons had thrown aspersions on him, as to his circumstances, which I wiped off; and this last shipping some have done the same, which I take to be malicious, or else you live very ignorant of matters, or come seldom to that end of town to inform yourself. I cannot forget Adams the scrivener, whose failing was as great a surprise as has been known; and what has been may be. Therefore I would have you consider with Mr. Dolben for the securest place to lodge that great concern, each of you keeping a key different from the other. And let my spare cash be put out on mortgage or funds.

Enclosed is a letter for your wife, and by Captain Haselwood I have sent my god-daughter a small ring. I cannot enough lament the ill state of my family, and wish there had not been such ignominious actions done by any of you as never can be obliterated; and will not only pull down the vengeance of God Almighty, but the daily curses of an abused and injured father. Without loving your brothers and sisters you will never prosper. I wish those sore eyes of yours did not come by drink,

ing, and that generally ushers in gaming, of either of which vices or any other dishonourable action if I find you guilty, you may be assured I will give you no quarter.

"I have been often thinking what box you have gott into in the House of Commons. I am affraid you are one of those children that are awakened with the rattle that is commonly nameing the Church of England, for which noe man have a greater veneration than myselfe; but I know it is often named within those walls to bring over a party, the consequence of which has been generally dangerous to the State. And it is the custom of old stagers to make use of such forward fellows as yourselfe, (as the fox did the catt's foot) to trye the temper of the House. It is my advice that you speake seldome, and then to the purpose; and make it your busyness to be well versed in the orders of the House; and doe nothing that is dishonourable on any account. I cannot immagiue what has made you an anti-courtier, when wee are sure wee have a Queen that is in no other interest than that of England. . I conclude this with recommending to your perusall a book entitled *Miscellanies* by the late Lord Marquis of Hallifax. The first part your wife and sisters would doe well to read and practice; and out of the severall other heads it treats of, you may furnish yourselfe with such honourable notions of the affairs of your countree that may render you serviceable thereto, and how to avoyd the reflections on those that are otherwise."

Whatever profession your brother Thomas may adopt, see that his allowance be not so narrow as to put him on dishonourable actions. Take his receipt for what you pay him, and I will call him to an account. You may assure him that if he be not a good husband I shall cast him off, when it will be harder to live on nothing than the handsome allowance I shall give him if he be thrifty. *Copy. Invoice of diamonds and bill of loading enclosed.*

ROBERT RAWORTH to THOMAS PITT, Governor of Fort St. George.

1706-7, February 7. London.—The different interests of the Old and New Companies still cause a world of difficulties, and nothing is done as it ought to be. Negotiations for speedy and entire union have ended in open rupture, and a reference of the matters in dispute to the arbitration of the Lord Treasurer [Godolphin].

You talk very freely of coming home next season, but Sir Thomas Cook and others here do not expect you. I must say, as I said in my letters of last year, that if you have got 200,000*l.*, or half of it, you ought to be content and come home to enjoy it. There was, however, another reason for your return then, namely, the discord that ran high in your family, which I hear nothing of now. After writing to you last year I composed a new difference that arose, and shall always be ready to do any friendly office, or give them my best advice; but interfering between man and wife, or mother and children, is just like going between the bark and the tree, and therefore do not wonder that I am very tender in what I write. Your son has taken a large house at Enfield within four miles of mine; he has a great deal of wit, but wants solid wisdom. I have not seen him all this winter, for, I hear, he is much out of town, and does not give due attendance to the House of Commons, because all things run counter to his opinion and party.

Your kinsman, Captain Pitt, is *aide-de-camp* to the Duke of Marlborough, and a very rising man of the highest desert. The victory of Ramilies resulted in the conquest of almost the whole Spanish Nether-

lands without further opposition from the French. The Duke of Savoy had been reduced to the last extremity when Turin was saved by a great victory of Prince Eugene over the besieging army under Marshal Marsin. These overthrows reduced the French King to sue for peace, but the Allies do not consider that his power is yet brought sufficiently low. The German army that conquered in Italy could not have taken the field had it not been for a voluntary loan of 250,000*l.* raised here in the City, in which I had 1,000*l.* We have great numbers of French prisoners in England, and Westminster Hall being already full of captured colours and standards, near 100 have been put up in Guildhall. Since the battle of Malaga, the French have not fitted out a fleet to fight ours, but maul our trade by privateers.

You would do well to think of marrying your eldest daughter, for, being fit for it, the sooner the better; and, if you assign her fortune, something may be done, and she be well placed. I find that if daughters are not disposed of while their parents live, they are liable to many misfortunes afterwards. Men of estates are scarce, and women plenty, so that they do not easily go off without a great deal of money, though they be never so virtuous and pretty.

Parliament has voted 6,000,000*l.* for carrying on the war. 2,500,000*l.* have been raised by the land and malt taxes, and it is proposed to obtain the balance by borrowing on Exchequer notes and from the Bank, at 5 per cent. The Tories or High Church men oppose this, for the Whigs are now the courtiers; but the money must be got, as none dare oppose the war.

The Duke of Marlborough is building a very great palace at Woodstock, which the Queen made him a grant of; and 5,000*l.* a year out of the Post Office is settled by Act of Parliament on him and his posterity for ever, in order that he and they may be able to maintain the grandeur of it. Great is the man, and great have been his actions, but all these favours create enemies. The Duchess, however, and the Lord Treasurer being linked together, and favourites of the Queen, nothing stands in their way, though it be never so much regretted. If he reduce the grand tyrant, I shall regret nothing that is given to him.  
*Two seals of arms.*

THOMAS PITT to SIR STEPHEN EVANCE, JOHN DOLBEN, and  
ROBERT PITT [in London].

1706-7, February 13. Fort St. George.—Expatiating on the extraordinary quality of some bulses of diamonds he has consigned to them, especially of one stone, weighing 61 mangelleens, which he values at 10,000*l.*; and offering various suggestions in regard to the safe custody and sale of his “grande concerne.” *Duplicate.*

E. HARRISON to THOMAS PITT, Governor of Fort St. George.

1707, July 25. Batavia.—France is now in such a fair way to be humbled, that I believe, in one year more, you may venture home without a convoy. The king of France's offer to resign all Spain having been refused, it seems to be his policy to drive King Charles from the Peninsula, remaining on the defensive in other quarters. We have a good army of 25,000 men, 10,000 of whom are English and Dutch, in Catalonia, under Lords Galloway (Galway) and Rivers; and when I sailed from Lisbon, Sir Cloudesley Shovell with the English fleet was carrying supplies to enable them to march on Madrid, or fight a battle if opposed by the way. The allied powers have to fear

one danger which may completely alter the face of affairs. The King of Sweden [Charles XII.] having ravaged Saxony with a powerful army, raised enormous contributions, and compelled Augustus [the Strong] to resign the crown of Poland to Stanislaus, took up his winter quarters in Germany. It is to be feared that France may set him up as a mediator, and eventually join him as an ally against the Emperor. The French likewise hope to induce the Turks to support the Hungarian insurgents. If they fail in those two projects, we shall have peace next winter. It is a great blessing to England that the glorious Marlborough is so adverse to popularity; for, thereby, England is absolutely quiet, while the rest of Europe is uneasy. The Scotch union, often started in the last reign, and attempted for so many years, has just been begun and finished in a few months. The advantage of it to us is doubtful; but I like it the better because France did her utmost to prevent it, and even Holland could not hide her jealous fears.

As to the affairs of our United Masters; both Companies finding by daily experience that divisions arising from conflicting interests not only retard their business, but depress their stock, resolved, although three years of the time allowed by Parliament for the purpose have yet to run, upon immediate and complete amalgamation; and a vote to that effect was passed by the Court of Managers. The old Company first demanded, among other articles, "that they may withdraw the 60 per cent. by them advanced to trade, for payment of their debts and clearing their accounts." The new Company refused compliance with this article on three grounds; 1st, unwillingness to part with security against claims on the old Company at home and abroad; 2nd, that part of the 60 per cent. was dead stock, such as forts and castles, which could not be divided; 3rd, the danger and dishonour of trading on borrowed capital. Sharp and ill-natured words followed on both sides, till the time for shipping merchandise arrived. Then the old Company called a General Court, and laid before it the following state of their affairs :—

## STOCK.

<i>Dr.</i>		<i>Cr.</i>	
	£		£
Bonds at interest - -	882,794	Paid into united trade -	567,000
Customs, freight, &c. -	45,000	Cash in the House -	6,308
Private trading accounts -	10,300	Goods sold this sale -	175,000
4 per cent. dividend for half year - -	7,890	Advances of stock pawned to Shepherd -	56,900
	945,984	Parts ships - -	7,000
		Due from Government on 315,000 <i>l.</i> at 8 per cent. - -	12,600
		Balance over - -	121,176
			945,984

This account gave great satisfaction; and, to be revenged on the New Company, it was resolved by this Court; that no more money should be taken up on the united seal for any purpose whatsoever; that money arising from sales, and cash now in hand, be applied to paying off the United Company's bonds; that this Company shall pay in their moiety of what may be thought necessary for carrying on the

trade. These resolutions distressed the New Company by obliging them to pay in money against their will; by stopping their seal while the old seal is at liberty; by stopping their annual dividend, just due at that time, and for which no small clamour was made.

Then the New Company called a General Court and, with many invectives, passed a series of contrary resolutions; concluding by empowering their managers to renew negotiations for union when the old Company should have rescinded their hostile votes. These matters had like to have ruined all our voyages for this year, it being impossible to raise money for them. At last the Committee for procuring silver drew, on their own credit in Holland, for as much as would despatch two ships, one of them mine, to the bay of Bengal. As soon as I got my silver aboard, I sailed away, leaving the Companies as far from union as ever, and in such animosity that my Lord Treasurer told a Committee that went to him on some other affairs, that it was for Her Majessty's and the public good they should unite, and offered to mediate between them. This proposal being accepted, managers have been chosen on both sides to attend his Lordship whenever the rising of Parliament allows him leisure to meet them. Our good friend Sir Thomas [Cooke] reigns as much as ever, and holds more stock than ever [in the Old Company]. The agitators with him are Mr. Moore and Mr. Craggs; the last-named being, on account of his intimacy with the Duke of Marlborough, as well as his own merits, in high favour in the City. Sir Gilbert [Heathcote] is Sovereign of the New Company, and holds great sway in the City; he is supported by Messrs. John Ward, Eyles, Dodington, and Shepherd. The snake in the grass is jealousy of power. It is uncertain in which interest authority will centre; and the New Company, being apprehensive of defeat at the first election, are anxious to tie down their antagonists to as humble terms as possible.

"I can say little to your grand affair . . . only that, in my opinion, your presence will be very necessary to the disposal of it. Sir Stephen [Evan] muddles on the old rate, some get, some loose; but goes to bed mellow most an end. Mr. Yale settis in his choultry hid in tobacco smোক, with a greasy night-gown, and a ——— in a chair by him, a scurvy painter or two drawing him in for some choice pieces, in which he is become a very great virtuoso or a bubble. Sometimes you find him sett between two diamond cutters, sometimes a broker or two about matching his daughters; and often with the ingenious Sir Charles Cotterell [Master] of the Ceremonies. He has made shift to give his eldest daughter 20,000*l.*, but heartily repents it."

Sir Gilbert is your mortal enemy, and will omit no opportunity to affront you. His party is considerable, but unless they rout the Old Company entirely, your friends in the New Company are too numerous to permit you to be ill-used. I hope my ship will have the honour of carrying you home. *Endorsed*, "from Captain Harrison."

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT [in London].

1707, September 15. Fort St. George. The ill-management of my public and domestic affairs, to which you have sufficiently contributed, has given me not a little discontent and uneasiness. Mr. Cope denies his ever telling you that my great concern would make a clean stone of 280 carats, and I am fully satisfied with his account of it. I observe you have removed from the city to the country, and wish it may be to your advantage, which I doubt; for I never knew but the retiredest life

from expenses was in the city with good management. Your family increases, so I should be glad to hear that you exercise your endeavours to subsist them, for I believe what you will have or deserve from me will come short of your expectations. I am advised that you have paid 1,200*l.* for an appointment of Captain of Horse for your brother Thomas, and that he is to have 300*l.* more for equipment; and, then, the extravagant funeral of your brother William? Thus do you all squander my estate. I wonder with what assurance you and Sir Stephen charged me with 160*l.* for the interest of a bill you both drew on me without power or order, for which I have instructed Mr. Dolben to sue you both. By your action, both in drawing and charging, you have not only published your integrity to the world, but your capacity likewise.

I trouble you with no news of these parts, because you write none; not as much as to be civil to those who intrusted you with their concerns. Then for me, you write me not one word of public news, how matters stand at the East India House, nor of relations and friends, whether dead or alive. You will hear without much trouble of prodigious losses in these parts, of which I have had the greatest share. There is, however, one surprising piece of news I must tell you, which is, I hear that among the many ill things you are guilty of, you ill-treat your wife.

The good success of our arms, with which I hear you are not very well pleased, will, I hope, produce a speedy peace. This would be my sole inducement to return to my native country; when I hear you do well I shall be glad to see you, otherwise not. So God give you grace to repent and amend. Your attendance upon the public business is not, I hear, so strict but that you might find time to warn your sisters to write their letters to me before the sailing of the ships. Not a line from you via Denmark, "for which I thanke you." *Copy. Unsigned.*

THOMAS PITT to SIR STEPHEN EVANCE, JOHN DOLBEN, and ROBERT PITT, in London.

1707, September 16. Fort St. George.—Your letter of January 20, 1706[–7], satisfies me entirely as to my grand concern, and your disposing of the pieces cut off from it. As for your compounding for the bills of exchange on the New Company, I think the arguments of the Company for not complying with them were as foolish as knavish. I hope, on Mr. Dolben's arrival, he will find a method to oblige them to satisfaction, and heartily join therein so far as I am concerned.

I wrote last year to my cousin George Pitt, and brother[–in-law] Curgenven, to dispose of my daughters in marriage if suitable matches presented, and desired you to pay their fortunes of 6,000*l.* each, with incidental expenses; and, if my daughters and those that marry them deserve it, I shall be ready to make what addition [to their fortunes] my estate will permit.

My wife writes she is willing to retire, and myself am as willing she should; so I empower you to pay her 100*l.* a year, with which if she be not contented, you may allow her 200*l.*, but no more; and if my daughters be not married, you may allow them 100*l.* a year each for maintenance, till they alter their condition.

I desire that his brother Robert shall place my youngest son John at the best school in England for his education.

Friends inform me that my son Robin has bought his brother Thomas the employ of a Captain of Horse in Ireland (which I wish had been in England), that he gave 1,200*l.* for it, being much more than it

is worth, and that the equipment cost 300*l.* more. I should have thought it would have been worth both my sons' while to have written to me fully in regard to the annual advantages and other particulars of the appointment. Doubtless it must be sufficient to support my son Thomas, therefore I positively order that you pay him not a penny more of my money, nor shall he ever have any more without he well deserves it. I am surprised at the extravagant funeral of my son William, for I should have thought that half the sum charged would have buried all my family.

"As to my *grande affaire*, I am firme as to the price I formerly fixed, unless it bee to a trifle in such a sum; and as I hear that our nation is gratefully inclined, soe as to present Her Royall Majestye with the title of Empress, I am sure nothing can be soe great an ornament to soe glorious a title as the unparelled jewel of the world; soe hope you will manage it soe as to have it bought by the Crown, with whose conveniency if it stands not to pay ready money, I shall readily agree to take a Parliamentary security upon a certain fund, with an usuall interest till the money be paid; but if it be bought by any foreign prince, I then desire you to insist on ready money, or unquestionable security."

*Postscript.*—Should you be successful in disposing of my grand affair, receiving part or the whole of the payment in ready money, I empower you to lay it out in purchases of land in Wiltshires, Dorsetshire, or Hampshire; but, if you buy anything, pray have a care of the title. *Copy. Signed.*

#### THOMAS PITT TO ROBERT PITT.

1707, December 16. Fort St. George.—"By the paper inclosed you will see the inexpressible trouble I have had by a difference raised between the two casts, and Fraser drawn in by Timmapa to be concerned in it; for which wee turned him out of the service, and confined him, and were mercifull in not hanging of him."

"By ways of Persia wee hear that Sir John Jennings has taken the Spanish West India fleet; if soe, I hope there will be money found to purchase my grand concerne, which I will not part with under 200,000*l.*; and if all or part be payed in ready money, I have hinted to Mr. Dolben the buying of an estate that I hear is to be sold of Lord Arundell's in Wilts; and as soon as that matter is disposed of, I will make a good settlement on you, if you deserve it. . . I formerly ordered you to give ten pounds apiece to cousins Osborne and Thorne at Blandford, but you never wrote to me that you had complied therewith. I now order that you pay them that sum yearly. Remember not to fail in this, for they are in want, and they are mine and your relations."

"Send me out two chests of Canary the very best, as many of Nottingham ale drawn off very fine, and ten chests of the best French claret. . . On the *Duchess* I shall send two sons of Mr. Haynes, one of which is my godson. They have a thousand pounds in my hands, and their father being my old acquaintance, I have taken care of them, resolving to give them good education and preserve their fortune whole, to put them into the world. Therefore, as soon as they arrive with you, send them to Salisbury to some good friend where they may be taken care of, and kept strictly to schoole, and an exact account kept of their expence." *Signed.*



JOHN WYNDHAM to THOMAS PITT, Governor of Fort St. George.

1707, December 18. London.—“I assure you that the character I gave of your son is short of his deserts; and, as for good husbandry, though, to be free with you, at his first coming over, he set up an equipage of some expence, yet not of more than what his owne and a prospect of addition of fortune from soe good and able a father may well justifie; but that is all over, and now he does and for some time hath lived in as much retiredness as yourself would wish, and left this town; and my brother Wadham, who is a good judge, takes often occasion to applaud his management both in oeconomy and business of trade.”

“As for Church affairs, the very mentioning the thing turns my head. Trelawny hath the fatt bishoprick of Winchester, and is since returned to his old principles. A sett of men who frequent the Established Church, but favour and countenance the Dissenters to gaine their votes at elections, have procured themselves to be (joined with the Dissenters and Courtiers and the Union Members from Scotland) by much the majority of the House of Commons, and merrily sailed with the tide, having already grasped in their fancies most of the best places of profit and trust; but being sharp sett, and there not being sufficient to satisfy these hungry cormorants, they have been roundly told that the building was finished, and they, like scaffolds, are not now necessary; which very much chagrins them, who, with Bishop Burnet in the head of them, have not been ashamed to justify flat hypocrisy under the little better name of occasional conformity; but now they are kicked out of their fool’s paradise without a fig leaf to cover their shame.”

“Our Court yet talks of nothing less than forcing the Spaniards to accept King Charles, of which I have as little hopes as of gaining the Holy Land from the Turks . . . . Wee have an unaccountable sort of people come newly amongst us under the name of Camisar-prophetts. They pretend not onely to prophesy, but to the miracle of healing the sick and straightning the crooked; but I hear not of any great feats they have done. The greatest miracle to me is how they could [make] proselytes of lawyers and phisitians and men of good quality, estates, and, to appearance, noe mean parts. But the leaders of them being lately showed on the pillory, hath something discouraged their further conversions.” *Seal of arms. Endorsed* “from Colonel Wyndham.”

ROBERT PITT to his father THOMAS PITT, Governor of Fort St. George.

1707[–8], January 3. London.—Deprecating his father’s censures as being mainly founded on misrepresentations, complaining of insults offered to his wife, and promising to do his utmost to promote affectionate relations in the family.

My cousin, George Pitt, to whom you have delegated paternal authority, and I, have arranged that my sisters are to live for the future with me, and that my brother John is to be sent to school at Eton or Westminster.

The diamonds you consigned to Sir Stephen Evance, Mr. Dolben, and myself have arrived safe, but we have not been able to obtain such favourable prices for them as you expected, partly on account of the great scarcity of money caused by war, and partly because their intrinsic value has been estimated too highly in the invoices.

Mr. Dolben, by means of Lord Halifax and the Lord Treasurer, worked himself into the management of the union between the Old and

New Companies in the interest of the latter and to the great dissatisfaction of the former. His main object, I believe, is to supplant you in your post, but while the Old Company stick so close to you, your position is safe.

You may depend on it that the New Company will do you all the hurt they can, and Mr. Dolben, notwithstanding his professed friendship, has left no stone unturned to undermine and remove you. I hope he will not prejudice you in your grand affair, whenever it serves his turn. I keep up friendly correspondence with him in order to guard your interest; Sir Thomas Cooke and Mr. Coulson are your old and sincere friends.

As for Mr. Chettle's estate [at Blandford], they want 12,000*l.* for it, which is 4,000*l.* beyond the value. The most desirable property now for sale, perhaps in all England, is Clarendon Park and the manor of Christchurch. The income from both is about 1,750*l.*, and they may be purchased for 34,000*l.* The property is mortgaged to the estimated value for three years to Lady Bathurst, and will be sold unless redeemed by Lord Clarendon, and whoever gives him 1,000*l.* more may have it. The proprietor controls the elections for the borough of Christchurch.

I have repaired your house at Stratford, and put the gardens in good order in expectation of your arrival. As regards Old Sarum, Mr. Mompesson has been non-suited in three actions arising out of the last election, at a cost to him of near 300*l.* . . . He will retire at the next election, and if Mr. Harvey does not oppose your right of bailiwick, I will accept him as a colleague.

Uncle Curgenvén having fallen blind, is incapable of discharging the trust you reposed in him in conjunction with cousin George Pitt, who has shown himself friendly and zealous for the good of your family above expectation. Our concord will be a comfort to you when you return, and then I shall hope to be no longer the abandoned child of your family, the only one who has no provision of bread made for him, his unfortunate wife, and three little children, although in the most need of all. I have been maligned to you as extravagant, without any grounds. My wife's fortune is untouched, and of my own, I have spent 4,000*l.* in nearly five years of married life. If my marriage disoblged you at first, I am sure I have been sufficiently punished for it by daily anxieties of mind which almost drive me to despair. *Copy.*

THOMAS PITT to his son, ROBERT PITT [in London].

1707-8, January 21. Fort St. George.—Mr. Landon, the bearer, will deliver to you a diamond ring which I send as a present to Lord Scarborough, who has been very generous in sending me the best liquors I have had from England. I wrote to you formerly in regard to the purchase of Mr. Chettle's estate near Blandford. If there are others for sale in the same neighbourhood, I would have my attorneys buy them, to add to Mr. Chettle's and what I already possess.

"My intent is chiefly on my grand concern, and as I hear it is intended by Parliament to make our Queen an Empress, a nobler present cannot accompany soe glorious a title, or if wee carry our day in Spaine, which God grant, King Charles cannot meet with the like to perpetuate his gratitude to the Queen, for that there is not the fellow of it in the world. God send me a good chapman for it, which will put me in a condition to provide for you all, which I wish you may deserve. I cannot forbear repeating my earnest request that you live a virtuous, sober, and regular sort of life, and give good example in your family;

and as I am against all profuseness, soe I am desirous that you live handsome and reputable, which cannot be after your scrambling way ; and if you have any to spare, give some good advice to your brother Thomas, that he lives not a vicious lewd sort of life, and be sure to caution him against marrying, as alsoe spending beyond the income of his employ ; yet not foreseeing what accident may happen to streighten him, I would have you help him with one hundred pounds or soe, and take a receipt as lent by you, for I would not have him soe necessitated as to put him upon doing ill things, or appear shabbily, which will be neither to your credit nor mine ; and I strictly conjure you live lovingly with your brothers and sisters, and none of these heathenish and hellish doings as formerly.

"The 9th inst. Mr. Empson dyed, and noe wiser than he lived ; noe will nor any manner of accounts. He was a wretch, and yet cannot say but he has left many of his fellows behind him . . . . All the custome he ever paid the Company never defrayed the charge of bringing the water he drank.

"I would desire you to have some regard to your uncle and aunt Willis. She is the only sister I have alive, and if they have a daughter I should take it kindly if your wife would take her into her house and give her a reputable education, which charge I will willingly allow you, and help his sons what you can, and remember that wee are not borne only for ourselves, nor has God Almighty bestowed this plentiful fortune on me to give it only amongst my own children, but alsoe necessitous relations and friends, which I will not fail to doe for His glory and my own comfort and happiness . . . . If ever you intend to be great, you must be first good, and that will bring with it a lasting greatness, and without it, it will be but a bubble blown away with the least blast . . . . I assure you nothing soe chagrins me as when I have a doubt upon me of the welfare of my children." I send two pieces of cloth of gold and silver as a present to your wife, and the like to your sisters Essex and Lucy, also casks of arrack and mangoes to be distributed among friends. Get them cleared and deliver them. *Signed.*

#### THE PITT FAMILY.

1707-8, February 10. [London.] Joint letter of the children of Governor Thomas Pitt to their father, expressing sorrow for their unnatural discords, and a resolution to live in harmony for the future. *Copy unsigned.*

JANE PITT to her son, ROBERT PITT, at Forty-Hill, Enfield.

1708, August 1. Stratford-near-Sarum.—"I was over-joyed that your father was at last pleased to do a little for you as well as for your brothers and sisters, and dont in the leas question but that he will increas yearly in his genourosaty to you all. Tho' your sisters alowances are too small, yet I hope nither that nor the smallness of thare fortunes at presant, will ever make them think of marrying below what has bin, and is yet, offered to me for them ; it being in my power to ad considerably to both when I pleas, as I can shew under your father's own hand to me, tho' in a very surly od sort of a way ; but I can overlook that since I gain my main point. I thank you for your kind offer as much as if I could accept it ; but having had a house of my own above this 20 year, resolve to git a good one now to my mind, so desire you will let me have the refusall of yours if not already promised. If it be, then I designe to have either Lady Betty Suthwall's in the Pell-Mell, or

Sir Thomas Scipworth's at Twitnam, or brother Douglasses at Ham, all which places I like, and hear they are to be let. Your father's genourous allowance to me will serve to pay rent, and for the rest he shall find I can live upon the aire as well and better than ever I did in my life, for I wont disgrace him by liveing meanly, no longer; and since he dont know what is fit for me to have and do, he will know that I do, who was always most saving when allowed most liberty. And since the allowance is his own nameing, I am able to let him see that after being his sole aturney for near 20 year upon all occasions, that I did, when it was in my power, do what I hope he will be wiser than ever provoke me to put into execution, by any more unjust or unreasonable useage, for nothing elce shall ever drive me to it. So that I now designe but what is barely necessary with all imaginable thrift; but I will have a good house, in order to which I hope to see you at Forty [Hill] in a week in my way to Bernet (Barnet), and discourse this and some other matters fairly." *Seal.*

*Endorsed* "My mother's letter about her power to embroil my fathers affairs."

THOMAS PITT to SIR STEPHEN EVANCE, JOHN DOLBEN, and  
ROBERT PITT [in London].

1708, September 30. Fort St. George.—I take notice of the employ you have pitched upon for my son Thomas. I wish you had bought him a very good employ in the English Guards, though it had cost three times the money, for, being in the Marines will oblige him to live a great deal at sea-ports, where the associations are none of the best.

I have adventured on the Danish ship *Prince George* a bulse of diamonds and send you the invoice, amounting to 6,180 pagodas. I am settling all my affairs to embark on the first good ship, though I would willingly first hear news from England, having been informed that our seas are so infested by French privateers and men of war, that it is almost impossible to escape them.

I cannot but think that the safest place for the chest that contains my grand affair to stand in, is the Bank of England. Take care no tricks are played when there is a necessity to show it, which I would not have done unless there be more than a probability of selling it.  
*Signed.*

THOMAS PITT to his son, ROBERT PITT [in London].

1708, October 1. Fort St. George.—"I observe what danger you say my grand affair is in; sure there cannot be soe much villany in mankind as you suggest of those two. You will see what I have wrote in my joint letter, that the chest shall stand in the Bank of England, and other cautions have I given in that letter. That law of the Mogull's extends only to his own subjects, and, if such a thing should be broached, I know not where it will end, and it may chance to be an utter extirpation of the trade, at least that of diamonds; for if I am to be undone I will undoe the world if I can. Our nation, I am certaine, will not countenance such an unpareleld villany. It is against the law of Spaine to bring any dollars out of the country, but you see what comes. But that of blowing open or carrying away the chest may be done, but I hope my sons would not let the actors of it survive such a villany. And I wish in showing of it, which I would have you withstand without good reasons there be for it, and then see there be noe

trick played to slide it away, and put a christiall in the room, of the same magnitude. And in case of what may happen by my mortality, I doe now declare before God Almighty that noe person in the world is concerned directly or indirectly but myselfe. This alarum of yours will hasten me home, if I can come but with tollerable security. . . . I am heartily glad my Lord Pembroke is soe much in favour, whome I take to be a person of as great honour as any in England, and if I committ the charge of that grand affair to any single person, it shall be to him."

"Though Mr. Nicolls was arrived before the Duchess came out, you would not vouchsafe one word of (concerning) what I sent by him. I thanke you too for the disgrace you put upon me in not paying Mr. Stafford's bill of 300*l*.; the least reflection I can make on it is that you have noe regard for my credit nor interest. . . . You are the nearest related to my concerns, of which I perceive you are above minding, for which I shall one day thank you. . . . The losses wee have had these two years past have stript me of great part of my estate in India, which has, in a manner, forced me to wind up my bottome, and am getting ready to embark on the first good ship. . . . I wonder to hear that your brother Thomas's employ of Captain of horse is dwindled to a mareener."

*Postscript.*—"I charge you that you never take the stone out upon any occasion, but that you yourselfe, weigh it when you take it out and when you put it in; and that it be never out of your eye as much as in shifting from one hand to another; and if there should be any occasion to shew it to the Queen, or any great man, you ought to have the charge of it; and the others goe in company with you. But remember that you are not drawn to goe into any company or place whilst you have it about you, for fear of the worst; but, I still say, the less it is shown the better." *Signed.*

ROBERT PITT to his father, THOMAS PITT, Governor of Fort St. George.

1708, November 15. London.—I seize a fortunate opportunity of sending this letter by Captain Arnold to give you an account of the intentions of the Company towards you. The grounds on which they pretend to lay you aside are the unhappy troubles between the casts, and your treatment of Fraser upon that occasion, whose party they espouse in the most violent manner. The chief incendiary from abroad is Mr. Frederick, who, in a very long and ingenious manner, has made wonderful complaints of your arbitrary proceedings, and ill-treatment of him and most of the council. He has written in a like strain to his kinsman, Mr. Nathaniel Herne, who, I believe, does not stick at animating the Old Company and your old and sure friends against you, while Gough and Bradyll are indefatigable in spiriting up the New Company. They have not even scrupled to say that the Company ought to seize on your person and effects, but that, I believe, they will hardly venture on. Such a violation of the property of the subject would properly be laid before the Parliament and Queen and Council. The person named to succeed you is one Captain Gibbons, brought in by the interest of Mr. Craggs and Mr. Moore. I am told he wants a fortune, and therefore will submit to any terms imposed on him in order to get such an advantageous post, for the Company declare that the government of Fort St. George is the best employment belonging to the English nation. A great deal of this trouble is owing to the

infirmity of your good friend, Sir Thomas Cooke, who would have stopped hostile proceedings had he not been permanently bereft of reason by a fit of apoplexy. I wrote to you last year that Mr. Dolben was making interest to succeed you. It is still a general opinion that he is intriguing for your post; but he assured me a few days ago that he had no such thought, and would not accept the appointment if it were offered to him. He is of opinion they will not lay you aside at all, or, at least, this year; and I hope you will put it out of their power to do so another year, by coming home immediately after the receipt of this letter. The account of Mr. Fraser's seditious behaviour has been communicated to every manager of the Old and New Companies; but what they most resent is your threatening to whip and hang one whom they had named of their Council, as they learn from Mr. Frederick's letter, on which they lay great stress; I believe Frederick will be promoted on account of his letter.

I have placed the two young Haynes at school in Enfield, and will remove them to Salisbury in the spring. I have left Forty Hill, my mother having given up your house at Stratford, and your attorneys having transferred it to me. My sisters continued to reside with my wife till last month, when, contrary to the directions of their guardians, they went to live with my mother, who has a house upon the Upper Terrace in St. James's Street. They say that your letters give them liberty to choose where they will live; and there has been no quarrel or disagreement between us. My mother has given up to them for dress the 200*l.* a year which you allow her, having sufficient of her own to maintain herself and them. I am about to place my brother John at Eton. The troop of horse for my brother Thomas, proving too dear, was not bought. He is now thinking of a troop of dragoons which, as he writes, will cost 1,100 guineas. The nation is now in general mourning for Prince George [of Denmark], whose death will occasion some political changes. Lord Pembroke is to be Lord High Admiral, Lord Wharton Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord Somers President of the Council. There is but a distant prospect of peace, and of a chapman for your grand affair. Parliament is to meet to-morrow, to choose Sir Richard Onslow Speaker, vote supplies *pro forma*, and little else; for all matters which used to be its business are now arranged in private meetings. Mr. Harvey and I were chosen at Old Sarum, *nemine contradicente*, by the old legal votes; and the return was made by your bailiff without demur on the part of the sheriffs or any one else; so that matter is now fixed.

My wife intended to have written to you this day, but early in the morning was suddenly prevented by the birth of another son [William, afterwards Lord Chatham]. We have now two boys and two girls.  
*Copy.*

THOMAS PITT TO SIR STEPHEN EVANCE, JOHN DOLBEN, and  
THOMAS PITT.

1708, November 23. Fort St. George.—The despatch galley arrived here a few days since from Bengal without a line from any of you. This is hard measure. How can a man govern himself in his affairs when his correspondents will not advise what they receive, or how they dispose of anything?—for that is my case.

It is reported here that a company of hucksters and sharpers has been formed [in London] to buy all consignments of diamonds. I hope you allow none such to buy any of mine to my detriment. Although

my son is named last in my letter of attorney, he is principally concerned next myself, therefore I cannot think there has been, and desire there may not be anything transacted in my affair without his presence, unless he refuses to come, or makes delays to my prejudice. *Signed.*

THOMAS PITT to his son, ROBERT PITT [in London].

1708, November 24. Fort St. George.—I have received private letters by the despatch galley from Bengal, but not a line from my attorneys, although my son is one of them. "Can you suppose that I can ever forget this your ill-usage of me, or are my concerns to you of soe little value as not worth your minding? . . . . Captain Peacock says he was at your house, when you delivered him several letters, from which I infer that if the commanders will come and fetch your letters you may chance to vouchsafe me some, otherwise not; when I should have thought it your duty to have pleyed at the East India House to inquire what was acting there relating to me, and advise me by all opportunities, as alsoe of all my domestick and mercantile affairs; which neglect of yours I have, doe, and shall for ever resent. Why could you not write as well as Mr. Shipman? He hinted to me that your sisters were with you, and that your mother had been guilty of some imprudence at the Bath . . . . let it be what it will, in my esteem she is noe longer my wife, nor will I see her more if I can help it. . . . . What is the reason you have not advised me of the receipt nor disposall of any goods I particularly consigned to you, though you have wrote me two or three letters since? In plain, you deserve the worst of usage; I cannot with patience write you, and shall with much less see you or speak with you more; and if I have noe more comfort from my other children, I shall curse the day that ever I had any. . . . . Did you ever give me an account of my estates or any one affair that I have trusted you with? Noe, it is said you are taken up with factious caballs, and are contriving amongst you to put a French kickshaw upon the throne againe, for no true English heart as the present Queen has (and pursues no other interest than that of her own nation) can please your party. If I find or hear of any child of mine that herds with any to oppose her present Majesty's interest, I will renounce him for ever. I doe reckon that the treatment of your sisters will be such that they will not long stay with you."

"You will see in my joynt letter what I have written about huxsters and sharpeners that buy up diamonds; and I wish mine have not fallen into their hands, of which I am afraid by the bad sale of them. It is not fair to be buyers and sellers. Upon your ill-usage of me, and your negligence of my affairs, I was thinking to strike you out of being one of my attorneys, but have deferred it upon my resolution of comeing upcn the first ship; and have wrote Mr. Raworth to burn my will I sent his father, you having forced me to make a new one."

"I understand the New Company are strangely irritated at my letters, as I am at their injustice. Therefore, on receipt of this, I order you, with the advice of cousin Thomas Pitt in Chancery, to retaine for me three or four of the most eminent councill in England and a good solicitor or attorney, for I am resolved not to foregoe my right, and you may lay the case before him, if you have not forgot it, as I do not your neglect of me; for, since you left here, have you given me a plenary account of any particular affair, ever sent me a collection of

public news, or one book of esteem, or as much as one drop of curious liquor, or any thing else delightfull in these parts?" *Copy.*

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT, in London.

1708, December 28. Fort St. George.—Before despatching my last to you, your joint letter arrived and was most acceptable to me. God give you grace to perform what is promised therein. I have given Cousin Pitt power to augment your brothers' and sisters' allowances as he shall think fit, although I hope they will keep within the bounds of their present allowances. You may be sure your not advising the receipt of any one consignment I made you, or the disposal of it, is of no small concern to me, and, I think, deserves the character of ill-usage. I would have you put your uncle Willis's youngest son to a very good school in the country, and maintain him at my charge, because I intend to educate and start him in the world; and take great care of Mr. Haynes's children, for whom I have a great regard. I hear Sir Stephen has been very ill, and unless you secured my grand affair, I am sure you should not have been a week out of town at a time. *Copy.*

THOMAS PITT to SIR STEPHEN EVANCE, JOHN DOLBEN, and  
ROBERT PITT [in London].

1708, December 29. Fort St. George.—I am sorry you give so much credit to the diamond buyers as to let them have such a stone as that in which I was concerned with Mr. Dolben for 3,000*l.*; also that you sold the one in which Mr. Addison is concerned with me for such a trifle. If sold here they would have yielded more money. I have been very seldom mistaken when I trust to my own eyes as to the water. If the market be bad, why not hold the stones over until prices improve? We do not place so much reliance on the representation of buyers here. I hope you will keep back the diamonds in the other parcel sent to you. There is no probability of our being able to purchase any more of them, for this country is in complete confusion, and all trade at sea is ruined by the French and the pirates. I am busy with preparations for my return home. *Signed.*

ROBERT PITT to THOMAS PITT, Governor of Fort St. George.

1708[–9], January 13. [London.]—Since I wrote to you last November by Captain Arnold, the behaviour of the Company towards you has been as surprising to everyone here as it will be to you abroad. Had it not been for Sir Thomas Cooke's illness they could not have put such an affront on you. The main contrivers of it were those I mentioned to you in my last, backed up by Sir Gilbert Heathcott. The Old Company, with the solitary exception of Mr. Nathaniel Herne, stood fast to your interest. Mr. Moore especially showed as much zeal for you, as Mr. Herue, inspired by the resentments of his kinsman, Mr. Fredericks, showed against you. I doubt not, since they would put an end to your Government, you will be pleased that such a fair-minded man as Mr. Addison has been appointed to succeed you. The worst thing is that the Company should continue that seditious knave Fraser in their service, and espouse his tumultuous villainies by putting a slur on you. On the other hand your return home is necessary for your own comfort and the peace of your family, which is still, notwithstanding



all my efforts to the contrary, as you will learn from Cousin Pitt, in a distracted state. My brother Thomas, not having agreed as to the purchase of a troop of dragoons, now thinks of the Commission of Exon or Senior Captain of horse, in the Duke of Ormond's troop of Guards. The price will be 1,600*l.* or 1,700*l.* The appointment involves occasional attendance on the Queen's person, and as the honour exceeds the profit, the pay and allowances not being worth more than 14*s.* a day, we have agreed to make up his income to 400*l.* a year, until you order otherwise. My brother John is at Eton.

Mr. Dolben has written to you in reference to the purchase of Lord Arundell's estate in Hampshire, but his Lordship disavows any intention of selling. I am in treaty with Colonel Lambert of Boyton, Wilts, for a property of his in Hampshire, near Andover. He asks for it and a small house 15,000*l.*, which is 1,000*l.* or 1,500*l.* too much. Cousin Pitt, who knows the estate, says it is of great value; and if the particulars given prove correct on further investigation, I will proceed in the treaty. I will also make another attempt on Mr. Chettle's estate, and if any other be for sale in the same neighbourhood will not let it go.

The arrack and mangoes you sent last have been, for the greater part, spoiled or stolen on the way to me. Your presents to my wife and sisters were sold by auction, bought in by Sir Stephen Evance, and shipped for Holland to be re-imported thence; that for Lord Scarborough was most thankfully received. Cousin Pitt and General Stewart are god-fathers of your youngest grandson, who has been named after the latter. Should you touch at Cork or Kingsale on your voyage home, Lady Grandison and the General [Stewart, her husband] will meet you, her country seat being but 20 miles distant from either port.

Mr. Dolben will inform you of some overtures from the Grand Duke of Tuscany as to your grand concern, but, as peace is in all probability imminent, I hope an abler chapman will soon be found.  
*Copy.*

THOMAS PITT to his son, ROBERT PITT [in London].

1708-9, February 5. Fort St. George.—“I am extremely obliged to my cousin, George Pitt . . . for it was a surprise to me to hear that all my family, who I left in a pleasant habitation, were removed to the Bath, and there spending my estate faster than I got it. . . . I have had varieties of employs bought for Tom, but I see there is none fixed. I would willingly have him be in a reputable as well as profitable employ, that soe he may not only live upon his income, but repay me by degrees what I advanced for the purchase, and what he has soe idly spent me; and in my passage home I will make up every one of their accounts, apart, of what [they] spent since I left them, and accordingly deal with them for the future.”

“I find, as you say, my diamonds turne to a very bad account, notwithstanding my care of sending none but such as are excellent good; you impute it to the dulness of the times . . . but then why do you not keep them by. There is at all times ten or fifteen per cent difference between goods offered and goods demanded. . . . Your nice diamond merchants do not distinguish between good and bad . . . Be watchfull and vigilant for it costs nothing, nor can you lose anything by it.”

“I would willingly have bought Mr. Chettell's estate, as being in the parish where I was born, and having an estate there, but at this

time of day to buy land too dear is not answerable to common reason, and nothing but a good bargain can induce a man to meddle with it . . . Remember to buy no estate but where there is a good house thrown into the bargain, . . . If Clarendon Park with the manor of Christ Church be as you represent, it would be a good purchase. I remembre old cousin George Pitt was about it and . . . found flaws in the title . . . I am glad you are in favour with my Lord Pembroke who I take to be a person of great honour not to be paralleled as the times goe . . . Before you had wrote that long dolefull paragraph you should have better considered the necessity that induced me thereto. Did you not see how your mother had deserted my habitation and was wandering with my family which it was high time for me to provide for. In my will, which I have ordered to remain in Mr. Raworth's hands, there is a good provision made for you, your wife and children, who shall never be abandoned by me if they deserve otherwise, and you have no reason to grudge what I have done for your brothers and sisters, nor will I be tyed up by the direction of one child [as] to what I shall doe for the others . . . Can you be so voyd of sense as not to see what I have been doing ever since I was soe fortunate as to purchase that Grand Concern, which has been to use my utmost endeavour to acquire such a competency as to be able to provide for my family without being put under a necessity to dispose of that affair at an under rate, or it would have been of as little advantage to me as if I had partners therein; which, I thank God, I have effected if no extraordinary misfortune happens; soe, as soon as I come home, and get my estate remitted, I will make you and your family easy, to which you should think of contributing, not as yet hearing you have turned one penny in trade since you left me. Always spending and nothing coming in will soon waste a better estate than I have got, and what I want a good purchase for is chiefly to settle you."

"I have sent on the *Litchfield* young Bugden my godson. His father was killed at Acheen and left a poor widow and many children, soe have taken him to give him his education. . . . Send him to Salisbury to diet in some good body's house and put him to the free school . . . let good care be taken of him, as alsoe of the young Haynes."

"I have sent home on both ships several things for presents . . . the parcell in wax cloth is for your wife, being King Shaalums [Shah Aulum, son of Aurungzebe] tasheriff to me, a coat, sash, and girdle, and a chint bed for her; all are the finest procurable. Captain Lee takes charge of them, and a little coffree boy for my god-daughter."

*Signed.*

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT, in London.

1708-9, March 11. Fort St. George.—Containing an account of deficiencies in his annual supply of stores from England. "This is the effect of your great care of my necessaries . . . I here write you little, but think the more." *Copy.*

The SAME to the SAME, in London.

1709, September 16. Fort St. George.—We expect Captain Harrison here in December from Bengal, when I am resolved to embark with him. "Here has lately been discovered an unparelled villany of Seaton's who has been tampering with the Moors to inform them that I bought great diamonds . . . When I called him before the Council and charged him with what I had been informed of, and the

next consultation day [he] disowned all he had said before us with the strangest execrations and asseverations as the wickedest man could be guilty of. He is confined in the Fort and shall be sent home a prisoner . . . . Hart has behaved himself in the most infamous scandalous manner, and, at last, is forced to go pilot of a Moor's ship. I hint this to you to arm you if you should hear any discourse thereof"  
*Signed.*

#### The PITT DIAMOND.

1707-1709.—Three papers relating to the safe custody of the great Pitt diamond during the absence of Governor Pitt in India, and to the removal of the same from the shop of Sir Stephen Evance in Lombard Street, to the keeping of George Pitt of Stratfieldsaye. Sir Stephen to be allowed the full East India commission for it, when sold.

THOMAS PITT to SIR STEPHEN EVANCE, JOHN DOLBEN, and ROBERT PITT, London.

1710, May 30. Near Bergen in Norway.—I embarked at Madras on the *Heathcote* at the end of last year, and arrived at the Cape January 15; and, to prevent a long delay, took my passage thence to Europe on a Danes ship.

"I observe the disorders in my family and the deference they paid to my orders about their allowances, for which I have discarded them for ever; therefore desire that upon the beginning of their quarter, after the receipt of this, you pay each of them quarterly, the mother and two daughters, twelve pounds ten shillings, and noe more will I allow them whilst I live, and I have made the same provision for them in my will; and for fortunes I will not give them a penny unless my cousin Pitt has gone soe far as to ingage his honour in a match, then that must and shall be made good. Amongst the alterations you have made since I left you I hope there is noe law for wives and children to carve for themselves." . . . . "For some particular reasons with which I shall acquaint you when wee meete, I desire you, upon receipt of this, to deliver to my kinsman, George Pitt, my large diamond cutt into a brillion by Mr. Cope, weighing about one hundred thirty-six carratts."  
*Seal of arms.*

THOMAS PITT to his son, ROBERT PITT, London.

1710, May 30, O.S. Near Bergen.—"The *Heathcote* . . arrived [at Madras] September 17 in the evening, and about nine at night the Captain came ashore with the packett, which hee delivered mee, and desired I would immediately summon the Council for that there was great alterations, soe looking upon itt found the same, which was not unwellcome to mee, though surprised to see those at home resolved to incourage the worst of villaines. My successor, and some of the old Council (for I would summon none of the new) were at the Mount, or otherwise would have surrendered the Government that night, soe summoned them for next morning (though Sunday), when the packett was opened and the Commission produced, which . . . . I found a flaw in, and was not an authentique *supersedias* of mine; yett . . . . I tendered them my account of cash and layd before them all the business of the Company . . . . up to that very day, and challenged them all to charge mee with any one act of injustice dureing my government; and soe surrendered it to Mr. Addison by eight in the morning,

who . . . . . severall times told mee that was it not hee was apprehensive of disoblidging his friends, hee would refuse it."

"Mr. Addison, before the ship's arrivall, had bin a little indisposed with the gout or rumatisme in his knee, but not soe much as to lye by it; but this sudden news and weight of business made him a little limp, but againe recovered soe as to sett to buisness; and at the first consultation held Fraser was summoned, took his place, and when they broke up [was] followed by a great traine of the right hand cast to his house, giving out that the Company had left that matter to him solely to bee settled; which encouraged them next day to drop a cajan, the purport being to stirr up the people to a second insurrection. The Governor ordered it to bee burned, and sent for the heads of the casts, and told them hee was soe well satisfied with my settling that matter that . . . . . if any of them dare to give trouble hee would leave them to the mercy of the souldiers."

"On the arrivall of the ships there was a report that Fraser, Frederick, and company had wrote to their correspondents in England (who I believe to bee of the same stamp for honour and honesty) that if they would turne mee out immediately on the ship's arrivall, they would procure a thousand petitions against mee; which I believe true, for they went about and would have suborned severall people but could not procure one . . . . . The two aforesaid sparks fell out publicquely at the Mount, whose informations prevayled most against mee, but at last they perswaded Surapa to promise to justifie a paper which they carried before the Governor and Councill; but that old villaine . . . . . was soe terrified with remorse of conscience that hee fell a trembling and denyed it all, when they sent him to the pagodoe with a bramine accused in that paper, where they most solemnly swore all was false, and the Governor himself knew that it was soe, and soe exploded the villany that he told [me] hee would imprisone the old villaine for his life, and afterwards the wretch himselfe told mee that those two before-mentioned promised him that if hee would sweare anything against mee, they had order from the Company to bring him into greater esteem than ever hee was in that place . . . . . The paper mentioned comes inclosed in this and . . . . . what of it is most materiall, I believe, had its birth in England . . . . . After all which before-mentioned, and that Governor Addison [had] declared hee would walke in my steps, hee fell ill againe, and when I visited him, as he desired I would doe as often as I could, hee told mee his resentments against Fraser about the casts, and said by what hee had seen and heard since the arrivall of the ships (smiting his breast) that hee believed in his conscience hee was at the bottome of that confusion, and wished the right-hand cast had not given him something to make room for Fraser, for that hee found such a disorder in his stomach that in his life-time hee never had the like. I was soe concerned at this that I imparted it to severall people as soon as I came from him, and the thoughts of it made mee uneasye all that night, for that I had left him one of my attorneys, besides the doubt I had upon mee for the wellfare of the place. This poor man, few days after, dyed, and in such confusion and agonies that I have not seen the like; which was October 17 when I was ready to imbarque on the *Heathcotte*, but deferd itt for his buriyall, and came off October 21 . . . . . In the only too probable event of Mr. Brabourne, on the *Chambers* frigate, having been lost at sea, the government of that coast devolves upon that wicked and vilest of wretches Fraser, whose infamous principles and ignorance will ruine it for ever. I delivered it up in the most flourishing state that ever any place of the world was in, vastly rich notwithstanding our great losses,

and famous throughout all those parts of the world for our honourable and just dealings; free from all manner of tyranny, extortion, oppression or corruption as to mee (I wish I could averr the same of others), which I suppressed as far as it was in my power, and prevented its being very burthensome to the commonalty; which occasioned the clamours of those few who are the scum and scorne of the place, yet supported by their correspondents in England, who study to promote their private interest at the hazard of sacrificing that of all the adventurers. This is demonstrable by their last yeare's generall letter, of which I had the perusall, when I admired as much at the weakness of their management as I did at their mallice and false suggestions of mee. I shall give but few instances here of the flourishing condition of Maderass. In May or June last there was at one time fifty sayle of ships in the roade, besides small craft at least 200; the revenues of last yeare amounting between 70 and 800,000! pagodas of which above 10,000 arises out of the Mint. The place, when I left it, was not onely admired but in favour of all the kings and princes in those parts; a regular and peaceable government within ourselves, and continued friendship of all about us. I brought the trade of the King of Siam to our port, and sent them away soe well satisfied that I believe they will return and settle a factory, which may probably open a trade for Japan; and the favours from the present Great Mogull [Bahader Shah, formerly Shah Aulum] are without a president. I had two vests from him, and the honour of severall letters, and a phirmaund under his greate seale, made up in a paper under his privy seale, wherein he tenders mee the command of five thousand horse, and to have the pay without doeing service. And, wee of all Europeans, were the only favourites; the Dutch at the same time were put out of Golconda."

"It was expected that the King, after hee had cutt off his brother Cawne Bux [third son of Aurungzebe] would have stayed at least 6 months at Golconda, when I myselfe purposed to have went up . . . when [I] would have endeavoured, though at the expence of my life and fortune, to have procured them such an establishment as the like had not been to any European nation for priviledges and profit; but the King's return to quell an insurrection in the heart of his country frustrated that design, and am glad it did, for nothing perplexes a man's thoughts more than doeing good and faithfull service for an ungratefull people, as it has been my case with this Company."

"We, arrived at the Cape, January 15, and found the Generall of Batavia there with nine ships under his command . . . I waited on him, who gave me a very polish reception . . . What I heard was that hee was very angry that our ships were not taken by the French as well as theirs . . . Hearing there was no peace nor likelihood of it, and our ship not being a little cranke . . . induced mee to take my passage on a neutrall ship from Tringombar . . . Wee made St. Hellina March 5 . . . and Assention March 14 . . . I have reason to believe that Fraser, Frederick, and some of those villainous party had news of the alterations by Persia or the Danes [ships], (by neither of which had I a line), for, from the time of the cast to July, five or six of them met twice a week at Seaton's to make remarks on my corresponding with Pollicherry, and some of them had been often heard to say that they were sure they had enough against mee to take my life, but believed the forfeiting my estate might save mee. I charged Frederick with it, in consultation, who denied his being concerned, but owned hee had heard of such a thing, when [I] told him it behoved him as one of the Councill to have

acquainted the Board therewith, to which wee had his usual answer, fell a crying, which conformed his guilt. Now it is well knowne wee had no force to preserve the Company's ships nor their ports from insults, for which reason I found out a way to establish such a correspondence as effected both, to the admiration not onely of our owne inhabitants, but of all the country about us, by which I (under God) preserved not onely 3,024 of their richest ships, but alsoe their settlements from utter ruine. When Madame Martin and other ladies were at Maderas, none of those wretches by their wives or themselves would pay them common civility, but kept a diary of those that did; but whether they met with discouragement on that hellish designe from their correspondents at home or . . . they fell off from it in June last and fell a contriving to stir up the Government to give trouble upon account of a great diamond they had heard I bought. The first fellow they put upon it was Seaton, whom I presently confined and brought before the Councill, where he showed not a little impudence and confirmed his villany, and, few days after, wee had him before us to sentence him for the same. Wee read over to him what hee had said to us when last before us, all which he utterly denied that ever hee said it to us, with such imprecations as surprised us beyond expression; and you will see it is all signed by his sone[-in-law] Frederick, with teares in his eyes. If Addison had lived hee had had noe better quarter than I intended him nor the two his patroons . . . When these two villaines, with Surapa, were detected to their eternal infamy, one thing happened to confirme Fraser's being concerned in the villany of the cast. The Governor asking how Surapa and hee, who were always professed enemies came to be so intimate, Frederick answered that since the business of the cast, Surapa came twice a week to Fraser, in the night, in pious clothes."

"It was always, and is still, my charge to you to negotiate all my affairs with as much secresy as possible, which you have never regarded, to the prejudice of my affaires . . . for in my grand concerne, every one that came out that yeare could tell what passed about it in Sir Stephen's sickness, which is a great fault, and wish it bee not fatal to it . . . You will see that I have ordered it to be delivered to cousin George Pitt . . . and this I would have done (with all possible secresy) as soone as you receive this letter; and this is to prevent any trouble that may be given by the Company upon those villaines' informations from abroad; but of this I would not have you speake a word to Mr. Dolben nor Sir Stephen till cousin George Pitt have secured it. In case of his [George Pitt's] mortallity, it is to be delivered to you who are to follow the directions I have wrote him; and if you have a modell of it by you, or can get one made immediately, send it to mee [to Copenhagen] with my first letters; gett Mr. Cope to cutt two or three in cristyll."

Send me full advices of all my affairs, and a letter of credit for 1,000*l.* to the care of our envoy at Copenhagen, and the same to Amsterdam, also a list of the Parliament men, and of the directors since the union of the Companies. If there be any vacancy for a Parliament men, get me chosen if you can do so honourably; but let my intimating it be a secret. Have your eye on some good and reputable lodgings for me in the city, and provide me with two footmen and a valet, trusty and such as have lived in good families, brisk and cleanly fellows, and give them my livery in plain and good cloth. "Pray gett me a neate campagne perwigg not too bushy nor too long." My coming home in this manner will amuse them at the East India House, of which inform

yourself and advise me. Be sure to send me the prices current of all diamonds; "and I enjoyne you by all that is good to send mee the true state of my family, and omit nothing good or bad; but keepe to the truth, distinguishing between what you know of a certainty and report, and if you conceale anything from mee, I shall resent it as the worst of usage."

The Company's affairs are now in miserable disorder throughout India, and I believe, that by this time, the coast of Coromandel may be reduced to as bad a state as any other part, and that it will require the consideration of the ablest men at home, and the employment of much better men than any now abroad, to settle the trade there on an advantageous footing. Mr. Jennings being made secretary, as youngest in the Council, was not capable of taking the minutes. So Mr. Warr, Lady Granville's kinsman, was brought into office by my means. I think none so fit for the post of Governor as Mr. Dolben, Captain Harrison, or Mr. Marshall. "Roger, it is said, wrote out that it was offered him, who I take to bee a screech-owle; where hee comes foretells noe good but effectuell desolation."

I wrote to Mr. Raworth to destroy my will in his possession, in your presence; having made another, and appointed Lord Pembroke and cousin George Pitt my trustees.

Be sure to let me know who was for seizing my person and estates, and the names of all who have been doing me good or evile offices with the Company.

As I may sell something considerable abroad, inquire what goods from Denmark, Hamburg, or Holland turn to good account in England, or how returns may be made to the best advantage; whether money is to be got by buying silver in Holland, and whether better in dollars or ingots; but be careful not to trust any one who will betray you to our Company, and that they do not intercept our letters.

At the Cape, in October last, advices had arrived from Holland that we had been very barbarous to the Dutch in the West Indies. I do verily believe that if the [Dutch] fleet sailing from the Cape should meet with a French squadron, they would sacrifice every ship of ours, if it can be done without prejudice to themselves.

"Wee came about Shetland, May 17, and the next day mett with a small Danes' vessell from Bergen bound for France, who told us of the warr betweene them and the Swede, when wee endeavoured to fetch that port, but when [wee] came in with the land, found ourselves to the southward about 10 English leagues, soe that the pylott which came off, harboured us amongst the rocks the 21st at noone, and how long wee may lye here God knows. . . . The 25th, att night, Mr. Fenwick went up to Bergen, . . . and last night, hee advised mee of a ship goeing to Newcastle, by which this comes, . . . I shall make all the haste I can home with security, for all these parts are in warrs, and believe I should meete but with course quarter if I fell into any of their hands."

#### THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT.

1710. June 20. Bergen.—"I hope some of my letters are arrived before this with you, for God knows when wee shall gett from this place. The posts to Copenhagen are very uncertaine and tedious; not heareing yett from the Directors, though wee wrote them by ship and post on our arrivall.

"Wee are alarmed with varietye of news but none good for us . . . Yesterday wee had news by a Russ . . . that

the Confederate army was intirely routed (which God forbid), for from what I can heare and inferr from the sermon of Dr. Sacheverell, which is printed in high Dutch and makes a great noyse in these parts, our nation is ripe for confusion and destruction; which God prevent, and I hope noe child or relation of mine will have a finger in it."

We hear of a Swedish armanent directed against this place; and also of French and Swedish privateers on this coast, "soe wish I may not pay deare for my hastning home, and find that I have leaped out of the frying pan into the fire." *Seal of arms.*

Narrative by GOVERNOR THOMAS PITT, of the circumstances connected with his purchase of the PITT DIAMOND.

1710, July 29. Bergen.—"Since my coming into this melancholy place of Bergen, I have been often thinking of the most unparalleled villany of William Fraser, Thomas Frederick, and Surapa, a black merchant, who brought a paper before Governor Addison in Councill insinuating that I had unfairely gott possession of a large diamond; which tending soe much to the prejudice of my reputation and the ruine of my estate that I thought necessary to keepe by mee this true relation how I purchased it, in all respects, that soe, in case of sudden mortality, my children and friends may bee apprized of the whole matter, and soe be enabled thereby to putt to silence and confound those and all other villains in their base attempts against either. I haveing not my books by me at present, I cannot bee positive as to the time; but, for the manner of purchasing it, I doe here declare and assert under my hand, in the presence of God Almighty, as I hope for salvation through the meritts and intercession of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that this is the truth; and if it bee not, lett God deny it to mee and my children for ever; which I would bee soe farr from saying, much less leave it under my hand, that I would not bee guilty of the least untruth in the relation, for the riches and honour of the whole world.

"About two or three years after my arrivall in Maderass, which was in July 1698, I heard that there were large diamonds in the country to bee sold, which I encouraged to bee brought downe, promising to bee their chapman if they would bee reasonable therein; upon which Ramchund, one of the most eminent diamond-merchants in those parts, came downe about December 1701, and brought with him a large rough stone about 305 mangeleens, and some small ones which myselfe and others bought. But hee asking a very extravagant price for the great one, I did not thinke of medling with it, when hee left it with mee for some days, and then came and took it away againe; and did soe severall times, not insisting upon less than two hundred thousand pagodoes, as I best remember. I did not bid him above thirty thousand, and had little thoughts of buying it, for that I considered there were many and great risgoes to bee run, not only in cutting it, but also whether it would prove fowle or cleane, or the water goode; besides I thought it too great an amount to bee adventured home on one bottome. But Ramchund, resolving to return speedily to his owne country, soe that, I best remember, it was in February following, hee came againe to mee (with Vincaly Chittie who was allways with him when I discoursed him about it), and pressed mee to know whether I resolved to buy it, when hee came downe to 100,000 pagodoes, and something under, before wee parted, when wee agreed upon a day to meete and make a finall end thereof, one way or other, which I believe was the latter end of the aforesaid month, or the beginning of March. Wee accordingly mett in



the consultation roome, where, after a great deale of talke, I brought him downe to 55,000 pagodoes, and advanced to 45,000, resolving to give noe more, and hee likewise resolved not to abate; soe delivered him up the stone, and wee tooke a friendly leave of one another. Mr. Benyon was then writeing in my closett, with whom I discoursed what had passed, and told him now I was cleare of it, when, about an hour after, my servant brought mee word that Ramchund and Vincaly Chittee were at the door; who being called in, they used a great many expressions in praise of the stone, and told mee hee had rather I should buy it than anybody; and to give an instance thereof offerd it for 50,000. Soe, believing it must bee a pennyworth if it proved good, I offerd to part the 5,000 pagodoes that was then between us, which hee would not hearken to, and was goeing out of the roome againe, when he turned back and told mee I should have it for 49,000. But I still adhered to what I had before offerd him, when presently hee came to 48,000, and made a solemn vow that hee would not part with it a pagodoe under; when I went againe into the closett to Mr. Benyon and told him what had passed, saying that if it was worth 47,500 it was worth 48,000; soe closed with him for that sum, when hee delivered mee the stone, for which I paid him very honourably, as by my books appears. And I here farther call God to wittnesse that I never used the least threatening word at any of our meeteings to induce him to sell it mee, and God himselfe knows it never was as much as in my thoughts soe to doe. Since which I have had frequent and considerable deallings with this man, and trusted him with severall sums of money, and ballanced severall accounts with him, and left upwards of 2,000 pagodoes in his hands at my comeing away; soe had I used the least indirect means to have gott it from him, would not hee have made himselfe satisfaction when hee has had my money soe often in his hands?—or would I have trusted him afterwards, as I did, preferable to all other diamond merchants? As this is the truth, soe I hope for God's blessing on this and all other my affaires in this world, and eternall happiness hereafter." *Direction on cover*.—"In case of the death of mee Thomas Pitt, I direct that this paper, sealed as it is, bee delivered to my sone Robert Pitt." *Seal of arms*.

[GEORGE PITT of Stratfieldsaye to Miss ESSEX and Miss LUCY PITT.]

1710, October 5. Stratfielsea.—"On the receipt of a letter from your father, at his landing in Norway, full of resentments towards you, I did, by the first opportunity, doe you the best service I could to him by letter . . . . I have since had another from him of a milder strain, which gives me hopes it may be in the power of friends to pacifie your father, whose present displeasure seems to be founded on your disobeying his orders, which you cannot but remember I sufficiently cautioned you against. I have now nothing but to repeat . . . . that you will both continue with your brother till you receive other commands from your father. And . . . . pray keep a good correspondence with your brother, for the harmony your father will find amongst you will contribute more to the healing the unhappy differences that have bin in your family, than all the endeavours of your friends together." *Copy*.

VISCOUNTESS GRANDISON to her daughter, the Hon. MRS. PITT.

[1711?] April 4. Bath.—"I am pleased to hear my dear daughter was so well received by Governor Pitt. It gives mee hopes I shall have

the satisfaction to find you in his house when wee meet. This I must imput to your good management, for I am senseble of the difficultys you have to strugel with, while their are partys in your family, and I cannot but think it is a fault in your father to allow of it, as I shall tell him, you may assure yourself . . . . The General [Stewart, her husband] . . . . is much pleased to know you are in the Governor's house."

E. PITT to her sister[-in-law], the Hon. MRS. PITT, att Stratford near Salisbury.

1711, May 4. London.—"I writ this in bed, for I have such a pain in my head, and coff, that I cannot keep my head from the pellow." Mourning worn only at "Court and chapell." *Endorsed.*—Mrs. Essex Pitt. *Seal.*

The SAME to the SAME.

Giving current news on social topics.—"I belive I shall never be well again, for my coff grows worst and worst every day." *Seal.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1711, October 30. London.—"The house that is taken for my Lady Grendison . . . is in Jarman Street, amost opeset to Lady Barrymore's . . . I would have gone and seen it but have had no coach to go anywhere. Master Tommy is very well. I think the town agrees with him, for he have a fine collar and groose fat. He is now a visiting at my Lord Pembrook's." *Seal.*

The SAME to the SAME.

[1712-13.] October 6. St. Mary, Blandford.—"We go to Mr. Bartmansemmer's very ofone, and are very much in his favor. I was in hopes of gitting of him at one time, but, the other day, I was strock dead all at once, for he told me he never desind to marry." *Seal.*

THOMAS PITT to his son, ROBERT PITT, M.P., at Stratford near Sarum.

1714, October 2. Pall Mall.—"I was this day above an hour with the King and Prince; certainly their aspects promises prosperity to England. I showed them the great diamond, which they admired and seeme desireous of it, but, I believe, hope the nation will give it.

"I observe in Mr. Phillipps's particular that [Carter's] house, barnes, orchard, and garden are valued at 22 years purchase; the like never heard of before. To mend this hard bargaine, I would have you look after the young trees mentioned . . . . Nothing can contribute soe much to the retrieving misfortunes as planting and rayseing nurseryes, if hee has land left to doe it on." *Seal of arms.*

L. STANHOPE to her sister[-in-law], the Hon. MRS. PITT.

[1714?] Attributing the cessation of their friendly relations to resentment on account of a want of due respect to the writer's mother.

THOMAS PITT, to his son, ROBERT PITT, at St. Mary, Blandford,  
Dorset.

[1715,] January 5. From the Secret Committee [House of Commons].—"I have but time to tell you the Pretender is in Scotland, I believe you'll heare of Ormond in few days in England [or] in Ireland." *Seal.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1715, January 21. Pall Mall.—Expressing dissatisfaction with building accounts furnished by Mr. Jolly, and especially with one Bascam's bill for 24*l.*; "that was one of the fellows that said to William Hird, when hee found fault with him for not following his worke, hee answered:—Dam it, the governor had money enough; and soe I believe Jolly thought too, by the unparallel'd expence hee has made." I am resolved to peruse strictly Mr. Jolly's accounts, and have all the work measured, and the charges investigated. The game-keeper should send up supplies, game being dear here. "In mine last post I wrote you that Orlando Bridgman, Mr. Evelin of Surrey, Colonel Selwin, and your-selfe were of the Greene Cloth to the Prince. I undertooke to Mr. Stanhope that you would accept it; they others kissed the Prince's hand yesterday. I never askd what the salary was, but I heare tis 500*l.* per annum, with those advantages I wrote you. This is a footeing for you which I hope you'll soe improve as to lett the King and Prince see that you are capable to serve 'em in any employ, and what I advise you to is to shun the company of your old comrades as you would the plague, for they are most of 'em in actuall rebellion, or abettors, or those of avow'd indifference.

"This day the King came to the House (speech not yett printed), purport was the Pretender was of a certainty in Scotland, and that hee was promised forreigne assistance, hinting France. The ministers told us of a ship gone from Callais with my Lord Melford's sone and 100 officers and all those ports about full of Irish, Scotts, and English, and that there's an armament making att Ryone. Some say Ormond is there, my opinion is that the French, as soone as they hear the Pretender is crowned, they'll receive an Ambassador from him, which will oblige ours to come away, and then nothing less than a war can ensue, and to support it a tax on land of four shillings in the pound will give such a handle to the Jacobites as that you'll find their rebellious risks and tumults insuperable. For my part I see nothing attending us but ruine and confusion, and this is the consequence of the last cursed reigne, and what France is now doing is the bargaine for which the fruits of our victory's were given up, that villanous cessation sett afoot, that cursed peace made and our commerce sacrificed, t'is shocking to the last degree to consider seriously to what condition wee are reduced. Wee have few Torys in the House that appeare, soe they traduce us by the name of a Rump Parliament, and wee doe 'em by the names of Jacobites and Papists." I think of waiting to-morrow on the Prince to thank him for the honour he has done you.

JAMES STANHOPE to ROBERT PITT.

1715, September 16. London.—"I assure you that, when in discourse with your father, the office of Clark of the Green Cloath to the Prince was mentioned, it was onely looked upon, as you truly guess it, as an

introduction to such future advancement as, I am confident, you will very justly be thought to deserve when you shall be better known to the King and Prince. I cannot precisely answer what you desire to be informed of, no establishment being yett made; but what I have heard is, that the salary will be 500*l.*, the attendance little or none, at least so long as the two families live under one roof. There can certainly be no occasion for a new election for the reason you mention. I believe the establishment will be fixed in about a fortnight; and it will be a very great satisfaction to me if any endeavours of mine for your service are acceptable to you." *Endorsed*—from Mr. Secretary Stanhope.

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT.

1715, September 27. Pall Mall.—I reached home last night after a pleasant journey from Vale Royal. On my way, at Coventry, news met me of the arrest of three peers and six members of the House of Commons; among the latter being your bosom friend the Esquire of Combe [Mr. Harvey], who yesterday morning stabbed himself in three places in the Messenger's house. It is said to-day that he will recover. I hear that letters from his friends have been found among his papers, and hope there are none that can compromise you. "I have heard since I came to towne that you are strooke in with your old hellish acquaintance, and, in all your discourse, are speaking in favour of that villainous trayter Ormond. The design of these packs of villains that are now taken up was noe less than to cutt off the whole Royall family, and sett the cursed Pretender on the throne, in which miserable tragedy I should have had my share. God still avert it! Greater discovery's are expected will be made every day; let whoso will be concerned, I wish they may have their demerits."

The SAME to the SAME.

1715, September 29. Pall Mall.—I received yours of yesterday, when dining at Sir Richard Onslow's with Mr. Stanhope. We gave him your letters to read. He said that a letter from you, of no importance, had been found among Mr. Harvey's papers. He was going to a Cabinet, but we shall send an answer from him by next post.

"You may remember that hee [Mr. Harvey] and I signed bonds, which was the 13th of July last, that the survivor of us two should receive of the heirs of the deceased 1,000 guineas, when in his letters of January, before hee was engaged in the hellish design of cutting off the Royall family, and for some time before, it appeares, under his own hand, that hee had corresponded with the Pretender; and is said has like to recover of his wounds; but sure hee can never save his life but by an ample confession; and it is said there are 160 or more men of estates that have signed an association, and have oblidge'd 'emselves, or paid 2,000*l.* each towards the charge of rayseing forces to bring in the Pretender. Since last post, I have had it re-iterated to mee that in all company you are vindicating Ormond and Bull[ingbroke], the two vilest rebels that ever were in any nation, and that you still adhere to your cursed Tory principles, and keep those wretches company who hoped by this time to have murdered the whole Royall family; in which catastrophe your father was sure to fall, as was certainly designed at the signing those bonds, and to have taken possession of my house and all that could be found therein; never a viler man in the world, and the

same stamp all your acquaintance." I think of being at Stratford on Sunday or Monday. You may remember the advice I gave you from the time of my arrival, but others "who you will be bound for ever to curse, prevayled."

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT.

1715, October 1. Pall Mall.—"I dined too day at Mr. Stanhope's, when hee delivered mee the inclosed. The game is still carrying on, and it is said that the late D[uke] of O[rmond] and Sir William W[yndham] are to appear in the west suddenly, for it is wrott from France the Duke is come thence." A ship came into the Downs on Thursday from Fort St. George. Poor Benyon and Mr. Fleetwood are dead. In the former I have had a great loss, which delays my leaving town till Monday morning, when cousin Chapple will come with me. We shall be with you on Tuesday night, and proceed to Dorset on Thursday morning. The Duke of Bolton will be at Winchester on Tuesday, and, if you are there, you may meet us at Stockbridge. I do not answer your wife's letter as I am coming so soon. The children are well and will dine with me to-morrow. I wonder I have not heard from Mr. Jolly, but will look into Abbot's Anne on my return from Dorset.

THOMAS PITT, to ROBERT PITT, M.P., at St. Mary, Blandford, Dorset.

1715, October 25. Pall Mall.—I dined at Mr. Grevill's, and lay at Winchester on Friday. On Saturday night we got to cousin Chapple's, and rested there until Monday, arriving here last night.

"By what I can hitherto observe, we are like to have great confusion, and, with the end of it, bee not [far from] utter ruine. The rebels in Northumberland are joyned those of Scotland, and are marched towards Glasgow. It is rumoured that the D[uke] of Som[er]se[t] will bee out, and there is a report in towne that Sir E. Sey[mou]r and Colonel Hor[ne]r [are under recognizances of] the former 4,000*l.*, the latter 3,000*l.* They had ingaged to assist the rebels, which I can hardly believe it, but as times goe, one can hardly find a friend to trust. It is said you will soon heare, if not already, of the D[uke] of Or[mon]d's landing in the West or in Wales, for hee is gone from Paris."

I hope you have met with the officers of my regiment. Let me know whether arms have come down for it, and what progress has been made towards the well-settling of the militia, in which I would have you act for me. Give my service to General Earle, Mr. Trenchard, and all our friends. There are various reports as to Mr. Harvey's recovery.

I earnestly desire you will settle my accounts with Mr. Jolly, who, I believe, has not only wronged me, but suffered everyone else to do the same. Pray be cautious with him. I will have nothing further done but what is necessary to preserve my plantations. Keep farmer Brown's money out of his hand's till he has adjusted all accounts. See whether the work done by my team is equivalent to two men's wages, provender, and wear and tear. Inquire into the gardener's business. Charge him to raise all manner of trees for planting out. I hope you have a good lock on the door. Here are great robbing and house-breaking, and I believe you will find it as bad in the country. I shall send back the master-key which I brought away. "You see what a call the Bank has made, to which I must pay 3,000*l.*, and stocks fall prodigiously." *Signet.*



## THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT.

1715, October 27. Pall Mall.—“Here is afoot associations from severall countys. I wish you could bee at the head of procuring one in Dorsettt and Wiltshire, about which consult Mr. Earle. I here inclose the *Dayly Corant* wherein is one from Nottingham. If it bee thought necessary I can send arms for one hundred foot and accoutrements for 20 horse; and tell General Earle, if the gentlemen subscribe, lett him incert mee for what number of horse hee thinks fitt, and I will immediately appear with them. The D[uke] of Somersett is out.” *Signet.*

## The SAME to the SAME.

1715, October 29. Pall Mall.—I have received a letter from Mr. Jolly stating that he can have the remainder of the house pulled down for 40*l*. If he, and Oazye too, had been here to see houses taken down in this street, and all materials nicely sorted, he would think the work worth half the money; yet having offered 30*l*, I will stand to it, but not a farthing more. “Lett him send his deare Oazye and see their worke at Abbott’s Anne.”

“I forgott to tell you one good piece of service of Mr. Jollye’s. About 4 years agoe I agreed with Brine about that farme. The particulars Mr. Jollye tooke downe in writeing in order to make the leases which I thought had bin signed and sealed long since; but when I was last downe, to my great surprize, it was not done, nor had he ever drawne them. Tell him I expect it shall bee done now, and that forthwith.

“There were letters this day from France which mentions that the D[uke] of O[rmon]d was sayled thence in a ship with 7,000 arms, officers, and ammunition suitable thereto. I hope, though you did not vote against him, you will fight against him, for there was never such a villanous scheme layd for the destruction of a government as to Church and State in this world.”

Deputy Lieutenants should contrive that where two or more persons contribute for a horse or foot soldier, they should be as near neighbours as possible. I wish my own company of foot to be raised in and about Blandford, and in ten days can send arms to equip 100 foot completely. *Signet.*

## The SAME to the SAME.

1715, November 8. Pall Mall.—What the General [Earle] has subscribed for me I will make good with all haste imaginable. “I wonder hee should not desire carbines for the horse, for suppose that they should be oblidged in the inclosures to fight afoot; besides they will look more formidable and be in the nature of dragoons.

“I observe what you say of the workmen. They shall have 35*l*. for pulling down the remaining part of the house, but do not lett them make it a stalking horse, doeing it when they have noe other work.”

The rebels, joined with those of Northumberland, are marching for Lancashire; Carpenter being in their rear, and Wills, with 10 regiments, in their front, we hope for a good account of them in a few days. Your brother is [with] one of [the] 10 regiments. No news of the Pretender or [Lord] James Butler. It is feared that the Spanish flotilla is lost. The Bank has made another call of  $\frac{1}{2}$ , which straitens me and others for money. I received from Mr. Jolly the enclosed

letter "which is partly torne with the seale, paper being scarce with him." He says my team is already well employed, and talks of hiring another to carry earth for the coppice. I thought mine could have done all my work, and fear I have suffered much. "That is another of Oazy's bargains." *Signet.*

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT.

1715, November 12. Pall Mall.—What you say of the Association shows a good inclination in the people, who, I hope, by degrees will be brought to curse those that have so long deluded them. You will receive by this post a Declaration of the Bishops. Gloucester and Bristol would not sign; the Archbishop of York acts with great zeal for the King and his country. The rebels have got to Lancashire. Mills's rendezvous was at Manchester. Your brother wrote from Vale Royal, on the 9th, that I might expect news by the next post. We hear nothing of the Pretender or James Butler. *Signet.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1715, November 17. Pall Mall.—I received intelligence yesterday morning, at 6 o'clock, from your brother of the surrender of the rebels, numbering 4,000 or 5,000, at Preston; Lords Derwentwater and Widdrington, and Macintosh's son, being hostages. The news was confirmed at 10 o'clock by an express brought by Colonel Nassau to the King. The lords, gentlemen, and clergy are to be brought up. Of the last, as reported, there are seventeen of the Church of England, and many more Popish priests. Sir R. B. is not among them. About 100 of our men have been killed or wounded; as for the rebels, I never heard of such scoundrels. Your brother and all our friends are well. *Signet.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1715, November 26. Pall Mall.—"That affaire in Scotland was but little better than a drawne battle. The Dutch troops are all marching thither and some of our owne. It is believed the Pretender is there and that Ormond is somewhere lurking in England. The rebels at Preston are bringing up to towne. Your brother is well, whose regiment took their onely standard with the motto *Amor regis et patriæ tantum valet.*" You have a good time to plant, which I hope will be well followed. "The Jacobites and Papists hereabouts are as insolent as ever." *Signet.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1715, November 28. Pall Mall.—Writing now is not so much my talent as formerly. Desire of ease and retirement comes on with age and it is as much as I can compass to write what is necessary for me.

"This day William Windham and cousin Chapple dined with mee and told mee the Salisbury rebels or rioters [were brought up] on Saturday last; there being but five appeared who were sent over to the King's Bench till next terme, against when they will consider of further punishment. The other five are fled and must run their country. I want to heare how those rascalls at Salisbury relish this; there are more rods in piss for them." The rascal I depended on has disappointed me of my saddles, but I shall have them in a fortnight, and the 100 arms for foot I expect this week. *Signet.*

## THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT.

1715, December 17. Pall Mall.—Yesterday the Bishop of Lincoln was declared Archbishop of Canterbury; by what I hear, Mr. Stanhope's promise to you will be performed before Parliament meets. "Those rebels that are brought up will not confess anything to the prejudice of their party; from which I infer they are still carrying on their villany; and the Regent on the other side has doubtless assisted them, and has put a project afoot of rayseing the coyne, by which hee will amass a vast sum of money. I wish it bee not made use off against us in favour of the Pretender." Not a little talk here of George Pitt, his son, and cousin Ryves refusing to sign the Association. I have had a full account of Mr. Jolly's behaviour in the matter. I suppose the house is pulled down by this time.

THOMAS PITT to his daughter[-in-law, the Hon. Mrs.  
HARRIET PITT].

1715-16, January 28. Pall Mall.—Chiefly concerning domestic arrangements and expenditure. "I did hope by this to have seene your husband in towne, and his not being soe, occasions various speculations." *Endorsed* "about party."

THOMAS PITT to his son, ROBERT PITT.

1715-16, February 7. Pall Mall.—"I received yours of the 5th, to which I shall only answere that my house and all I have is at my owne disposal, and shall be soe. I think you have allready put a more than ordinary slight on the Prince's favour, and those that obtained it for you. I do not doubt but you still adhere to the advice of your old Jacobite friends, who I hope to live to see confounded and all their adherents. You may stay in the country or come; it is all one to mee."

WILLIAM STEWART [Lieutenant-General] to ROBERT PITT  
[at Stratford].

1715-16, March 1. London.—"I am very sory to finde you have had so severe a fit of the goute . . . . As soon as Collonell Campbell pays the money according to the agreement I shoed you, (which lyes in Mr. Secretary Stanhope's hands), I will doe what I promised in the maner you desire it, onely with this difference, that I shall never hereafter expect to have it returned to me againe. In the meantime, I wish you could . . . . ingage Mr. Stanhope, as hee was so kinde at your instance to begin that matter, so hee would continue his favourable interposition to have it ended."

"I must here take occasion to acquainte you with a particular which I had in a visset from a reall friende and relation of yours, who told mee your father in discourse with him, in some passion, highley resented your behaviour when hee brought your sister's child in his arms into the company, who all, except yourselfe, tooke notice of the child; nor that you would not have the complasance to go into the next room to see your sister who was that moment come to towne; and ended his discourse with saying it should not bee the better for you. When your friende told mee this, he saide, as matters stand, hee thought what you then did was highley imprudent, for, considering your father's passion and possitive temper, and wholly in the power and influenced



by those who are no friends of yours, ading that his fortune being all of his owne acquiring, and at his owne disposall, except the little hee had already settled on you, hee dreaded the consequence, and wished for your owne and children's sakes you would moderate your resentments, and take some proper method to ingratiate yourselfe with your father. This I thought highly for your service to know." *Endorsed—From General Stewart.*

WILLIAM STEWART to ROBERT PITT.

1715-16, March 8. London.—"The relation mentioned in my last happened to bee with mee when I received yours of the 3rd. I took occasion to read that part concerning your father's resentment to him. Hee would not . . . have you take notice of that matter in any letter to your father . . . by takeing no notice of it, hee belives it may be forgot and blo-over, without any ill-consequence to you."

"I returne you thanks for offering to write to Mr. Stanhope about the money yet unpaid by Campbell; but while your sister has so much invetracy and so much power with him, I feare a letter might do more harme than good. Were you in town to sollisite him . . . it might soon be settled to all our satisfactions . . . If you writ a handsome letter to your father . . . to sollisite Mr. Stanhope to see the affaire ended, it might do very well, and you may take occasion to tell him that the straitness . . . of your affaires occasioned your sudden return to Stratford, nor had you come to towne at all . . . but to obey his comand, and see Mr. Stanhope on his being instrumetall in procureing your new employment. And . . . you may let him know the present private advantage it might bee to yourselfe which . . . might inable you to come to towne, as well to waite on him, as to pay your duty to the Prince."

G. PITT to ROBERT PITT, at Stratford, near Sarum, Wilts.

1715[-16], March 17. London.—"The only opportunity I have had of being alone with your father was the other day when he and his present family did me the honour to dine with us. . . . By his discourse I find his present concern is your want of affection to your brothers and sisters, which may be improved to your disadvantage. If anything of this should be known to come from me, it will put it out of my power to serve you with him for the future." *Seal of arms.*

WILLIAM STEWART to ROBERT PITT [at Stratford].

1716, March 31. London.—"After receaving the copy of your letter to your father, which I was strictly injoynd not to sho to any but my wife, I sent twice to him that, if at home, I would waite on him, but, boath times, without success. Hee at last made mee a vissett, and after siting a good while, without takeing any notice or giving any opportunity of mentioning you, my wife came into the rome, and sone after he fell into a violent passion, declaring his resentment upon a letter you writ to him; to which wee boath seemed to bee strangers and exprest concerne that you should do anything to give him so great disturbance. Hee then said hee would bring the letter to sho us, which hee has not yet don. Upon this, my wife sent for George Pitt and . . . desired hee would endeavour to set this affaire in a true light with your father, which hee promised . . . . Two days ago,

the girls being at my house, your father came to make them and us a vissett. My wife being in the rome, wee expected, after the girls were gon out, hee would have shone us your letter . . . but still he tooke no notice of anything. At last my wife asked if hee had writ to you or heard lately from you, to which hee answered, in some passion, that hee had received a long letter from you which hee threw by without reading, which . . . gave us boath a good deale of concerne, and then [wee] offered to enter into some buisnesse upon that affaire, which he industriously waved, and so tooke his leave. I must, at the same time, acquainte you that hee is extremely kinde to your children, and is making the girls very fine, which Mrs. Cholmondely, with care and kindness, manages for them. You seeme resolved to resigne your employment. Wee most earnestly desire you will not do anything in it till you come to towne, and without consulting George Pitt who . . . is not onely a friende, but is honest and able to advise you for the best . . . I hope in a fortnight to receive the money from Collonel Campbell and bee able to make your coming to towne easie."

WILLIAM STEWART to ROBERT PITT.

1716, April 7. London.—"I . . . thought it for your service to . . . sho G. Pitt the copy of what you writ to your father, in which, in boath our opinions, there is but 2 words against which exceptions might be taken. Wee are further of oppinion that the matter ought to lye as it is till you come to towne, and that hee and I may see you before you see your father . . . The person I employ about the affaire of Campbell . . . gives mee hopes that the money will sone bee paid; but bee that as it will, you shall not bee disapointed, since I will take care the money shall bee ready to answer your occasions at the time you propose being in towne . . . Mrs. Stanhope has got a daughter."

G. PITT to ROBERT PITT [at Stratford near Sarum].

1716, April 12. London.—"I am heartily concerned for the trouble you are under, and as I am sensible you do not deserve such treatment, I shall embrace all opportunities of serveing you in the best manner I can; but find your father industriously avoiding all occasions of speaking of you, and I believe will continue in the same humour whilst that company is in his house . . . I do not doubt you will avoid all occasions of givinge distast about the politicks, and will take measures about cominge to town accordingly.

"The Bill for suspending the Triennial Act is commenced in the House of Lords and, it is said, will pass by a majority of twenty at least. In our House there is no doubt at all of its success, so that some people now hold their noses very high; some that they are senators for life, others that their places are as good as freeholds."

THOMAS PITT to his daughter[-in-law the Hon. Mrs. PITT].

1716, April 17. Pall Mall.—"I received yours of the 15th, and severall others before from you and your husband. The latter were soe stuffed with complaints and directions to mee that made mee very uneasy, and have taken a resolution to answere none of his letters. None of my children shall ever prescribe to me who I shall take into

my house, or who I shall keepe out, more especially him that has been the bane of my family, of which hee has given great proofs not only whilst I was abroad, but since. Soe lett him rely on those that have hitherto steerd his judgment, for I will have nothing more to doe with him. There are not a few speculations on his behaviour to the Prince, and the reason hee forbears to come up at this time. The bill will pass without him, *maugre* the opposition of the cursed caball of which hee has all along made one, and has as much contributed to the ruine of this kingdom as any in it. I shall not admire if the Pretender give him his *quietus* as soone as hee sees him. What interest could I expect to have when I could not influence my son to come into measures to preserve what hee had not spent mee."

THOMAS PITT, to his son, ROBERT PITT, at Stratford,  
near Salisbury.

1716, June 19. Pall Mall.—I, this day, kissed hands of the King, the Prince, and the Princess, on being appointed Governor of Jamaica; and shall embark for that island at the end of August. "I have ingaged my honour for a certaine person dureing this present, soe that myselfe and all my friends must attend att the election [for old Sarum] to prevent the ill designs of those villains." Lady Grandison has just been here to wish me joy of the honour the King has done me. *Seal of arms.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1716, August 25. Pall Mall.—Yesterday morning your sister Cholmondeley was brought to bed of a daughter. I would have the work required in the chancel at Abbots Anne done with all the good husbandry imaginable. I shall hardly go [to Jamaica] so soon as I intended, and shall take shipping at Portsmouth. Enclosed is Mr. Widmore's answer as to the affair about which I wrote to you; which see settled with honour and justice.—*Opinion of Richard Widmore in regard to the title of a plot of land in the Manor of Abbots Anne enclosed. Signet.*

T. PITT to his daughter[-in-law, the Hon. MRS. PITT].

1716, September 2. Pall Mall.—"I received yours of the 28th last month, and had you inclosed it in your husband's, it would have saved me 5*d*. I thank you for your congratulations of my daughter [Mrs. Cholmondeley] being safe, and wish there was a better harmony in my family then at present is, or, as far as I see, like to bee; and that some, of late, had not not given mee just cause to revive my resentments. I know not by whose advice you have acted, nor your husband who never followed mine. I am buisy night and day to prepare for my departure, being what I most long to see.

THOMAS PITT to his son [ROBERT PITT].

1716, September 4. Pall Mall.—Cousin Chapple says you have the writings as to the farm and parsonage. I would have all by me, to make my settlements effectual. I hope Mr. Jolly will send all up, and, to save postage, under the cover of the Colonel. My house is full [of

guests] and I rarely see any of them but at dinner; nor have the least time to spend with visitors, being anxious to settle matters as they ought to be, before I go. I return Grist's paper of which I can form no judgment, but desire that all may be done with good husbandry and no more of the usual profuseness and carelessness. Grist must be well looked after. You must draw off a hogshead of new claret, for mine is packed up; we must think of some way to send the beer to Portsmouth. "I will not lett the mill under 30*d*., and if in my power, let the neighbours bee oblidged to bring their grist, which surely they will doe if they deale as honestly by them as at other mills." *An estimate of the cost of rebuilding the chancel of Abbots Anne, with memoranda on the same paper by John Grist, enclosed in this letter.*

WILLIAM STEWART to ROBERT PITT [at Stratford near Sarum].

1716, September 7, Bath.—"The account your letter of the 4th gives of matters is very pleasing to . . . all this family. There seemes an appearance of all things going well, and your going to London with Mrs. Pitt and the children will, I believe, improve the good intentions your father may have; especially at this time when, I judge, his final settlements are to bee made. If you do not finde Tom at London, I hope hee will bee sent for to take his leave of his grand-father, so that hee may see all the infantry together, which I thinke should please him very much . . . I did fix leaving this the 27th of this month, . . . but since it is absolutely necessary you should not leave London till your father gos, and that you may have the more time of being at my house, I propose staying here a week longer than I intended . . . I am clearly of opinion that your waiting on the Prince, at this time, as much and as often as attending your father will permit, is absolutely necessary; which will let him see that you intend constantly to do your duty in your turn, which may bee a reasonable inducement to him to thinke ef makeing that attendance easie to you, since he cannot but know it will create an expence which, without his assistance, you cannot well aford. I am very glad my hous ehappens to bee empty at this time, that he may see, whenever it is, you shall not bee put to the expence of a lodging."

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT, at Stratford near Sarum.

1716, September 8. Pall Mall.—"I received the writings and sent them to cosin Chapple. Your accounts, which are for great sums, being without any one date, gives mee great trouble in settling my affaires; therefore pray bring up all letters received and sent and every scrip of paper that can give me any insight into any one account. I find by my invoyces and letters, I consigned you a bulse of diamonds on the *Herne*, Captain Lane, and another on the *Strutham*, Captain Gough, both of which arrived in July before me, and find nothing of either of them in your accounts. There is one that belonged to my Lord Shaftsbury wrote me a very impertinent letter about money hee says hee spent when I stood Knight of the Shire; his name is Parry. I am sure I never ordered him to spend a penny, nor promised ever to give him any, nor will I.

"The clock, and the Lord know what, is come up in three parcells by the wagon, which might have come with the arms by sea, which are arrived. Bestard's letter comes inclosed; hee is an ill man or I am mistaken. On 540*l*. I abated him 14*l*., and that *scritore* hee would

insinuate hee made for mee. Hee himself told mee hee made it on his own account. Pay him if you can his 5*l.* 7*s.*, if hee will not abate the 7*s.*, which hee may doe out of the coffin for Bugden." *Signet.*

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT.

1716, September 27. Pall Mall.—"I meete with great trouble in settling Sir Stephen Evance's accounts, occasioned by your neglect and ill management, and want the copy of George Pitt's and your receipt which you gave him when you took the diamond out of his hands. I am overwhelmed with trouble, care, and confusion; and wish I was gone, hoping then to have a little *requiem*, for here I can not."

WILLIAM STEWART to ROBERT PITT.

1716, October 27. London.—"The Court comes to town this night. I hear the Prince dynes in the Citty next Monday, and that a great many are preparing to make their appearance next Tuesday [at the birth-day levée], and am told that your velvitt imbroderry will bee ready against that time, but do not hear of any lodgings secured for you to put them on in . . . . The other night, at the Coco-Tree, I saw Collonel Pitt and your brother[-in-law] Chomeley. The former made mee a grave bow without speaking, which example I followed. I suppose hee is directed to take no notice of mee, which hee has never don since I came last to towne, by which I perceave the many obligations receaved from mee are all forgot . . . . The small-pox . . . was never known to bee so much in towne as now, therefore . . . I do not thinke it adviseable to bring the children with you."

THOMAS PITT to his son, ROBERT PITT [at Stratford near Sarum].

1716, December 4. Pall Mall.—"Bastard is a great villaine. Hee sent up his bill hither but just before you paid him and demanded noe more than 5*l.* 5*s.*, and now it is 17*s.* . . . . How can I doe myselfe justice? Have you not paid him (Jollye) to Christmas last 50*l.* a yeare? I told him and you I would pay noe more than 40*l.* a yeare . . . . His father was a curse to the family of the Chettles . . . . and if you dont shun him as the Devill he will jostle you or mee out of part or all that estate."

"From the time I came into England I have bin bewildered in my thoughts about the confusion that was in my family whilst abroad, and whensoever I sett about my accounts, it renewed my concerne to that degree in my closett, and putt mee into such confusion as made mee desist, whereby my accounts run behind hand; butt now I have gott pretty well through them. Yet when I receive any letters from you, write you, or thinke of you, it is *renovare dolorem*; for, with what you have wasted of my estate that I consigned to you, what settled, and what I permitt you to possess, what bestowed on your brothers and sisters, amounts to upwards of 90,000*l.* I have bin at great expences at home, the great diamond unsold, soe in my 64th yeare of my age, I am travelling to retrieve this, and seeke my quiett, and endeavour to forgett it if I can. God's will bee done. I hope to pass the remainder of my life with more comfort then I have since I came to England."



## THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT.

1717, June 29. Pall Mall.—“When I can get matters settled about that Cornish estate [Boconnock], I think it would not be amiss if you went down with Crissick . . . If that of my Lord Lexington's be to be sold, I should be willing to be the purchaser, because it lies under one's eye.

“I cannot help impertinent fools meddling with my busyness that they had nothing to do with. The stone was sold for 2,000,000 *livres*, sixteen to one pound sterling [=125,000*l.*]. I received the third of the money, and the remainder is in four payments, every six months, with 5 per cent. interest; for security of which I have Crown jewels, 4 parcells, one to be delivered at each payment.” *Signed. Seal of arms.*

VISCOUNTESS GRANDISON to her daughter, the Hon. MRS. PITT  
[at Stratford near Sarum].

1717, July 9. London.—My ill-health disables me from writing with my own hand. This will be a very proper time for my son[-in-law] Pitt, to visit the Governor in London, as he will find only Colonel Pitt in the house; Lady Frances [Pitt], Mr. Cholmondeley and family having departed for Cheshire yesterday. It is very expedient that the Governor should be kept in the good humour of thinking of buying an estate, which I cannot believe but must be designed for the head of his family. Governor Harrison has arrived in England. *Signed. Seal of arms.*

THE EARL OF BARRYMORE to ROBERT PITT, at Stratford near Sarum.

1718, May 1. London.—Acknowledging payment of money, apparently a loan. *Seal of arms.*

## THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT.

1717, August 13. Pall Mall.—Sir James Mountague was certainly in the wrong, and the House [of Commons] will declare it a breach of privilege. I shall write to Crissick, next post, to be accountable to you for Keynston. I will pay Sir William Gifford here and the stock must remain mine. You must pay the parson nothing more than the *modus*; I will pay him the gratuity. *Signet.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1717, December 3. Pall Mall.—The House was called over this day, when your absence was excused. Inquire what they ask for that parsonage and the age of the incumbent; and let me know Crissick's opinion of that estate that was Lord Stourton's.

You have doubtless heard of the disagreement between the king and the Prince, for which the Prince was forbid the Court, and with the Princess lay last night at Lord Grantham's. I am sorry to see this. *Signed. Signet.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1718, August 12. Pall Mall.—I shall be satisfied to have the papers of Lady Mohun's estate on my return from Cheshire. I thought my cousin Pitt's life had been filled up long since. This should be done a

once. Mr. Lyttcote, as I remember, added a life for 200*l*. If you can, when you are adding the life let the other two be changed and put in the three brothers Robert, Thomas, and John [Pitt], and my name as purchaser. If the 150*l*. you would borrow of me is part of the money for this lease I will lend it, expecting that you will pay it as you promise.

"I feare Willis is playing villaneous tricks with poor Sutton. I gave him the parsonage on these termes, that hee should take Sutton as his curatt and allow him 100*l*. a yeare, deducting taxes; and this I insisted on severall days, and intended that if hee had not agreed to it to have presented Sutton. But we concluded in this manner one morning; hee coming to mee told mee that his oath would not admitt him to make a bargain, but if I gave him the parsonage he would obey afterwards whatever I commanded, soe then I looked on all agreed to. I here inclose Sutton's letter, which return mee next post. It is not to late yett to try for the perpetuall advowson of St. Mary Blandford, and something else too. When you were there you must have heard something of this. Sutton is poor and destitute of friends, and is the grandson of my mother, and shall not be thus used by a scoundrell blockhead that is not fitting to carry wast paper after him."

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT.

1718, August 16. Pall Mall.—God knows I wrote you the truth of the manner I agreed with Willis for Sutton, to both of whom I have now written and send you the letters for perusal. In that to Sutton is a copy of a one received yesterday from Willis; I think I never [read] such a villainous letter. Seal and forward them.

"The 150*l*. I am ready to lend you, but that of the 300*l*. I wonder you aske it; have not you the whole income of everything there? and have had itt all along. I intend it for you, but will have it in my power to revoke. I mentioned your brothers' lives for nothing but that I thought them better than two soe little boys as yours are. Tommy's may stand, but Will has not had the small-pox. Let itt be purchased in my name, and fill them up with what lives you will; for I do not intend to dispose of anything more whilst I live." I went on Thursday to Swallowfield. Colonel Otway and Mr. James were with me. We ordered many alterations which will, I fear, put me to vast expense. I wish I had a better head than Abbiss there. The house has been made much cheerfuller by the cutting down of trees.

The SAME to The SAME, at Stratford near Sarum.

1719, October 3. Pall Mall.—"Mr. Stracy sent me a letter to appoint him where he should wait on me . . . to fix an answer to Sir Cæsar Child and Company their bill in Chancery in regard to Sir Stephen Evance, about the great diamond, in which it is absolutely necessary that you come to town; and it would not be amiss to call on George Pitt to discourse him about what induced you to take it out of Sir Stephen's hands. I remember then you gave sufficient reasons for it, which I cannot call to mind; what induced you to give that note and many other things. . . . We must now answer fully the bill, and I doubt not, with your help and George Pitt's, we shall put a full stop to their hellish and unjust demand." *Signed Seal of arms.*

ROBERT PITT to THOMAS PITT [in Pall Mall, London].

1719, October 5. Stratford.—I have not been one day well since I left you. In this condition I am very unfit to undertake a journey, but all the ends of my coming to town may be answered without it.

What I have to say as to the affair you mention is no more than this; that having had divers intimations that Sir Stephen Evance was in suspicious circumstances, I thought it absolutely necessary to remove the diamond from his custody, which he scrupled to comply with unless he could be assured of receiving East India Commission, which is 5 per cent.; whereupon I gave him my note to satisfy him on that point, which in case of your mortality, if the property of the diamond descended to me, would oblige me to the payment of it. I was so anxious to preserve so great a concern, which I thought would be irrecoverably lost if it remained in his hands, that if he had demanded anything further of me I should have consented to it. All this may be taken before any Commissioner of Chancery in the country as well as before a Master in London, and with half the charge. I will write to my cousin Pitt to recollect himself upon this matter, he having been present at the whole transaction, and, from that hour, had the custody of the diamond till your return. *Copy.*

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT, at Stratford near Sarum.

1720. April 23. Pall Mall.—“I wrott you yesterday by your brother Jack who is gone to stand for Parliament man at Hyndon [Wilts] . . . . This is to acquaint you of the great and good news of this day which is a reconciliation between the King and Prince. The King sent for the Prince who, after some time with him, came out, when drums, trumpetts, and collours displayed, the usuall ceremonies to the Prince of Wales and Guards attended him home; and tomorrow it is expected that the Court of St. James's and that of Lester-fields unite in one, to the great joy of all that love old England.” *Signed. Seal of arms.*

JANE PITT to the Hon. MRS. PITT, at Stratford near Sarum.

[1720.] May 7. Gravill Pitt.—“What you write about your son Willy I hope will be brought to pass, if you can prevale on your uncle Villers to have a little patience. When my son Londonderry returns, I dare answer for him that he will indever to promote the affaire, who has allways promoted the interest of your children, and is very ready to do it again upon all occasions, and indeed so are his sisters. I am extreme sorry that my son Pitt did not invite him to his house, for he intended to come if he had been invited, and no body could expect him without it, especially when he never did anything that in reason could cause his brother's anger, and is very ready to forgit any thing that his brother has said or done against him. But who can desire him that has received all injurys to make all the advances. But if my son Pitt woud be so wise as to follow the good example of his Master, the Prince and his followers, who was all so forward in being reconciled to thare old friends that they never rested till they had kissed and imbraced them all, and the very next day made invitations to the Ministry. The Duke of Devon began, and so it has held on ever since. Nay, the ladies too was so inclined to friendship that they did the same. My Lady Townsend and Mrs. Worpoole came to your sister Stanhope the next day to invite her; so that they which stands out now are petty



singular, for the Prince and Princes has returned thanks to your brother Stanhope for the great services he has done to the nation and to them. So you see when eyes are opened and malicious storys sett in a true light, what vast alterations it maks in opinions, which I pray God give us all grace and humility to consider as we ought." *Seal of arms.*

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT, at Stratford near Sarum.

1720, May 19. Pall Mall.—"I find a great deal of trouble in settling my Cornish affairs . . . You know what a condition Boconnick is in."

"I cannot tell what to think of continuing the old Parliament or calling a new one. Doing the former would have been the means to eradicate corruption, but this South Sea affaire has so settled it, that I think it is irrecoverable. There was an instance of it in bringing in Mr Johnson [Abraham Jansen for Dorchester Borough?] into the House yesterday. The King certainly goes abroad; and where, as you have heard lately, that there was an arrett of the King of France come out which took away four parts in nine of everybody's estate in the Mississippi Company, we hear by this day's post that they have been forced to revoke it, for that the people will not bear it." *Signed. Seal of arms.*

The EARL OF BARRYMORE to ROBERT PITT, at Stratford near Salisbury.

1720, July 1, Rock Savage.—Asking him to send 14*l*. to pay for a hogshead of wine, consigned to the care of Colonel FitzPatrick at Southampton. *Seal of arms.*

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT.

1720, August 18, Boconnock.—"I have received a letter from cosen Chapple about Sir Stephen Evance's trustees who demand commission on the great diamond, and a Master in Chancery tells them I am obliged to answer what it was sold for, which I think is not only unreasonable but unjust to the last degree; and many inconveniences, as I may tell you hereafter, may attend it, if I am obliged so to do. Therefore pray do you and cosen Chapple sett together and draw out the plaine state of the case, and go with it to two or three of the best practices in Chancery, and leave it with them for their opinion in writing, and retaine them for me if it comes to be argued before my Lord Chancellor, for I think the Master that gave his opinion in it, is neither indued with reason, law, nor justice . . . . You have heard that they bid up stoutly for Members of Parliament in these parts." *Signed. Seal of arms.*

JANE PITT to the HON. MRS. PITT.

1720, October 2. Bath.—"I received your kind letter, and find turky for which Lord Dunegall and Londonderry joyns with me in thanks . . . . We hope that you will . . . come to Bath this season very soon, for upon the fall of South Sea, the place emptys so fast that you may have your choice of lodgings at the winter price."

"We selldom go abroad, so can send you no news, besides most peple's harts are so down that scandall is not entertained as usual, and the wits have something elce to think of; for want of incouragement, which maks the bath more agreeable now than ever I knew it." *Seal of arms.*

THOMAS PITT to his son, ROBERT PITT, at Boconnock.

1721, July 18. Pall Mall.—"I desire you, when the Judges are at Bodmin, to send half a buck to Sergeant Pengelly and cosen Chapple." *Seal of arms.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1721, August 10. Pall Mall.—"I hope you were able to dine with the Judges, w[h]ere, generally, all the news of the country is talked of. If you see Mr. Chapple, tell him that I have arrested Mr. Douglas who is now upon the stool of repentance, and I believe repents his using me so barbarously.

"I left Ruttew controller in chief of my husbandry affairs, and you will see by the instructions left with him, that he had power to discharge such as did not obey his commands.

"I have been thinking that if we should have a new Parliament, which I much doubt, I would have you and Phillipps lay your heads together where the interest of my estate lies strongest for electing three or four Parliament men, for that I hear the borough hunters of Cornwall are willing to commute with me, and if they do not, and that there is a new Parliament, I will give them all the trouble I can imagine; and I hope all the honest gentlemen of Cornwall will joyn with me, and I will with them. Whether they commute or no, consider this, and write me your answer. I will be att no other expence than a bottle of wine, a barrell of ale, and a dish of meat."

"I received lately a letter from your daughter Katy to permit her to learn geography. I have sent her earnest to give the master, and have promised her books to fitt her for it.

"Tomorrow morning I sett out for Swallowfield, and shall call at Eaton to take your two boys with me, and some of their comrogues; and will sett them down there again on Monday."

The SAME to the SAME.

1721, August 29. Pall Mall.—"Your sister Stanhope was brought to bed Saturday the 19th, of a brave lusty boy and a girl."

"I would have you by no means forgett to inquire into the affaire of the mine in the park. There is some roguery in that affaire. I believe they hope to tire me out and have the working of it for nothing. I wonder that no mines are discovered on any of my estates. Other people have the good luck to find something, and I believe if my people did well look after it, I might have the same. Encourage what you can the planting of timber, and the disposing of what is come to maturity to be cut; and the tenants in planting orchards and trees for timber.

"I wish I could settle that estate I have at Oakhampton upon a better foot than it is. If you could gett an interview with Sir Richard Vivian and some other of those honest gentlemen that are partners with me, I believe it might be done to our mutuall interest."

THE EARL OF ANGLESEY TO ROBERT PITT.

1721, December 16.—Conveying information in regard to family papers, and expressing warm friendship.—*Seal of arms.*

THOMAS PITT to his son, ROBERT PITT, at Stratford near Sarum.

1722, April 19. Pall Mall.—“I observe what pranks have been played in Cornwall and little did I think that Sir Richard Vivian would come into their dirty work, as I hear he has . . . . My Lord Sunderland died about 3 o'clock this afternoon.” *Signed. Seal of arms.*

THE SAME to the SAME.

1722, June 16. Pall Mall.—“I . . do not remember of your unwillingness to stand at Oakhampton but rather otherwise, and your answer in both those letters is no otherwise than what I expected; and you have been such a son to me as he [Phillips] has been a steward, who I will very suddenly discharge as a cursed and unfaithful steward. I wrott to him for my accounts long since, there being at Midsummer five quarters in arrear, and expected the accounts that I received to-day would have been for the year to Lady-day last; but I find them to be no further than Michaelmas last, unless it be the villainous account of Oakhampton, and your charges since you and your family came thence, which amounts to 167*l.* 12*s.* I hope you will take care to pay it, or I will tack it to you, and pay myself over and over. I have not patience to read that villian's accounts. When I have thoroughly perused them, I will sett out his true character. . . I am the most unfortunate man in my sons, which will make me steer another course than what I intended.” *Signed. Seal of arms.*

SIR THOMAS HARDY to ROBERT PITT, at Stratford near Sarum.

1722, June 16. Pall Mall.—“Last Munday your father showed me Mr. Phillips's account of the Oakhampton election which came to 2,549*l.* 14*s.* besides 150*l.* he said he had paid otherwise; at which he swore most heartely, and said he would send for Phillips to towne, and he must certainly suffer death, besides his being turned out of his stewardship. I paliated everything in the best manner I could, and whilst I was argueing with the old gentleman, Lord Londonderry came in and was for excuseing everything as well as myself and apealed to some of his letters to Phillips which were produced; which gave us new arguments. In short, he is very angry with you, on what account he did not tell me; but told me yesterday morning that you had not thought it worth your while to write to him in a great while. I told him I concluded that you had the gout in your right hand, for I had not heard from you since I took my leave of you at the turn-pike. The concern I have for your wellfare has made me trouble you with this.”

THOMAS PITT to his son, ROBERT PITT.

1722, November 3. Pall Mall.—“Here are severall people asking for yon, and wonder you do not give your attendance upon the business of the House; all persons here keeps close to it, and this day we were

upon Mr. Hutchinsons election [Archibald Hutcheson, MP for Westminster?] and heard council on both sides; who seems to have a just and fair cause, though the Court I see is violently against him. We have adjourned the conclusion of it till Tuesday next. If he looses it, it is by means of such slinkers as you are.

"I hear the villains att Swallowfield are making more small arches to the bridge towards the house. Let it be who it would that order it, they shall pay for it, by the living God." *Signed.*

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT.

1722, November 8. Pall Mall.—"I returned from Cheevening Tuesday in the afternoon, where I left your sister Stanhope in an indifferent condition. I have been pestered with many letters from Oakhampton which is to no purpose, for I assure them I never will pay a penny more on that account; and if that Phillips had not been the most notorious villain as ever was heard of, he would not have paid what he did, and then we could have seen who it was that had lain out money justly and have paid such persons and no others; and now that notorious villain to whom I have remitted fifteen hundred pounds has not paid . anything but that villanous election, nor have I for above a twelve month received one penny for my estate in Cornwall, from which I should have received three or four thousand pounds, which so perplexes my thoughts that I am thinking of selling all my estates there, and putt Phillips into those hands that shall tare him to pieces, and call him to an account for all his villanys.

"If you go into Dorsetshire, you may make use of my house there, and if the state of your health requires your going to Bath and Bristol I have no more to say to it. But if Heriot had thought fitt to have wintered with me, she should have been very wellcome; though I must needs think that all children are best under the eye of their parents; but my family is so numerous that I cannot have reasonable conveniency for them all, nor will I ever make myselfe uneasie in any of my houses to accommodate any of my family. I wish you would in your next, write plaine who it is that you mean that Heriot would not have been wellcome to.

"I suppose you have had an account how Mr. Hutchinson's cause went, which was not by so great a majority as expected, though vile as it was. You are, and will be, reckoned here a slinker whilst so many men of greater worth and value than yourself attend in their places ready to do their country service as occasion shall happen; and if you have taken up with dirty lodgings, why have you not provided yourself with better? Would you have me give you mine? Remember what money you have spent in dogs and horses and other extravagancies that might have furnished you with better . The hind att Boconnock has no less than six of his family with him, whereas I never knew of more than four; and now I hear he has gott down two sons more. I have wrote to Crissick about it . I am weary of answering your long and perplexed letters." *Signed.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1722, November 17. Pall Mall.—"As to the affaire of Oakhampton, I am resolved I will never pay a farthing more towards it; and as to that Phillips, he has been the greatest villaine as ever was employed,

and I wonder that you do not see it. The two thousand pounds I remitted to pay Risdon's mortgage . . . the villain applied to pay off the villanous charge of the election . . . I never expected there could have been spent there 500*l*. . . I curse the hour that ever that thing was meddled with, and despise the threats of those scoundrell rascalls, and if my age would permitt me, I would venture being mobbed by such scoundrells. There are not ten honest men in the place, and Phillips the worse."

"Here has been a Declaration from the Pretender brought before us in Parliament . . . We must certain be unanimous in supporting the present Government or we must all be undone. There is no medium in this matter. In short, I should advise you to come up." *Signed.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1722[-3], January 26. Pall Mall.—"My resentments against you all have been justly and honourably grounded, and that you will find when my head is laid. Money I have none, for that all my bags are emptied, so have none to lend; but rather than I will want for anything I will sell all I have purchased. I need no people to incense me against you all; your actions have been too provoking and plaine, and the more I think on 'em the worse is my resentment.

*Postscript.*—"I gave 5 years' purchase for Lady Mohun's estate, after 3 lives." *Signed. Seal of arms.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1722[-3], February 26. Pall Mall.—"This is to advise you of the death of your sister Stanhope Sunday morning last, about eleven o'clock, at Kensington, whether she was hurried the Wensday before by her physitians; and this day sennight she is intended to be interred at Cheevening . . . The misfortunes that all my sons has brought upon me, whereby you have wronged me of a great number of thousands, which has reduced me so low that I cannot lend you a much less sum than you desire; and all of you have brought me to these hard circumstances which, I believe, will very speedily carry my grey hairs to my grave, and I care not how soon it is, for that I am surrounded with the plagues and troubles of this world." *Signed. Seal of arms.*

JANE PITT to her son, ROBERT PITT, at Stratford near Sarum.

1722-3, March 5.—Thanking him for an invitation to his house at Stratford, and lamenting the recent death of her daughter, Lady Stanhope.

THOMAS PITT to his son, ROBERT PITT, at Stratford near Sarum.

1722[-3], March 12. Pall Mall.—"I . . . this morning was taken so very ill, with the loss of all my limbs, that I thought I should not have lived till this evening . . . And don't press me any further, for I cannot lend you the money and die in debt." *Signed. Seal of arms.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1722[-3], March, 19. Pall Mall.—"Since . . . I was taken so very ill, I have not been in the House, but hope now I am pritty well recovered, but am busied very much taking an inventory of my



daughter Stanhope's effects; and we shall all, Saturday next, go to Chevening to settle her affairs there and dispose of the young family."

"I am sorry for your indisposition, for gout, gravel, and stone are greivous companions which I wish you well rid of. For my part I grow weaker and weaker, and think cannot hold it long. I doubt not but you have . had the Report from the Committee and the Appendix that is come out this day sent to you. . The whole thing is certainly true, and as deep-laid a plot as ever was; and I wish it be not still carrying on." *Signed. Seal of arms.*

#### THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT.

1723, April 6. Pall Mall.—"I . here enclose you an unquestionable receipt against the gravel [not found] . It is true that I was informed . that you had lodged some trash and trumpery and basketts and stuff in the closet of the Red Room, which made the room useless, and had I known they had been to have been put there I would never have suffered them to have come into my house, which I will be master of as long as I live; which I fear will not be long, for I decline very much, and am doing all the good I can whilst living. And in order thereto, I hope all my daughter Stanhope's children are at my house at Swallowfield this evening except Lady Lucy, who is with Lady. Fane; and my Lord Stanhope we intend to put to Eaton after Whitsuntide, so that there is four children and their servants there, which I intend shall remain till they are fitting to go out to boarding schools. I find I grow very crazy and must look after my own business, for I have nobody to do it for me but such as cheat me and abuse me in everything." *Signed.*

#### H. SUTTON to ROBERT PITT, at Stratford near Sarum.

1723, September 16. St. Stephens [Cornwall].—"It was no small disappointment to me that I lost the happiness of seeing you at Stratford in my return home; I was diverted from my design of waiting upon you there by the Governor's telling me that you was retired with your family to Blandford for fear of the small-pox. I hope, therefore, you will be so good as to accept of this reason for my not calling upon you in pursuance of your kind invitation . This is the chief cause of my giving you this present trouble.

"But it comes likewise to desire your favour and advice in the affair between the Colonel [John Pitt] and me, concerning the ten pound which he has had of mine in his hands ever since you was last in Cornwall. When I met him at Swallowfield, I was a little surprized to find that he took not the least notice to me of the debt, or made any offer for a time of payment. And after I mentioned it to him, all I could get was a note of his hand. To make amends for this, and the injury he did my horse by his riding post, he told me I should have his little Dartmoor gelding that was at Boconnock. This promise he renewed to me several times before divers witnesses, and yet, if we may judge of men's thoughts by their actions, I dare believe he did not design it at the same time. I am sure the event does but too plainly confirm me in this suspicion, for the very moment he came to Solden, he sent away to Boconnock for the horse, long enough, he was sure, before I could get there; and this without sending the least excuse, or promise to make it up to me some other way.

"I must confess this last trick of the Colonel has tried my patience to a degree much farther than the loss of my money. Had I had to do with some scoundrel abandoned wretch, it would not have been so surprizing to have met with such treatment. But when gentlemen, persons of rank and distinction, can stoop to little vile actions, what can be more shocking than such an inconsistency of character and deportment? It was the relation the Colonel bears to the Governor and yourself that has hitherto withheld me from going to extremities with him. But since he has behaved himself so unworthy that relation, I hope it will be no offence if I endeavour to get my own by legal process? This is my fixed resolution, if it meets with your consent and approbation. And therefore if I may be indulged so far, I would beg the favour of a line or two . . . that I may be sure how to steer my course aright, I mean so as not to fall under your displeasure. As to letting the Governor know of this, I am sure that would signify nothing. I must expect no redress from him, unless I could be content to be paid in curses and reproaches, the usual return he makes his best servants for their fidelity and diligence. He is grown so extraordinary humoursome and testy now, that a man must have better luck or more art than I am master of, who can please him twice together. I must add that the discouragements I have met with would have disheartened me quite, were it not for the hopes that my endeavours herein would not be altogether ungratefull to you; otherwise I should have reason indeed to lament my hard fortune; for, after all my care and pains, I find the Deputy Stewardship of Branwell will be too much like my Deanery of St. Dennis, a post of honour only, and mere titular preferment." *Seal.*

EDWARD RATTEW to ROBERT PITT, at Old Sarum.

1723, September 20. Boconnock.—Hinting suspicions of deceitful dealing on the part of John Whitleys, a woodman in Governor Pitt's employment. "I have not acquainted the Governor nor nobody else about it, not yett. because the Governor is so passionate; and I do beg your Honour will either advise me to lett him know of it, or otherwise, in order that I may not be blamed for not giving account to him first."

An ale-house kept at the mill is prejudicial to master and workmen. *Seal.*

THOMAS PITT to his son, ROBERT PITT, at Bath.

1723, October 11. Pall Mall.—"I am sorry that you are in such a shattered state of health. I have my health by fits and girds. The trouble I have of my business I am afraid will shorten my days; I wish I had somebody to take it off my hands."

"I have been lately acquainted with a villany at Boconnock about which I have wrott cosen Harry Sutton to inquire into. I have often repented that I meddled with that estate, and I wish that those that come after me don't so too." *Signed. Seal of arms.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1723, October 19. Pall Mall.—"I received yours of the 12th instant at Cheevening: I came to London Thursday night last, tired allmost to death coming that short journey. I fear I am strangely abused at

Boconnock, of which Rattew has not wrote me one word, and that Phillips is a villaine and at the head of it."

"Bowen the gardiner came to me yesterday morning with a small bill, as he told me, which I bid him lay down upon the table and I would look upon it when I was up; which, when I came to see it, the amount was not less than 335*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.*, when I call God to wittness I did not think I owed him 50*l.*; and this is since you paid him in April 1721; and I find the villaine spoiled all my Dorsetshire trees to make room for his roguery. I am glad the waters agree so well with you and my daughter." *Signed. Seal of arms.*

THOMAS WHITFORD to ROBERT PITT at Old Sarum.

1723, December 23. Lostwithyell.—Claiming performance of an alleged promise of preferment to the Rectory of Boconnock. *Seal.*

JOHN PHILLIPPS to ROBERT PITT, at Stratford near Sarum.

1723, December 24. Camelford.—Contradicting secret reports made to Governor Pitt of peculations on the part of his servants at Boconnock. *Signet.*

JOHN PHILLIPPS to THOMAS CRESSISKE, at Abbott's Anne, near Andover.

Referring at greater length, to the same subject. *Signet.*

JOHN SUTTON [Governor Pitt's secretary] to ROBERT PITT  
[at Stratford near Sarum].

1723[-4], January 23. Pall Mall.—"I hear by the Colonel [John Pitt] that you intend to come to Swallowfield, from whence, I suppose, you will come to London for 2 or 3 days, when I shall be very glad of the opportunity to give you all the satisfaction that lies in my power; and am sorry things don't go in its right channel; but, as you say, it will mend.

"You will find by the Governor's letter that my brother has desired the parsonage of Boconnock, but I should have thought it more to his advantage to have staid for the other, as I wroth him."

THOMAS PITT, to his son, ROBERT PITT, att Stratford near Sarum.

1723[-4], January 28. Pall Mall.—"Mr. Hyles will find that I will never part with Earl Stoke upon his computation. It is true that I have mett with foul play all round me, and being grown old, I cannot struggle with it. Mr. Whitford did me great injustice if he wrote you that ever I promised him the Rectory of Boconnock, for he never so much as spoke to me about it, and I beleive you have seen him drunk as well as myself, and that is detestable in a clergyman." *Signed. Seal of arms.*

H. SUTTON to ROBERT PITT.

1723-4, February 19. St. Stephen's.—"As to what my brother wrote concerning my not accepting the Rectory of Boconnocke, he had no word from me so to do, and I think, no reason. It is true he knew I refused a living from the Duke of Bolton of equal value, but he might



as well have known upon what account, for I could not be supposed to come into Cornwall with any other view but that of quitting all other dependencies for the sake of you and your family. This was my resolution when I left Hampshire, and I believe no one will say I have made an imprudent choice. I am sure I have no reason to think so.

"I have just returned from Boconnocke, whither I went in obedience to the Governor's commands to look further into Whitley's accounts, but to little or no purpose. I know I must do something herein for his pleasure and satisfaction, but, after all, I cannot think he has been cheated in the manner those informers would make him believe. I hope I shall prevent for the future any more disturbances of this kind, when I come to be settled there. In order thereto I beg I may be permitted to represent first to your honour such things as I think ought to be animadverted, that I may have your opinion whether it is fit for the Governor to know them or not; for, since every trifle gives him such uneasiness, and puts him into an heat, we ought to be the more cautious in writing for the sake of his quiet and repose" .

JOHN SUTTON to ROBERT PITT [at Stratford near Sarum].

1723[-4], March 7. Pall Mall.—"The Governor, who is very well, received both your letters, and is convinced, as well as Mr. Waters, of that mortgage of Earl Stoke; but I have not seen the other letter, for the Governor has kept it in his pocket ever since he received it, whether by mistake as usuall, or on any other account I cannot tell; but I have not observed that he has in the least taken any offence at that or anything else, and therefore believe he has not. But if ever I have any grounds to believe he has, I will advise you . Mr. Phillipps has adjusted all accounts with the Governor to Michaelmas last" .

THOMAS PITT to his son, ROBERT PITT, at Stratford near Sarum.

1724, March 31. Pall Mall.—"I received several of yours which, I think, required no answer. I set out hence for Swallowfield Friday next; your son William goes with me." *Signed. Seal of arms.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1724, May 12, Pall Mall.—"I received yours of the 10th instant, and shall be ready to assist your son [Thomas] in his improvements and education abroad, and it is high time that he was entering upon that affaire . I observe you have sent for your son William from Eton. He is a hopefull lad, and doubt not but he will answer yours and all his friends' expectation. Your letter was given to the careless and good-for-nothing Colonel [John Pitt], and I fear never will be otherwise." *Signed. Seal of arms.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1724, June 23. Swallowfield.—"I am very sorry for your frequent indispositions . I shall be glad to see Will here as he goes to Eton and I wonder you keep him so long after the time appointed." *Signed. Seal of arms.*

## THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT.

1724, July 5. Swallowfield.—“This comes by your brother Londonderry . Monday last, I left Will at Eton. If you and your wife, Heriot and Tom will come hither, you shall be very wellcome and my coach shall meet you at Sutton.” *Signed. Signet.*

## SIR THOMAS HARDY to ROBERT PITT, at Bath.

1725[-6], January 13. Pall Mall.—“I am now to tell you that after Lady Grandison’s [Mrs. Pitt’s mother] lyings in state three days, she was deposited last night into the great Duke of Buckingham’s vault in Westminster Abbey.

“The General [Stewart, her husband,] has spared no expense, and there was four Dukes for pall-bearers, Lord Grandison chief mourner supported by the Earls of Clarendon and Dalkeith, and Captain Fitzgerald train-bearer, and eight Earls assistant to the pall-bearers, who has scarves, hat-bands, rings, and gloves, all cloaked. Then came the rest of the company with cloaks, hat-bands, rings, and gloves, according to their rank. There was a great deal of confusion before we sett out (which was not till half-an-hour after ten) between the heralds and a silly undertaker (the upholsterer to the family), but after we sett out there was no stop till we came to light at the Abbey west gate, out of which we did not get again till half an hour after twelve. There was 16 mourning coaches, and 17 noblemen and gentlemen’s coaches, with 8 branches to every coach; and there was about forty men on horseback, with a branch to every horseman; and I was like to forgot that there was a foot-man to every coach door, in black with a long hatt-band.

“I spoke to both my Lord Grandison and the Brigadeer [Steward, son-in-law of the deceased], and blamed them both for not giving you notice of my Lady’s death.”

“My Lord [Grandison] came to town a Tuesday . . and he has allways told me . that whatever dispute may arise between you, the Brigadeer, and him, he will end it amicably if he can. Mr. Cureton told me that he had the General’s directions to enter an action against you, to which I replied that you had often given it under your hand that you owed so much money, and that what you aimed at was to bring the General to a fair account.”

“This instant I have received yours of the 10th, which leads me to tell you that the coffin was covered with crimson velvet, with narrow gold lace twice around the edges; the coronet was tin, and so were the handles; and the plate with her name, title, and age, which they called 63 upon it, (although the rings say 68,) was of block tinn, and that is all the finery. She lay in state in the back parlour which was hunged with rusty velvet, and the chair of state was in the four parlour, hung with black, under a canopy adorned with escochens as customary. The General recovers, as they say, very fast.” *Seal of arms.*

## THOMAS PITT to his son, ROBERT PITT, at Bath.

1725[-6], January 15. Pall Mall.—“All the news here is that General Stuart is going to marry Mrs. Alstone . There was a great burial made for my Lady [Grandison] which I did not see; all that were her friends are glad she is out of this world.” *Signed. Seal of arms.*

## SIR THOMAS HARDY to ROBERT PITT.

1725[-6], January 25. Pall Mall.—“I deferred answering yours untill I had the opportunity of seeing his Excellency [General Steward], who, poor man, fell into tears at the sight of me. He is very much broake and very feeble. and he is so fond of Lord Grandison that he would have him dine with him every day. The Parliament have voted a suply, and tomorrow they go upon wayes and means, and no more than two shillings in the pound, and a lottery upon the malt, and some other small matter that will answer the current service.”

“I dined with the old gentleman [Governor Pitt] last Saturday, who showed us your account of Colonel Cotton’s funeral.”

“The Colonel [John Pitt] is at home again, so that we are all very happy if the keys were not carryed to the old gentleman’s bed-side at 10 a’clock, every night; so that there is no going to the mascarade next Thursday night, without leave.

“There must be a grant obtained from the King for the park at Swallowfield, else any body may robb the park, of all the deer, and cannot be prosecuted.

“I am of opinion that some points will happen that will bring you to town in a hurry.”

THOMAS WYNDHAM [Lord Chief Justice of Ireland] to ROBERT PITT  
[at Bath].

1725[-6], February 8. Dublin.—Concerning inquiries made by Mr. Pitt, as to a private bill passed though the Irish Parliament in the interest of Lord Grandison. “This country has agreed with me as well as England; though I have travelled it in my circuits from Cork South, to Carrickfergus North. Some parts of the North are very well cultivated, but the Southern parts are very thinly inhabited, and scarce a tree or hedge to be seen for twenty miles together.”

## LORD LONDONDERRY to his brother, ROBERT PITT, att Bath.

1725-6, March 10. London.—“I am favoured with yours of the 2nd instant, and, in case of a call, shall take care to excuse you. I am very sorry for the indisposition of yourself and my sister[-in-law]. You may be assured I am looking out for a proper occasion to do what you have desired, and though none as yett has offered, I do not despair of haveing one within this month or two, and hope that even something a longer time will not putt you to any great inconvenience, which I will, as much as in my power, always endeavour to prevent.” *Signet.*

## SIR THOMAS HARDY to ROBERT PITT, at Bath.

1725[-6], March 19. Pall Mall.—“Your saying that you had writt to my opposite neighbour [Governor Pitt] the last post, I went to dine with him, and before diner asked him about you; and he said that he had not heard from you this great while, and Sutton told me the same thing, . so that your letter has miscarried. But I do not apprehend that there is anything a miss, and we drank your health, Londonderry and Chomley present.”

"The old gentleman was out of order last week but is now pretty well again; but breaks still, and complains much of want of stomach, and eats more than I can do." *Signet.*

ELIZABETH PITT to her cousin, ROBERT PITT, at Bath.

1725[-6], March 16. Blandford.—"I hope you will excuse the freedom of this letter; it is on hearing Mr. Robert Willis is in a very declining way, and so Abbottsonn [Abbot's Anne] is likely to be vacant; that I presume to make an offer of my son Christopher, who would be very ready to hold it for your second son [William Pitt] whom we hear it is designed for, till he is of age to take it to himself. It lies within distance of my son's liveing at Pimper, and he is qualified to hold both by being chaplain to Lord Stanhope. If you think fitt to intrust my son with itt, I dare answer for him he will act both honestly, and honourably, and to your satisfaction." *Seal of arms.*

SIR THOMAS HARDY to ROBERT PITT [at Bath].

1726, March 29. Pall Mall.—"The inclosed you sent to me was, by three in the afternoon, sent over and delivered safe, but I have not seen the old gentleman since."

"Wager is to sail with 21 sail of the line, and two fire-ships and a frigate . . . to the Baltick. Lord Glenorchy . . . was this day ordered to go to Copenhagen by the way of Holland, and a yacht is already appointed to carry him to Roterdam."

THOMAS PITT to his son, ROBERT PITT, at Stratford near Sarum.

1726, April 10. Swallowfield. "I desire you to send the Duke of Buckingham's works [edited by Pope] to this place."

"In your next pray send the price of all sorts of graine." *Seal of arms.*

ROBERT PITT to his son, THOMAS PITT, at Utrecht.

1726, May 2. Pall Mall.—"I am under the dissatisfaction of being obliged to advise you of the death of my father, Thursday last att Swallowfeild, after two day's illness. His distemper was a mixture of appoplexy and palsie. His estate, by his will, is all left to me, in all places and in all kinds, subject to the payments of his debts, legacies and some annuities, one whereof is an annuity to yourself from your age of 21 years of 200*l.* *per annum* till your age of 25 years, and then it is to augment to 500*l.* *per annum* during my life; after which the real estate (I mean the land) is to desend to you under a strict entail. However, I am willing to forgett your past slighting and disobedient conduct towards me, under the hopes of a thorough amendment for the future; and, as an instance thereof, I here inclose to you a letter of credit from Messrs. Benjamin and Henry Hoare att the Golden Bottle in Fleet Street, the most eminent bankers in London, for 700*l.* *per annum* to enable you to pursue your travells as was before intended, with positive orders to you not to exceed that sum on any account. The moment you do, I will recall it. You are to draw, from time to time, on them, so as that no one bill shall exceed 200*l.* att a time, and that you drawn not oftener than once in three months, and, in the whole method of your yearly drawings, you take care to proportion some or other of

them so as the whole exceed not 700*l.* at the expiration of the year, which shall comence from the 25th of March last. . . . You may make your first draught when you will. I have little to add but to caution you against mean or ill company which will be a dishonour to you, and against all intemperance and vice whatsoever, especially against any inconvenient or dishonourable marriage which would plunge you over head and ears in irretrievable ruin. Go to no place nor converse with any people that by their loose principles may shake your attachment to the Church of England; nothing would be more shocking to me (next to an ill marriage) than such a demarche. Hold fast your duty to God, and that will lead you naturally to all you owe to me and all mankind. . . I am going out of town tomorrow in order to pay the last devoirs to our deceased parent, which are to be done at St. Mary Blandford in Dorsetshire the 17th instant. Direct your letters to me here at my house, and they will be forwarded to me wherever I am. Mr. Clarke, a young gentleman of your acquaintance dined here with me the other day, by whom probably this letter will be conveyed to you. . . Your uncle Londonderry has 10,000[*l.*] left him by my father's will; your uncle John nothing; your sister Hariot 3,000*l.*; your three other sisters 2,000*l.* each; all the rest of the grand-children, 1,000*l.* each, and Lady Lucy Stanhope 3,000*l.*; your sisters 100*l.* *per annum* each till marriage after the age of 16 years; and as you have 200*l.* at 21 years of age, which is now near at hand, your brother William has 100*l.* [*per annum*]."

"Be sure you keep this letter by you as the ground-work and basis of all future correspondence, to which I shall expect an inviolable conformity." *Copy.*

THOMAS PITT to his father, ROBERT PITT [in London].

1726, May 28. Utrecht.—"I received your letter last Saturday by Mr. Clarke, and am determined to observe your injunctions to the utmost of my power; and as to the seven hundred pounds a year which you are so good [as] to allow me, and for which I return my most humble thanks, I shall endeavour as much as possible, with the assistance of Mr. Clarke, not to exceed; yet if by any accident a little more should be required I hope you will give some allowance, its being but just sufficient, with very good economy, to allow me to travell like a gentleman as I am sure you would have me; but I will take all the care imaginable to make it go as far as possible. Wee go to take the tour of North Holland next Friday, which will take us about tow or three weeks, and then we sett out upon our grand tour."

The SAME to the SAME.

1726, May 31. Utrecht. Acknowledging receipt of instructions to defer his departure from Utrecht for a short time. *Signet.*

ROBERT PITT to his son, THOMAS PITT, at Utrecht.

1726, June 8. Pall Mall.—"I have been employed since my father's death in looking into the disposition he made of his affairs, in order to settle . . . them in a proper manner for the good of my family. Among the powers left me over the estate, there is one of granting leases for 3 lives and taking fines thereon, by which I am enabled to raise provisions for your younger brothers and sisters, to

which purpose I intend to use it. But, in regard that it may prove prejudicial to the estate, and consequently . . . to you hereafter, if I should make use of that power over certain lands at Abbott's Anne on which a sum of about 5,000*l.* might be raised, I am desirous to avoid hurting the estate by taking that method of leasing them out for 3 lives in case you will (and if I did not judge it for your interest I would not propose it) execute a Deed subjecting yourself to the payment of . . . 5,000*l.* in case of my mortality within the space of five years, by which event the estate would devolve to you; but if I outlive the term of 5 years, then your obligation ceases, and is never to be of any effect. In consideration of this, I shall not only oblige myself by the Deed to leave you the rents of those lands at Abbottsanne in their full rack-rent value, but shall also be enabled to continue to you the allowance of 700*l.* *per annum* which must otherwise be reduced to 200*l.* according to your grandfather's will. This money, by the Deed, is to be paid according to the uses of my will; but as I never was in a better state of health than att this time, and as your chance of ever paying this money is only whether I may not live 5 years (which I am as likely to do as you are, or any man in Europe), or if not, the other alternative is your inheriting my estate, I think you may do it without the least scruple or difficulty. However use your own liberty; I shall use no compulsion, for I have no other view in the proposition but the future interest of the estate and yourself . . . Every body thinks it advantageous to you, and by next post I will transmit you the Deed to execute; and return itt to me with all speed.

"The untoward behaviour of your uncles, with whom I forbid you all manner of correspondence upon pain of my highest displeasure, has obliged me to come to town to assert my right to several things which they were unfairly endeavouring to invade; and, I believe, I shall stay at least a fortnight, by which time I shall expect your answer. Your brother William and your sisters Kitty and Nanny are all well at Stratford. Your mother and sister Hariot with Betty and Molly are here with me, and when I leave London I shall remove all the family to Swallowfeild. I came from Stratford the 2nd instant having been obliged to be there on account of the election att Old Sarum, where I chose Mr. Pitt of Strathfieldsea. The reason I did not put you in was that your ingagement in your travells disabled you from attending your duty . . . For God's sake take care of being drawn in by any woman to an inconvenient or dishonourable marriage; you would never recover such a misfortune as long as you live." *Copy.*

#### GOVERNOR PITT'S Will.

1726, June 23.—Fourteen queries in reference to the provisions of Governor Pitt's will, submitted for the legal advice of Mr. Francis Annesley by Mr. Robert Pitt; and Mr. Annesley's answers thereto.

THOMAS PITT to his father, ROBERT PITT [at Pall Mall, London].

1726, June 28. Utrecht.—Consenting to execute a Deed subjecting himself to the payment of 5,000*l.* under the conditions specified by his father; but requesting particular instructions as to the mode of execution.

ROBERT PITT to his son, THOMAS PITT, at Utrecht.

1726, June 29. Pall Mall.—Complaining of his son's delay in executing the Deed, and giving directions as to the mode of execution.

Objecting to his son's drawing for money on Mr. Hoare, the banker, without sending timely advice of his intention to do so.

"Your brother is going soon to Oxford." *Copy.*

LORD LONDONDERRY to his brother, ROBERT PITT.

1726, July 6. Chevening.—"I must begg the favour of you to state the running account that is betwixt us, and give or send it to Mr. Sutton for me, and be pleased to make up the interest to Lady-day last, and to give me your bond payable at a certain time, or the money, whichever shall suit most your conveniency."

ROBERT PITT to THOMAS PITT.

1726, July 26. Swallowfeild.—Acknowledging receipt of the Deed, but expressing doubts of its validity. "I believe the names of both the witnesses are written with the same hand, and neither of them by the persons themselves whose names are affixt, so I take it to be void in itself. If . . . found to be done in due form, I will lodge it in the hands of Mr. Pitt of Strathfieldsea."

"I observe what you say of your allowance, to which can return you no other answer than what I wrote to you in my first letter of May 2nd, from London. Your allowance of 700*l.* per annum commences from Lady Day last . . . Since that you have drawn for 200*l.* So you have att three drawings 500*l.* more to draw for, at Michaelmas, att Christmas, and att Lady day, which . . . will make each bill amount to 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, for which I will make provision in the manner I have mentioned and no otherwise. I thought I had given you a fair and ample allowance for your travels, very much above my ability if it were to continue long, and am surprized it can enter into your thoughts to desire more."

*Postscript.*—"I have further considered the matter about your expences. never thought of giving you any such allowance as 700*l.* per annum I only for a year or so whilst you travelled; and it is a hard shift I have made to advance to you what you have received; for you must reflect that as yett I have had no benefitt of the estate which has descended to me; wherefore if you have spent . . . 200*l.* you drew but last month, and want more already, he assured I cannot supply you with it otherwise than 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* at Michaelmas, Christmas, and Lady day, which will make up exactly 700*l.* per annum. If you cannot proceed on your travels upon these terms, and that this finds you money-bound at Utrecht, you have nothing more to do than to draw for fifty pounds to bear your charges home, and so knock off all thoughts of travelling; for I will not starve myself and the rest of my family to support your extravagance. I cannot conceive how you and a servant can find means to spend half the money." *Copy.*

LORD LONDONDERRY to ROBERT PITT.

1726, August 20. London.—"I have perused the account, and think there's a few errors in calculating the interest. Be pleased to peruse the state of the account on the other side, and compare it with yours." *Account for one year and a half, showing balance in favour of Lord Londonderry of 1,003*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.**



## ROBERT PITT to THOMAS PITT.

1726, August 30. Swallowfield.—“A touch of gout . . . prevented me from answering yours of the 16th instant sooner. I observe what you averr in relation to the signing of the Deed; depending therefore on your honour and varacity, I have executed the counter-part.”

“You must not dictate to me when your allowance begins or ends. I never intended it otherwise than as I now express it, which is that from Lady day to Midsummer is one quarter (the first payment to be made then); from Midsummer to Michaelmas another quarter which makes up the half-year, in which you are to receive . . . 350*l*. You have had 200*l*. already, and at Michaelmas there will be 150*l*. more due to you . . . but least you may want before, I believe I have 100*l*. in Mr. Hoare’s hands, which you may have in part of the 150*l*. at Michaelmas, if your occasions require itt.

“I would be glad to know upon what foot Mr. Clarke and you live together. Do you maintain him as a governor, or is he a gentleman upon his own charge? I am an utter stranger to all you do; pray lett me a little more into your management.” *Copy*.

THOMAS PITT to his father, ROBERT PITT, in Pall Mall, London.

1726, September 11,. Brussels.—“We arrived here the 7th, and . . . shall stay about . . . three weeks to see the Court and make some little tour in the country, which, for as much as I have seen, is a very fine country; but the people impoverished to enrich the churches and maintain monks and friars. I am obliged by want of money to let you know I must of necessity draw in a week, which is the longest I can possibly hold out, and it is with hard shift I have held out so long; therefore I hope you will forgive me the few days that is wanting of the fixed time.” *Seal of arms*.

ROBERT PITT to his son, THOMAS PITT, at Brussels.

1726, September 19. Boconnock in Cornwall.—“I never knew till lately that Mr. Clarke, your friend, was with you att your expence in the nature of a governor and companion. I intend (since it is large enough to maintain you and your friend) to curtail the part of your allowance which probably goes to him, which I compute to be 150*l*. or 200*l*. *per annum*. Surely you did not turn off a man of Dr. Hay’s experience and good caracter to make this exchange? When I saw Mr. Clarke in London, I took him for some young gentleman travelling for his edification as you do, but never thought he was your tutor. You must immediately part from him, or I will not pay any more of your bills or allow you a shilling. This is peremptory.

“God bless you and prosper you in your travels. I hope you will let the priests and the religion of all countries through which you pass alone, and adhere to that of your own. The remark you make of those of Brussels is an old thread-bare story, generally made use off to amuse tinkers and cobblers. If you were to know those sort of men thoroughly, you would find the tubb preachers of Geneva to love money and power as much as the monks you mention at Brussels.” *Copy*.



THOMAS PITT to his father, ROBERT PITT, at Pall Mall, London.

1726, October 2. Brussels.—“ I thought you had known by some letters I wrote about it, which I never doubted but you had seen, or I should not have omitted to have informed you, upon what conditions Mr. Clark and I travelled together ; which are, that I am to give him 100*l.* a year, and to be at all travelling expenses, which makes it much heavier than you thought ; but if my allowance will afford it, I shall have more pleasure in having a companion than in travelling alone, but I am afraid it cannot.” *Seal of arms.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1726, October 17. Luneville.—“ We arrived here last Monday, and I propose to spend the winter here at the achademie ; and, Tuesday, I was introduced to the Duke and Duchess ; but I have been told one must have a letter of recommendation either to the Duke or some person of distinction about the Court to be well received ; and, with that, the Duke is extremely civil, but, without it, he takes very little notice of one ; which, if you can procure me, will be of very great service, and I shall reap advantages by it which I shall otherwise loose.” *Seal of arms.*

ROBERT PITT to his son, THOMAS PITT, at Luneville.

1726, October 17. Swallowfield.—“ You will probably find me here when you come, which I think you had best do, for I do not see how you will benefit by travelling either with or without such a tutor as you have taken to yourself. If you allow him 100*l. per annum*, and bear his charges too, he cannot stand you in less than near 200*l. per annum*. . . and since you have thoughts of making shift to go on with 700*l. per annum* with that incumbrance, when that is removed, 500*l. per annum* will do the same when you are by yourself. For which reason, and that I may take effectual care that my money shall not maintain those sort of companions, I now absolutely cutt off 200*l. per annum*, and reduce your allowance from Michaelmas to 500*l. per annum*. So, if you continue abroad, you must draw no more than 125*l.* each quarter. . . This is more than many noblemen of twice my estate allow their sons, and more than you and two servants can possibly spend without profusion. If you dislike what I now write, you have no alternative but to return home . . . Consider you are a man turned of 21 years of age, and as well able to judge for yourself as Mr. Clark is for you, and better too I hope.” *Copy.*

THOMAS PITT to his father, ROBERT PITT, at Pall Mall, London.

1726, October 22. Luneville.—“ I propose to stay here the winter, and to take the exercises of the achademie, but I find the enteries and the laying in provisions for the winter comes to a great deal of money. I therefore hope you will not be displeased that I draw in tow or three post for thirty pounds to enable me to hold out till Christmass ; which you may be assured I would not do unless by necessity forced to it.” *Seal of arms.*

## THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT.

1726, October 31. Luneville.—“I received yours, which surprised me very much; but I hope the affection you have always shown to your children . . . will prevail on you not to persist in taking away from me 200*l.* a year, by which you take from me the means of appearing in a manner that is necessary to procure me the advantages of travelling by keeping the best company . . . Nobody that has been abroad lately can say that 700*l.* a year is to much, with taking the exercises too. I am far from desiring money to spend in extravagances and debaucheries, and I defie any one to lay a dishonourable action to my charge; and whenever I am capable [of such action] I will very readily be bound to forfeit all; but till then I hope you will consider that 200*l.* a year is of more consequence to me here abroad than twice the summe at home, and . . . at a young man's setting out in the world, often is a great step towards his future happiness or misfortunes; therefore I hope you will not deprive me of 200*l.* a year which may be of so great a consequence to me, and cannot be any great matter to you. As to the incumbrance Mr. Clark is to me I shall give you an exact account . . . Mr. Clark came to Utrecht with a son of Mr. Benson to settle him at school, not as a tutor but as a friend; and, not long after, came a young gentleman whose name is Frere, who . . . was very desirous of a companion in his travells; and, soon after I parted with Dr. Hay, my grand-father wrote to me that he should be very glad if I could find a sober young gentleman who would bare shares in the expences to travel with; upon which I spoke to Mr. Frere who very readily agreed to it, and we thought Mr. Clark . . . would be of service to us, and the expences would not be heavy between tow. We agreed to take him with us and I wrote my grand-father in tow or three letters an account of it . . . In the spring Mr. Clark went over to England to see my grand-father, and Mr. Frere pretended too that he had affairs in England and would likewise see my grand-father, for which I had given him a letter; but he went into Germany, and wrote from Nurembourg that he could not travel with Mr. Clark and me. Mr. Clark was then in England waiting for my grand-father's coming to London, which he was disappointed in by his death; but afterwards he wrote . . . that he had spoke to you. I concluded that you had fixed everything with him; but, when he returned to Utrecht and brought me the letter of credit for 700*l.*, I told him that, being left by Mr. Frere, I was afraid I could not afford . . . to pay him a hundred [pounds] and bear his charges. He said . . . he would very willingly stay till I returned to England; and I thought as he had spent a great deal of time and money, and had disposed everything in expectation we were sincere, in honour I was obliged to do what I could to stand to my word; and, at the same time, not willing to loose a companion that I liked. Therefore, as I could not expect any augmentation to my allowance, I agreed with him to pay the hundred pounds a year at my return to England; and, even with that, I find the 700*l.* a year would not do if any misfortune . . . put one to any extraordinary expence. Therefore, though Mr. Clark . . . will set out for England as soon as I receive the 30*l.* I have drawn for, to give him what may bare his charges to London; and according to the agreement we made, that if he left me, not upon his own accord, after five or six months, I was to pay for the first year, I must give a note for 100*l.* [to be paid] at my return; if you will .

consider it, you will not find any room to cut off anything. For God's sake, as you care for my well-doing, think of it; and you will not think 200*l.* a year for tow years ill-bestowed that contributes so much to the good of your son's education; and . . . I shall take all the care that is possible not to give you any reason to repent whatever you bestow."

ROBERT PITT to THOMAS PITT.

1726, November 3. Swallowfield.—"I . . . will endeavour, as soon as possible, to gett you the recommendatory letters you desire."

"If you draw for a penny more than 125*l.* at Christmas, your bill will not be paid; therefore take care." *Copy.*

JOHN SUTTON [Robert Pitt's secretary] to LORD LONDONDERRY.

1726, November 8. [Swallowfield.]—"I received the favour of your Lordship's letter, and as far as it relates to Mr. Pitt's affairs, I am desired by him to return the following answers.

"As to the depending account with Sir Stephen Evance's assignees, Mr. Pitt says that . . . as every penny of the money arising from that demand must be thrown into the residue of his late father's personall estate, he looks on himself to be solely interested in itt.

"And as to . . . the arrears due from the tenants at this place, Mr. Pitt has taken all possible care to have them secured so as that they may be paid in due time . . . which money . . . he hopes your Lordship and the Executors will not draw from hence, but . . . will rather remit more to be applyed to the discharge of his father's debts, which amount to near three times more than the arrears will satisfie.

"What I now add is from myself. Mr. Pitt frequently hints att the ill usage he complains he has mett with by the manner of carrying away papers, or rifing (as he terms itt) his house of them, for which he seems to expect very considerable redress . . . I fancy he has given some late directions to proceed in that, as also in several other matters, but I am not thoroughly apprised what they are." *Copy.*

[The last clause of this draft letter, and the endorsement, appear to be in Robert Pitt's handwriting.]

THOMAS PITT to ROBERT PITT.

1726, November 23, Luneville.—Recommending Mr. Clark to his father as "a very engenious young man and a very sober one." *Signet.*

ROBERT PITT to his son, THOMAS PITT, at Luneville.

1726, November 25. Swallowfeild.—"I have duly weighed . . . the contents of your letters from Luneville, and find myself under an indispensible necessity of adhering to what I before wrote to you about the reduction of your allowance . . . for the following reasons.

"When I wrote you, the 2nd of May, that I would allow you 700*l. per annum* for your travells, I had not looked into my affairs as I have since had the opportunity of doing, which I find farr short of what the world, and perhaps you, expected from the noise of your grandfather's great wealth; and although his personal estate was pretty large (near

50,000*l.*) yet it is incumbered with so many legacies and other demands that will swallow the greatest part thereof. He has, it is true, left the residue of it (when debts and legacies are paid) to me, but in the hands of such executors (your uncles Londonderry and Cholmondeley) as have obliged me to go into Chancery to secure my right against their embezzlement and unjust practices. These law charges are an incumbrance . . . upon me which I was not aware of when I so indiscreetly allotted you 700*l. per annum*. I have also looked into the yearly income of my estate, which falls far short of what even I myself expected, insomuch that I shall be as much straitened as ever I was in your grandfather's lifetime; for I must pay what debts I had of my own, which my necessity in maintaining so great a family with so small an income obliged me to contract. I never had above 1,400*l. per annum* clear money to keep myself, your mother, and six children; and you, forsooth, cannot live upon the half of that income, only yourself and a servant. Your sisters are grown-up women, and must have allowances of 100*l.* a year each; your brother must be maintained in some degree like a gentleman at Oxford (at least 150*l.* or 200*l. per annum*;) your mother and I, who have lived in straits for our children's sake, desire a little more plenty than before, (God knows it cannot be much;) and I must take care during my life to sett apart a good share of my estate to raise portions for my younger children, who are but slenderly provided for by their grandfather, and not suffer you to spend their bread in gaining accomplishments in your travels with such companions as you unluckily pick up. All these considerations will persuade you (if you have any reason in you,) that I overshot myself when I gave you credit for 700*l. per annum*, and that you have far more than your share in being allowed 500*l. per annum*. Take this, at the same time, with you, that your grandfather has left you no more than 200*l. per annum* from the age of 21 years till the age of 25 years . . . So whatever I allow you more must be a free gift of my own, very little deserved by you, who so monstrously threw off all your regard to me when you putt yourself under your grandfather's protection, in a manner so independent that you seemed to have thrown aside all thoughts of duty to me, by going away from London without my consent, and, afterwards, never writing to me; at least so seldom and in so negligent a manner that your letters and all your behaviour had not the least air of respect to me. And, since you can give Mr. Clark bills to pay him money at your return to England, I shall likewise insist on my share for every penny I advance to you over and above what [has been] left to you, (200*l. per annum*) by your grandfather, of which I have kept an exact account; and do require, in your first letter, your obligation to account with me for the same if I think fitt to require it. Do you, young gentleman, tell me what will maintaine such a one as you abroad? I know better than you, and that one hundred pounds there, in diet, lodging, and clothes, will go as far as two hundred here; and if it were not now and then for some extraordinary charges, and that of your exercises, 200*l. per annum* would be more than you and your footman need spend. . . I have taken the pains to explaine this matter fully to you that your thoughts may not be so elated as to think 700*l. per annum* is nothing for me to allow, and but a bare competency for you, . . . and in such a manner to despise 500*l.* a year. Even that I cannot afford to allow you longer than the spring, and then you must return by the way of Paris; for since 500*l.* is not enough for you, it is too much for me to continue you the allowance of. Your Bill of 30*l.* will be paid when it comes . .

and for the note you have so poorly given Clark for 100*l.*, I am sure I will never assist you in the payment of it. Inclosed is a recommendatory letter from Count Bothmar which I hope will be of use to you, and I desire to know what favour it procures you." *Copy.*

1726, November.—PETITION filed in Chancery by ROBERT PITT, eldest son of GOVERNOR PITT deceased, against the EARL OF LONDONDERRY, ROBERT CHOLMONDELEY, and WILLIAM CHAPPLE, his father's Executors.

The petition states

That Thomas Pitt [the Governor,] besides real estate devised to the petitioner, possessed personal property amounting to more than 100,000*l.*, of which he made the Petitioner, by his will, residuary legatee.

That the Earl of Londonderry, second son of the Governor, owed his father upwards of 95,000*l.*, secured by note, bond, and mortgage.

That, after the Governor's death, the Petitioner and the Executors assembling at his house in Pall Mall, collected together and sealed up the papers and valuable effects, and agreed that the seals should remain intact till they might all meet again to have an inventory taken.

That the Executors, taking advantage of a short absence of the Petitioner from London, went again to Pall Mall, and, in breach of their agreement, broke the seals, and carried off all the documents, money, and jewels.

That, now, the Earl of Londonderry not only denies owing the Governor's estate upwards of 95,000*l.*; but claims from it 10,000*l.*, which the will declares has been already paid to him.

That, further, the Executors refuse to carry out various provisions of the will, under which they are Trustees for the Petitioner and his children.

And prays for investigation and redress. *Copy.*

1726, November.—PETITION IN CHANCERY of ROBERT PITT as residuary legatee of his deceased father THOMAS PITT.

States, that Thomas Pitt, after the death of James Earl Stanhope, assumed the guardianship of Philip Earl Stanhope, an infant; and being in years and infirm, delegated the management of the said infant's property to his son Lord Londonderry.

That Lord Londonderry received various sums from Lord Stanhope's estate, for which he rendered no account to Thomas Pitt.

That Lord Londonderry now disclaims all personal responsibility for his management of the Stanhope property.

Petitioner therefore asks that Lord Londonderry be ordered to account for all sums received by him for the Stanhope estate, in order that the personal property of Thomas Pitt may not be liable for claims on the part of Lord Stanhope. *Copy.*

ROBERT PITT to FRANCIS ANNESLEY.

1726, November 27. Swallowfield.—"I . . . am glad to hear the bills against the Executors and against Lord Londonderry are in so good a forwardness . . . I have wrote you my full sentiments about the proposition of waving privi'dge, which I am determined not

to hearken to, for it would be playing against sharpers who have nothing but false dice.

"Mr. Pitt of Strathfeildsea came yesterday from London and shewed mee the copy of the bill he was served with at the suit of my brother John; and this morning . . . a man came hither, by 8 a clock, and left a copy of the same bill . . . and a subpoena with itt; and likewise another copy and subpoena of a bill at the suit of my mother . . . to discover what lands my father died seized of in fee, in order to recover dower; which copy I will not accept, not being authentic; for though I did agree hastily to the proposition about office copies, to save charges, yett . . . after having read the purport of the bills, which appear to be stuff with false and vile insinuations, I have very justly changed my mind, and will accept of nothing that comes on the part either of my mother or brother John, but what is . . . consistent with any privilege of Parliament; and my reason is that, as their suits are purely vexatious and malicious, and are brought contrary to my father's will, tending to robb mee of my property left mee by him, and to throw odious and wicked imputations on his memory, and to blast him in his grave, such proceedings are too detestable for mee . . . to decline using any means fairly in my power to defeat them.

"I observe the collusion made use of in the bills of my brother John in hooking in the Trustees and Executors to be parties; but . . . I hope such collusive practices will not be countenanced to load my father's personal estate with the cost of their suits, who, by the underhand contrivances of even the Executors themselves, are endeavouring to defeat a will which the Executors are sworn to defend.

"My Lord Londonderry told Mr. Pitt I need not value myself on being residuary legatee, for there would be no *residuum* coming to mee. I think being intitled to the interest of his debt till the legacies become due . . . is something; but, if it were nothing else, I esteem it happy for everyone concerned in the personal estate . . . that I have a power of being residuary legatee, to call him to an account and to save it from his embezzlement.

"I received a letter today from Wiltshire which tells mee that, last week, my good mother came to my house at Stratford, and staid there 2 days, rhodomontading and talking like a mad woman, and stirring up strifes with my tenants against mee . . . You see what people I have to deal with. I will order my doors, for the future, to be shut upon them all; perhaps they think, by her bill for dower, to drive mee into an augmentation of her annuity; but I am resolved to push things to all extremities with her, and all her gang, be the consequence what it will."

"I have been thinking that as, by old Madam's bill, I am called on to show what lands my father died seized of, it is a good reason for looking into the Deeds; and, if you will give me leave, I will open the boxes [sealed by the Executors] and see for the Deed of Conveyance of each estate, and to whom they are severally conveyed in trust for my father. . . . However, I very well know that all the estates are in trustees' names." *Copy.*

FRANCIS ANNESLEY to ROBERT PITT, at Swallowfeild near Reading.

1726, November 29. — "I heard this day from Mr. Blithman that a bill against you by your brother John, and another by your Mother, were filed . . . The Court of Chancery will settle

all between you, and I do not at present see inclinations on either side for any other means to effect it. The business of those concerned for you is to make that as expeditious as the nature of the thing will admitt, to put an end to the expence, most of which will fall on the trust estate, which in present will affect you. If you could gett Lord Stanhope to consent that you should, as his next friend, file a bill against Lord Londonderry to call him to account in Chancery for what he has received of his, as well as of the other children, it might be of service to them."

ROBERT PITT to FRANCIS ANNESLEY [in London].

1726, December 1. Swallowfeild.—"Lord Stanhope is . . . kept up from mee, so that I know not how to induce him to apply to mee for assistance; neither is he yett of age to chuse any guardian.

"One may hope in this vacation time, and the Parliament not sitting, for the favour of a visit from you . . . and, if you had a mind, I would wait on you for a day or two to Bletchington." *Copy.*

FRANCIS ANNESLEY to ROBERT PITT, at Swallowfeild, near Reading.

1726, December 1. [London.]—"As to priviledge, I find both you and your brother Londonderry agreed in the same sentiments, so that your bills must be stamped and signed by the clerk in Court . . . and if your brother John's bill be not signed by the Clerk in Court, it is not right.

"As to the . . . opening of the boxes sealed, should you do it without their [the Executors] being present, or notice sent them to be present, they will load you, as you have them in the bill; but if, after notice to the Executors, they refuse to send, you will be more justified if you break the seals in their absence."

The SAME to the SAME.

1726, December 3. [London.]—"I take it for granted that Mr. Cholmondeley being in Cheshire, will not be obliged to answer before the 23rd of January; then priviledge will be in, and if he offers to insist on priviledge, it must be determined by the House of Commons. You have a better pretence for breaking their seals to answer the contents of their bills, than they had for breaking yours, 3 hours before you came to London."

ROBERT PITT to FRANCIS ANNESLEY [in London].

1726, December 4. Swallowfeild. — "If you please to lett my solicitor give the Executors proper notice about the opening of the writings, and they to appoint one to be present any time between this and Christmas . . . it will be better than if I wrote to them, which I do not care to do." *Copy.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1726, December 6. Swallowfeild.—"If I do not hear from you this week I will open them [the boxes of writings] next Monday morning, and look into the deed of conveyance of each distinct estate, when purchased, with the date thereof, and the names of the persons to whom conveyed. I am an utter stranger to all the deeds, any further than

being told by my father himself, as also by Sergeant Chapple who drew all or most of the deeds, that they were in other people's names, in trust for my father, to barr my mother of dower therein . . . If I open the boxes, I will have some credible person present who shall see all I do, and, when the deeds are examined, shall see them put in again, and place his seal on the boxes with mine.

"The cancelled deed for my brother John's annuity is among the papers which the Executors rifled from my house; Sutton knows it. It is impossible for me to answer my mother's bill till I see the deeds of my estate." *Copy.*

FRANCIS ANNESLEY to ROBERT PITT, at Swallowfeild.

1726, December 10. [London.]—"I intended that your solicitor should have served the Executors with notice that you intended to open the box sealed, such a day certain, that they might be present if they pleased; but since the clamour will be in their mouths as much for carrying it into the country as for opening it without their presence, you may pursue your own inclinations . . . Let some persons of credit be present to take a schedule of the deeds, who will be able to attest them to be all that were there. The minister of the parish and Mr. Sutton may be proper."

ROBERT PITT to FRANCIS ANNESLEY [in London].

1726, December 13. Swallowfeild.—"I have opened the boxes of writings . . . thus far I have already gone, to look into every main deed of conveyance of each estate, all of which are purchased by others, and vested in them in trust for my father, his heirs, and assigns. What remains purchased absolutely by my father in his own name . . . does not amount, in the whole, to above 200*l.* per annum; so my mother will hardly think it worth while to claim dower in that which would not amount, for her share, to above 70*l.* per annum. I take it for granted that whatever is purchased by trustees . . . for my father . . . is not subject to my mother's claim of dower? The substance of my answer to my brother John's bill can be no more than this, that I know nothing of any deeds or evidences relating to the annuity he claims . . . and that I do not beleive he hath any right thereunto; because I have often heard my father declare to that effect, and that, if at any time he made any such grant, it was at the pressing instances of my brother John, and others on his behalf, with solemn promises that the same should never be used to my father's prejudice; but that it should, on his demand, be delivered up to him to be cancelled . . . which, I have heard the testator say, was done accordingly.

"All Lady Mohun's estate is duly conveyed in pursuance of an agreement . . . which specifies the sum of 53,000*l.* to be the purchase money. The conveyance is made [to] William Chapple and Jasper Blythman, in trust for Thomas Pitt, his heirs, and assigns."

"When I opened the boxes, Mr. Sutton [who put on the seals] saw they were all entire as at first, and I had two more credible witnesses, my eldest daughter past 21 years, and my own servant . . . The minister of our parish lives 7 miles off; and the roads are so bad, it is impossible for people to pass." *Copy.*



FRANCIS ANNESLEY to ROBERT PITT, at Swallowfield, near Reading.

1726, December 15. [London.]—"As to your *quere* whether your mother will have dower out of any estate purchased by your father in the names of other persons in trust for your father and his heirs; I am of opinion she will not.

"It is not to be imagined that she would not elect the 200*l.* devised her by the will, rather than accept of 70*l.*, or the 3rd part of 200*l.*, which, you say, is all your father purchased in his own name."

ROBERT PITT to FRANCIS ANNESLEY [in London].

1726, December 20. Swallowfeild.—"I have been this whole week employed in looking over all my writings, being 4 trunks full, and in taking a schedule of them; which . . . I hope to . . . send you in my next . . . The weather is broke and I have a hard struggle with the gout upon it." *Copy.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1726, December 22. Swallowfeild.—"It will take little time to answer old Madam's bill, because the deed of sale of every estate is enrolled in Chancery, except those of the Church leases at Stratford, which are . . . intirely vested in mee.

"In Colonell John's bill he says his father always expressed extraordinary kindness for him; and that, if he cancelled the instrument under which he claims his annuity, it was with promises and firm intention to make a more ample provision for him. Pray refer the Court to my father's will for the truth of that assertion." *Copy. Enclosing :*

"An account of lands purchased in my father's own name . . . with the rents and profits . . . and the incumbrances thereon—

	Rent.
	£
"The site of the Castle of Old Sarum, purchased of Lord Salisbury, <i>anno</i> 1691 . . . . .	20
"The Manner of Little Ann, in Hampshire, purchased 1710 . . . . .	90
"Lands in Stratford, purchased from William Harvey, 1710 . . . . .	30
"A farm at St. Mary Blandford, purchased from Mrs. Chettle, 1710-11 . . . . .	300
"Lands in Swallowfeild, purchased from Mr. Oakes, 1725 . . . . .	5
	<hr/>
	£445
Deduct—	£
"An annuity to Charles Stanhope for life, charged on Mrs. Chettle's farm . . . . .	200
"A rent of 25 <i>l.</i> payable to the manner of Hornwell, out of the manner of Little Anne, for ever . . . . .	25
	<hr/>
	225
	<hr/>
	£220
	<hr/>

FRANCIS ANNESLEY to ROBERT PITT, at Swallowfeild.

1726, December 24. [London.]—"You make a deduction of the 200*l.* per annum for Mr. Stanhope's annuity, but she will come in prior to him, if it were worth her while to take the 3rd of 400*l.* per annum, instead of 200*l.* a year left your mother by your father's will; but since it is not, you need be under no uneasiness about it."

ROBERT PITT to FRANCIS ANNESLEY [in London].

1726, December 29. Swallowfeild.—"I begg one thing more to be added to Collonel John's bill; to sett forth how ample a provision my father has made for him . . . by purchasing for him a Company in the Foot Guards, (a post of 500*l.* per annum), and procuring him to be made an Aide de Camp to the King (a post of 200*l.* per annum more) which would, in the hands of a prudent man, [have] been a very good provision for the third son of a private gentleman; whereas, the Collonel sett's forth in his bill that the annuity he claims is the only provision his father made for him."

THOMAS PITT to his father ROBERT PITT, at Pall Mall, London.

1726[-7,] January 2. Luneville.—"I received yours of the 25th of November, and am very sorry to have insisted upon a thing that might have streightened or made you uneasy . . . and shall enjoy with more satisfaction the 200*l.* a year that you tell me my grandfather has left me, at home, than 700*l.* abroad to streighten you; as always preferring your convenience to my own advantage. I did not receive your letter till after I had drawn for 166*l.* 13*s.*, not having an answer that you was positively determined to cut off 200*l.*, and being under very great necessities for money."

"I have delivered the inclosed you sent me, for which I am very much obliged to Count Bothmar and to you." *Seal of arms.*

ROBERT PITT to his son, THOMAS PITT, at Luneville.

1726-7, January 24. Swallowfeild.—"I received yours of the 2nd instant . . . and observe the reason you give for having transgressed my orders in drawing for more money than I allow you, although so often repeated to you . . . I have desired Mr. Hoare to revoke your letter of credit any further than that his correspondent shall be empowered to supply you with eighty-four pounds sterling upon the 5th day of April next, which will make up the quarterly allowance 125*l.* deducting the forty-one pounds you have exceeded in your last bill; and, after that, draw no more, but make the best of your way home, for I can spare no more money for fine gentlemen to throw away. I hear your friend Mr. Clark is in London, and wrote me that he had a letter from you to mee, with express directions to give it into my own hands. I have wrote to have it either sent me hither or returned to you, which he pleases . . . I am just out of a short fit of the gout which prevented my going to town, the 15th, to the opening of the Parliament as I intended." *Copy.*

FRANCIS ANNESLEY to ROBERT PITT, at Swallowfeild.

1726[-7,] January 26. [London.]—"I am sorry to find by Mr. Sutton that you are confined to the country by your old distemper the gout, at

a time when your assistance in Parliament is so much wanted. The Commons have voted 20,000 men for the sea-service, 1727; and 26,300 landmen; and to me a war seems certain . . . I shall be glad to hear . . . that you are in a condition to come hither."

THOMAS PITT to his father, ROBERT PITT, at Pall Mall, London.

1726-7, March 3. Luneville.—"I have been in very great concern upon the receipt of your last letter in finding myself reduced to such circumstances that, should you not have compassion on my misfortunes, would drive me to the last extremities. I observe you are angry with me for drawing for so much last time, and now you have confined me to draw but for 84*l.* by the 5th of April, and with that to make my way home, which indeed I wish heartily was in my power to do; but, as affairs stand, I am very sorry to tell [you] it is impossible with that summe, for I can never think of leaving a place without paying my debts, which are here 180*l.*; and, unless you will send me the money to pay them, I cannot think of leaving this place; nor how to keep myself from being arrested, which would be not only exposing me to the hardships of such a misfortune, but it would even be a reflection on you, which would concern me more than what I should be exposed to myself. And, although it may seem extravagant to you, I can show it is what I could not avoid, for I have not spent it in any sort of raking or debaucheries, but in bare necessities; . . . and the sooner I have the money, the more will be saved, and the sooner I may leave this place to have the happiness of paying my duty and respect to you and my mother; . . . but, in the meantime, I have wrote to Mr. Hoare's correspondent in Holland, Mr. Hope, to send me the 84*l.* as soon as he can, which I shall not receive much before the time you have fixed, to pay those things that increase by running on." *Endorsed*,—Answered April 17, OS.

ROBERT PITT to the DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, K.G.

1727, May 6. Pall Mall.—"Since I had the honour of waiting upon your Grace, some days ago in the House of Lords, I have been advised that it is necessary for mee to address myself by a petition to his Majesty upon the subject matter of the memorial I then took the liberty to deliver to you, (which petition is prepared accordingly); and as this affair is intirely within your Grace's province, I am afraid it would be a defect in my duty to you, if I should think any such application practicable but through your Grace's favour and introduction. In that view, I hope my apology will be taken for venturing once more to trouble you on this occasion.

"Therefore, I humbly beg to know your Grace's pleasure whether you will have the goodness to appoint mee a time to attend you, when I may be admitted to the honour of presenting my petition myself to his Majesty; or whether you will be pleased to take itt into your own hands for that purpose." *Copy*.

The EARL OF GRANDISON, to his sister, LADY HARRIET PITT [widow of Robert Pitt] in Queen Square, London.

1727, August 5. Hitchum.—"I am daily in expectation of hearing when Mr. O'Brien thinks it necessary for me to goe to town, as the term is quite over . . . I shall be ready to assist you in interest or anything else that lies in my power, for I cannot but have a very great concern for your uneasiness."

The EARL OF GRANDISON to LADY HARRIET PITT, at Bath.

1728, January 23. London.—“I expect soon to discourse your son, and will then let you know his final resolution. I goe to-morrow to consult what is proper for us to doe with these preesing gentlemen for the present. If they pursue in this matter, I believe the best for us is to produce our account, and leave it to them to seek who has the right to it, or the whole will be spent in law. Knowing the uncertainty of the funds, I disposed of . . . the bonds, and putt it out on good security and good interest; which I shall call in as soon as possible, since the title cannot be made fully clear.”

The SAME to the SAME.

1728, January 28. London.—“On considering Mr. Lutwicke's opinion, I thought there was something very materiall, at least for your children . . . on which I sent to Mr. O'Brien, believing he had entered up judgement, which would have given us some time to oppose those persons that proceed with such violence; but found nothing was done of any service, pretending he had orders from the executors not to proceed unless that bond was first satisfied. This was of such consequence I went immediately to Mr. Rowe, and hope the affair is now in a good methode; but before he would consent I was obliged to pay off the bond. . . . I assure you I shall let slip no opportunity to save you all I can. I have called in that money again, which cannot regularly be done in a very short time; but if it must be repaid, I shall take proper care to have it forthcoming at a proper time. I spoke to your son about the money, and he told me he paid it to Lord Inchiqueen, as you desired. Pray give me your directions constantly, and I shall endeavour to follow them. Mr. Cholmondeley is not yett come to town. When he does [I] shall discourse on Lord Londonderry's scheme, but fear to little purpose; for your son says, quickly, he does not intend to stand to it. That, I told him, I cannot help; but we must dispute what is left by my brother[-in-law]'s will. He says he will advise on it; however I will only wait for Mr. Cholmondeley's coming, then see what can be done.”

HENRIETTA, COUNTESS OF SUFFOLK to MISS ANN PITT.

[1734,] September 25. Bath.—“The impracticability and, at the same time, the necessity which is imposed upon us by a respectfull tenderness of sentiment, renders it a task equally desirable and impossible to address myself to one of your delicacy. I insist upon your reading this to Mrs. Dives. And now . . . give me leave to follow truth and my own inclination, and tell you in sincerity of heart and very plain English, that I think myself very much obliged to you for all the kind things you have said to me, that I feel I am not ungratefull, but that I really love and esteem you, and have a vast pleasure in thinking I have some share of yours. To obey your commands I will say a great deal upon a most worthless subject, that of my own health. I have drank the waters a week, and in this time I have had a relapse into one of my violent head-akes, attended with low spirits and very bad nights. The fatigues of what is commonly called the *diversions* of this place would be insupportable to me; but I begun in a much more retired life than is fashionable here. I have kept my resolution of never brakefasting abroad, and consequently have had little occasion for that same gown that gives Lord Pembroke so much uneasiness; but I am sure had he

heard Lady Margaret Herbert (when I proposed her coming to the Bath) say that she had a very good one for that use, it would have given very noisy pleasure both to him and all Tomy's company. Mr. Berkely will not do justice to any part of the entertainment, if he does not use his bible oath that the most agreeable hour he passes in the twenty-four is at my breakfast table. Mrs. Hobart thinks the beginning of a ball has something in it that is very amusing; as for Mrs. Blount she employs both thoughts and words upon more substantial pleasures, and is for ever in the state of marriage, being kept, or educating her children. The town is full of incendiarys; but I must say this in praise of the waters, that they create a great benevolence of temper in public; but as I am famous for my penetration and observation, I have discovered that, after the waters have past, there issues a sharp humour that can be discharged only at the tounge, and into the ear of their next neighbour; and it has been my lot to be in the situation of this necessary vehicle to all the great and handsom, much to my honour, little to my entertainment now, but, I propose, future satisfaction. A very kind expression in your letter gives me courage to ask a very unreasonable thing, that of hearing often from you, though I should not be constant in my answers. Upon my word writing is, with these waters, almost impracticable at least to me; but that Mrs. Dives may not think so, I shall conclude for her perusal, as I began this letter. This, Madam, is the little or rather nothing I had to say to you; but one of your goodness will add either to the one or the other all that merit which must be wholly your gift, and not my pretension, who can indeed pretend to no other than that of being your faithful friend."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

[1735.] June 24. London.—"That no human creature may claim any merit from my writing to you, I do most religiously vow, and protest I am now alone. I received your letter of the 16 but last night, having left Highclear on Wednesday last, and your first the day before I left that place, though by the dates of both I ought to have had them much sooner. I was perfectly well the whole time I was in the country, but the day I returned I got the head-ake, which has lasted me ever since. I have been blooded with leaches and I am now very easy. If I followed your example (which would certainly be right in most occasions) I should make excuses for saying so much of myself; but I wish you would follow mine, and believe me . you can make no subject half so agreeable to me. I design to go to Marble Hill on Thursday senight, but I shall not be able to settle all my family there so soon; but I have taken a new servant for Thursday next. There is nothing so disagreeable as new faces, excepting old ones that one has been obliged to discharge. I don't know which you will think, either that I copy your manner of writing, or that I am very impertinent in this tedious account of my domestic affairs. But, if upon the whole you can discover that I think well of you, that I love you very much, and that I have a sincere value and esteem for you, I shall be satisfied; and, if you do not, you are the dullest ungratefull little beast that ever was or ever will be called a Maid of Honour. I see some that wish you in town, and ease their mind by often telling me so. I believe they would say more if they had an opportunity; I should be very apt to indulge them; you know I am very good natured; you would be very angry, so, to prevent all mischief, come and take care of me. Friday

next your three weeks are expired ; remember your duty calls, and pay obedience to that and the wishes of your friend.

"Mr. Berkely sends the inclosed and desires you to take care of it."

The SAME to the SAME.

[1735,] October 25.—"Your ladyship's letters are longer upon the road than any others, for yours of the 20th came to me but last night. Here has been a proposition made to stay till Christmas. I assure you if it was not for the company of a very few which I must be in town to see, (don't fancy that you are in this number) I should like very well to stay the whole winter. We live very innocently, and very regular, both new scenes of life to me ; and you know it is the nature of the beast to love variety. Mr. Berkeley never found it out, but he was made for a country gentleman. He rides, walks, and reads ; for smoking, drinking, and hunting I take to be the life of a country brute. I hope you approve this difinition ; if not you are at liberty to instruct me better. So much for the joys of solitude, and our happiness in it ; but we are to quit it and try again how we like noise, scandal and all the other pleasures your great world abounds in on Sunday se-night, where we expect you at supper, in Saville Row. I am for taking the worst at first, that things may grow better upon my hands ; don't dissappoint me and spoil my scheme. Graydon and you are both in the same story, that is, that the watch is got again with *great difficulty and trouble* ; but what those difficulties or those great troubles were, is a secret. You that live at Court may have your reasons for making a mystery of it, but why Graydon is so dark I can't imagine. I don't believe you will go to Richmond, because I don't believe I shall go for any time to Marble Hill. I am surprised to find myself near the bottom of the second side ; what can I have found to say ? or how can I employ my time so ill ? For fear you should think I had nothing else to do, I will for once say a very civil thing to you at the expense of my own sense and judgment, which is, that writing or conversing with you, I don't know how time passes, nor even consider how troublesome I may be to you, my dear Mrs. Gingle."

The DUCHESS OF QUEENSBURY to MISS ANN PITT, at Hampton Court Palace.

1736, September 14th. Ambresbury.—"The Countess of March hindred me, two post, from pleasing myself, neither did she take one step to make the least amends till yesterday morning, when she was so good to stop quite away. I will not tell you that I never met with a more tiresom creature, for the very recolection would be irksome. I am not philosopher enough to think over past misfortunes with pleasure. I know not whether I may not have recommended the lady to you ; and whether I ought not rather to make excuses for writing to you too often. If I did not *think* you a very honest woman I should *know* they were very necessary, but I really imagine you have given me encouragement. 'Tis true I wanted but little, and if I tire you, give me a hint. I love your excuses, but really they were rather unnecessary, for I never heard you accused of the trick of writing long letters, and I am sure you never offended me that way, or ever can. I will no more apply to you in the late manner, since you have such an opinion of my

careless indifference, that it produces such a mighty little. My brother is not yet come back ; when he does you shall know if he is better satisfied ; for my part I am fully so, to hear that people go to bed at eleven. If my head doth not mend very soon, I do not think you will have the merit of killing me. I had much rather die in a good cause ; if now, it would be quite causeless and unmerrited, which is really a hard case. It is not acute pain, but yet everything that's bad. If my Lady Suffolk could conceive it, it would soften her resentment, for some times I am not in the least able to hold down my head a moment. It is inconceivable that anybody can be angry with me for refreshing them of me. I used to write to her when she bade me, and I have very lately humbly addrest her, for I have very many reasons to be unwilling to displease her one moment. She hath pleased me many ; she hath done severall mighty agreeable things for me, which, very likely, I might never have thrown myself in the way of ; but, as she hath done you some injury's, you are surely the most improper person to apply this discourse, so I shall wish you both here. Sir W[illiam] W[yndham] comes to-morrow, who would with great pleasure set himself upon his hanches for you I dare say. Miss Wyndham hath been with me this week ; I think you will like her vastly next winter. It is not shabby, I hope, to use the word *here*, but undoubtedly 'tis extreamly so to put people in mind of any place where they cannot come ; but I think it may sufficiently convince people that nothing but the impossibility can make it desirable, when *me* brother could only come to fetch fire ; he returned long before I received yours. I hope he will tell you how well rowing became Mr. Young ; and pray tell him that, though his hand was then so well in upon his own water, that he was very near tossing us all into ours, out of pure awkwardness ; that the boys laughed ; and that he will never forgive them. I have since seen him in another very pretty light, but O my head." *Not signed. Seal of arms.*

LORD CORNBURY and the DUCHESS OF QUEENSBERRY to  
MISS ANN PITT.

N.D. [1736-1737].—"We send this note to you by one who is to return here in a few days. He has directions to call upon you again before he sets out from London, and the Duchess desires you will, in the mean while, write everything that is quite improper to be written by the post, and which can be matter of curiosity. *Ecrivez donc sans cesse, he' heu . . . vous m'entendez bien.* I wish the Duchess would give me a reason to give you for her not writing herself, for it is really very hard upon you to be forced to decypher my scroll. I wish I could write you any thing to entertain you as much as Abraham Sturges does the Dutchess, who entertains him with a leathern can of her home-brewed ; but, notwithstanding that, she has hitherto gained but little on his careless indifference.

"If your brother is in town, pray tell him I am much obliged to him for his letter, and shall answer it very soon. *Turn over.*

"The Duchess says if she saw that, she would not turn over, do you know why ?

"The trusty messenger is Weber, of whose fame you must have heard. He never makes mistakes. I will tell you a story of him. When the Duke of Queensberry came out of town, he sent Weber to enquire after Littleton's (Lyttelton) lame leg, and bade him write him word of it. Weber bade Lyttelton write word to the Duke how he did, which accordingly was done to the Duke's admiration of our friend's goodness, to which however he has never yet written an answer.

"Weber has just told the Duchess that he saw Lord Albemarle quite wet, upon which she said, then he might have wrung a Beau (he is a bell-hanger). Belle, beau, hung, rung, *wrung* you know.

"It is proposed that the parties to this correspondence do interchangeably burn their hands and seals.

(*Duchess.*) "The Viscount and I have quarreled this half hour about which of us should write to you. It has ended, so it seems, that we have both, tho' neither; but pray be good, and do as we desire, if that be to be found out."

The DUCHESS OF QUEENSBERRY to MISS ANN PITT, at Deene.

1737, July 9. Ambresbury.—"If I was a predestinarian, I should not write to you this day at least, but conclude it so destined, for I have lost the key of my standish. I am glad to find I am a better thing . your obedient servant. God forbid you should have forgotten that you gave me leave to tease you; I do not mean by telling you I wish for you, but by bare writing. I am so mercifull that I will not say I ever think of you all you deserve, for that's a dreadfull justice few can bear. I think I may venture to tell you that we have delightfull weather, mighty good health and spirits, but not a soul to throw these blessings away upon. The boys are gone to school; they rowed themselves quite from London here. I daresay none of you were so ingenious, though you must have found the heat insupportable by land. I am sure I could not have borne it. We lay at High Clear [Clere] and dined with them the next day; this was an unforseen happiness, consequently a great one. If I was sure you knew Lady Margaret perfectly, and could call her countenance before you at Dean, I would then tell you a pretty story, but how can one be sure of anything. My brother was to have been here as last Thursday, and now we may not so much as expect him till Munday. He sent me a fine string of puns which I will be sure to keep for you. They say *me* brother hath more over-bearing spirits than himself at Cornbury; I think that impossible.

"I long to hear you brag of the white spirits of Dean; should any other colour appear, it is every way your interest to lay them, or I shall never again set up my prayers for another six weeks in which I can have no share, if you are an ungratefull creature. I am sure Lady Cardigan is not. Will you be so good as to tell her that I can never forget the benefit I have received by my acquaintance with Mr. Bourgeois and Monsieur Goupy. Will you be so good to make my compliments to my Lord Cardigan and the Dean of Derry. Will you give me leave to assure you that I am (at this present writing) most sincerely yours.

*Nota Bene.*—"A parenthesis is a thing that may be left out, Lord Cornbury says." *Seal of arms.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1737, July 28. Ambresbury.—Some people never date their letters. I presume the reason must proceed from a glimmering of grace; they may not care to have just the day of the month remembered, when they gracelessly could set down to laugh at their—what shall I style myself? (and in a grave way too). Seriously, I gave some colour to your letter (literally perhaps) but I mean by way of being ashamed; how could you talk of goodness and good fortune? Only consider how soon I



shall over-hear you say (tho' at a thousand miles distance) good God ! will this creature never let me rest ; what another ? and so soon ? But I beg you to be patient and bare your lot content. Who is it that hath not at least one reasonable misfortune ? This I doubt will be eternal, for I find I like to write to you, and my health and good humour depend mightily on the pleasing myself ; people of a right way of thinking never look farther. I more than think that I had rather you could come and detect mine, but am glad it did not suit your convenience a few days ago ; you had then found me extremely meek indeed ; but the days were cold and I sick, else it is impossible to be low spirited. I have worn out all my low spirits. This is an afflicting thought to those who love and nourish them, if any such there be. For my part my philosophy is so great that I stood unmoved at the loss of my aunt ; not so my brother, who is gone to London, from whence to Cornbury for a few days, and from thence brings his sister and himself to theirs. I dare send my best respects by you to Lord and Lady Cardigan, but for my life I dare not desire you to put them in mind to what point I wish myself well. I wish them so well that I hope your month may be at least five weeks long, if not six ; that fairly ended, God's will be done—in our nine-pin alley—Your songs are beyond commendation. Did the Dean ever receive the boys' petition ? Did anybody ever wish me with them ? I take it vastly kind that you designed me to go to High Clear. I wish I may be successful, for I design at once one great design for you, a pleasant and a happy life. O but Lady Margaret, why you must know that the bell rung for dinner before I was ready ; but that's nothing to the purpose ; (it is a prodigious good story) so when I came down there I found the Master and Mistress, the Duke and the boys, and one Henry Airs, and Lady Margaret, and they were all very merry ; but in an instant Lady Margaret changed her countenance, and said in the most moving manner, good God ! what a terrible thing it would have been if . *le reste est perdu.*" *Seal of arms.*

THE DUCHESS OF QUEENSBERRY AND LORD CORNBURY TO  
MISS ANN FITT.

1737, August 13. [Ambresbury.]—"I never knew so punctual a person, punctual to the very day ; your natural reward must needs be leave to go when and where you please ; why not here ? (I beg your pardon and my own for asking that impertinent question.) Most people who have done me that honour have commonly given me two pleasures, their entry and exit ; I am too sure you could only give me one of them, and I am pretty sure you could at most receive but one satisfaction, so that upon the whole I had best not wish. I should not like to bring discredit on my good wishes since you have so much pleased me by saying that they signify. They shall go on, I promise you, and, I hope, prosper. But I wish you would be so kind to break yourself of that odd trick of thinking them unreasonable. I know how hard it is to disuse oneself from any custom good or bad. You and I had a trick of conversing together sometimes last winter ; my heart yearns often still to keep up your aching head till past two o'clock, though I do not love talking ; next to that my inclination leads me to address you, though I do not love writing. I am sorry you left Deene before my brother's letter to Lord Cardigan reached it, being much the oddest piece you ever saw. I am sure you must have rejoiced to have heard so much good of your humble servant. By your *if possible*, I doubt

we shall hardly see them here. I wish you would cure my Lady Suffolk's aching head, and that you could tell me the little horse or the little chaise had put all sort of pain out of your own; you would oblige me more than you can imagine. I am glad my Lord Scarborough is to recover, for many reasons which you can tell yourself. Our brothers have exchanged letters; since you could not *trouble me* to tell mine, so yours will not come near us; we think you have ordered it so; we think we take it very ill of you. As I am not acquainted with the gentleman you mentioned in your last, I wonder you could be capable of doing anything so improper as the naming to me such arrant strangers. I must leave you for Stephens and supper; I neither hunger or thirst for either.

(*Lord Cornbury.*) "The boys want what perhaps may be as much in your way as in the Dean's—bratts and brawls, the first from Branford, the latter from Richmond. My sister and I have wished for you often, and I believe we always shall, when anything pleasant is in our way. Good God! how stupid I am, and I must not tear this, because it is her letter, which she has been writing with the head-ache."

#### THE DUCHESS OF QUEENSBERRY TO MISS ANN PITT.

1737, September 5. [*Ambresbury.*]"—“I think you bade me not write with the head-ache; it attended me constantly a week or ten days, so that till last post I could not have wrote to you. I am now extremely well, and then and now extremely yours (not now and then so). I believe it was my own fault that I was sick; I had worked too much and rode too little; to day I rode out in company with a little horse that would have carried you mighty pleasantly any where. I do not presume to propose impossibilities, and as little care to think of them. I believe Lady Cardigan would have liked to have kept her word, but since she could not, I am sorry my brother hath done so much about it, for it is an *unhappiness* not be able to borrow a pin when one has a mind to it. Your brother has been with us for a moment, in which time though he was sufficiently teased; we did not only tell him of our castles in the air, but insisted on his discerning them on firm ground; he is gone to my Lord Bathurst, who will in some measure alleviate our folly.

“We carried your brother and mine yesterday as far as Marlborough, the finest weather that ever was seen; this day the winds whistle most melodiously; variety heightens the pleasures of one's life.

“The boys have received your bratts and brawls, and are much obliged to you as 'tis possible for your good will, on second thoughts; but, at first, they were very sure that you chose them so small for a joke, and they did talk of sending them back in a letter. They have since found out excellent ones at Winchester. I am extremely impatient for the bellman (though I must own I deserve little from his hands); *so was* my brother. I find I did you justice when I assured him that you were not a sort of woman to read an unsealed paper without an express desire; he is far from well; I do not like him.

“I am extremely fond of your character. I had never met with such an one before. Mrs. Stephens loves a cold leg of mutton much better than I do to have Mrs. Pitt come to dine with me. This happened not long ago, and I hope you can imagine how much the sound of her name (to say nothing of the woman) teased me. I have been shocked for Lady Albermarle; our porter was pleased to write word that her house narrowly escaped being burnt down, without further explanation. I

have since heard she is well. Does any body know anything of Lady Sophia? I mean to write to my Lady Suffolk this post, but, for fear I should not, pray say nothing of me, for I ought to write to her. I hope you met at Marble Hill yesterday, and that you either went or returned some part of the way by water; my conscience throws the Duchess of Montague's cloak full in my face." *Seal of arms.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1737, September 11. [Ambresbury.]—"I have just this moment received September 2nd. I have not above a moment of time to write; but write I will, were it only to say that; for I who can be as much in the wrong as any mortal creature without exception, cannot by any means bear to lay under that reproach, when I am not so. Upon my word and honour I did write to you as soon (save one post) as I was able. Upon ditto, I am vastly obliged to you, and have, at this instant, more mind to write a whole book to you than I have to do any other thing. If you will not believe me I must submit, but, actually, I never felt more as if I spoke truth; no not if you ever over-heard me say that I am very very sincerely yours." *Seal of arms.*

The DUCHESS OF QUEENSBERRY and LORD CORNBURY to  
MISS ANN PITT.

1737, October 1. [Ambresbury.]—"Since my last complaint I have got rid of a good deal of pain and pleasure. Sir William Wyndham left me this morning, but my head-ache had the start of him by many days.

"I am now quite at leisure to address you; yet I am determined to say nothing to you. Mr. Weber will leave us soon. I do not think one is obliged to answer all the questions that people ask me, especially your knotty points, without mature consideration; as for common things, they answer themselves; for instance, were I asked of what influence, of what use to me is a clear bright sun-shine, I must answer—that it cheers my spirits; to your question of what use my Lady Suffolk's loan hath ever been to me, I answer ditto; were I to be asked of what use to me is Mr. Young's neighbourhood, I should doubtless answer ditto. Seriously, his conversation is instructive; hard words with him are as plenty as black-berries. He commended my tea-kettle the other day, by the style and title of a mighty pretty *voiture*; and though he did not seem to think he had said wrong, yet I must do him the justice to own that I believe he had a good *voiture* very much at heart; for, the very day before, the poor gentleman had rode as much as he could possibly ride, and had it not been for christian charity, the poor gentleman might in a literal sense have gone bare to Weigh-Hill Fair. We were there two days together; the first there was no company, the second there was plenty of rain; want of water was the only thing there I ever heard complained of in other years. Our company are yet all alive and well. It is very remarkable that no one of us proposed cheapening ropes; though, if ever they can be necessary, it would have seemed so upon a near prospect of parting to people who could be merry together sitting up to their ankles in dirt, with a loving couple (who between them were 160 years old at least,) in a booth lighted by two farthing candles, fizzing under the dripping rain which made its way through a five-foot high flannel roof; which (if it had been of more sonorous materials) had stunned us with echoing the mirth of two

hundred people, packed up in the same mansion, and incensing the genius of the fair with Virginian perfumes. But some of the company had parted with Mrs. Pitt, and therefore were proof against all other trials. *Apropos* to a parenthesis, which my brother delights in, you see; Mr. Dunford begged a bed the other night, which being, as he said, too short for him, he assured us that he had been obliged to make a parenthesis of his legs. Is not that very comma-cal? I must thank you for your letter, for it was what I wished for much, (it was a tame morning with me;) it was mighty pleasant to me the moment before I was to ride out; it raised my spirits, which gave me courage to get the better of my mare, which for some time had fairly got the better of me. God bless you, and adieu till Weber pleases.

(*Lord Cornbury.*) "I say you will not know the difference of our hand; she says yes, yes, and peevishly. Who do you think has the best right to be peevish about it? I have been very ill (he only fancies so.)\* I believe it was with riding at the rate of about thirty miles a day for a fortnight together.

"In return for your balls, Lord Charles proposed himself the pleasure of presenting you with a fan; but he has not yet met with timber of size enough for the sticks."

The DUCHESS OF QUEENSBERRY to Miss ANN PITT.

1737, October 17. [Ambresbury.]—"What has my Lady Suffolk done to you to provoke you to make people hate Marble Hill? Just or unjust you had your ends, for I own I disliked it vastly when it cut short your last conversation. I have wrote her word how the Petersham affair stands, and she will give me a very good reason why I do not give you a particular account. Your inquiry will be very kind to me and can do no harm; yet am I too sure that I cannot possibly be there whilst you are any where in that neighbourhood. When one woman uses another impertinently, the most reasonable revenge by much is to be blind, deaf, and dumb.

"Pray do not grudge me Goupy for he is a mighty pritty companion; indeed I leave him to ride out whenever anybody thinks proper. I wish I could recall a lie that I sent you some time ago about hunting. 'Tis true I did intend it, and that I was prevented by a most happy heavy shower. I cannot imagine who it is that slanders my regularity; the whole house goes to rest always at twelve, and I very often half an hour sooner; sure you, of all people, cannot offer to call this setting up late. My brother will be obliged to you for inquiring after him; I shall write to him presently. When he left me I thought him neither very ill or very well; he now writes me word that he mends every day, that he rises early, and uses a great deal of exercise. I agree with Mr. Pope that he fatigues himself too much sometimes, but that does not prove that exercise is unwholesom; whoever is not in a constant course of it must feel it very unpleasant, for which reason I am determined to ride constantly out of mere laziness.

"You cannot conceive how much I have been alarmed for the entire loss of your understanding, from these words,—get a tea-kettle big enough to bring a fan; it pothered my brains full half a day, when at length Mr. Dunford relieved me; he never once entered my mind since I wrote; see what it is to forget for a moment that valuable man. We rode there a few days ago, and found him in the black devils; you

---

\* Interpolated by the Duchess.

know that he hates all the Herberts, and the Spa Herbert went with us. He left us to-day, charged with somewhat above a pocket volume for my Lady Suffolk, which will reach her (if ever) about a week hence. I hope Mr. Weber hath kissed your hands long since. I will wish away November as fast as I can. . . . Mr. Leveson will not direct this unless I present you with his very best respects."—*Seal of arms.*

The SAME to the SAME.

[1737.] October. Ambresbury.—"My brother set sail yesterday morning at a quarter after five, in a desperate high wind, for Cornbury; but before he went, empowered me to make use of the word *we* to excuse our inquisitiveness about your family affairs, which are certainly either above or below our care, and, as such, left unenquired about by us from any creature except yourself; who we imagined entire mistress of the tragi-comedy, entire philosopher, at least enough so to part *that* word to your advantage, so as to taste, and to let us taste only the comic part, which hath not yet turned out half so comical as we expected. The young man's letters are rather of the other kind. 'Tis really ten thousand pities that the father of so excellent a princess could be capable of furnishing such very poor performances to be handed about. If a friend of yours had fetched fire in that part of the world, *that* had been the most friendly way of bringing them to light; provided no other way could have been compassed to have made them brighter. I think I may pretty safely answer any of your questions by this opportunity of Mr. Weber; but I did not think it in the least prudent in you to trust your questions to the post. I did not approve of your writing word that the Prince was forbid your Court, though the same post (I think) brought that news printed. Yet I know not whether it be so safe or not to answer your question, for I find I must necessarily differ in opinion with you, or my Lady Suffolk, which I don't choose to do; for I like both your opinions extremely, so much so that you must give me leave to agree with both of you. You, my Lady Suffolk, are quite in the right to advise Mrs. Pitt against seeing her brother at Hampton Court; Mr. Young declared the other day that he should not visit his daughter at Norfolk Court, thinking it improper as he belonged to the other Court; you, Mrs. Pitt, are quite in the right to follow your inclination in seeing your brother where you please, for I am sure your inclination can never lead you to be stout in anything ill-judged, and therefore I recommend it as the safest guide you can find. You will hate me for trifling with you, but really I cannot decide without knowing whether the servants of both Courts are forbid visiting each other. I should imagine that could not be construed going to Court; and, even in that case, I do not find that your brother can be comprehended, for I do not hear that he is of the Prince's family. Why I do not hear it, I cannot answer myself. *We* are not satisfied; don't make me any answer to this, and forgive my impertinence in tempting your imprudence, which I doubt is great.

"I shall not see the boys till Drum's birthday and the King's; but I dare answer your peace will be easily made if it be not already confirmed. I hope to bring them to you early in December; this month hitherto feels so like it that one might be tempted to mistake one for the other, so as to be with you in a very few days, were we not earnestly employed in pursuing some of Solomon's vanities and vexations of spirit, such as planting; . . . the which, though ever so vain, I must prefer to the going to a place where I find I am to be teased to go to

another place by no means agreeable to my inclination or constitution. But I have already passed through one fiery trial, and have no doubts but that I shall all others, so as to return back again here next year unhurt. Notwithstanding my taste for rural pleasures, I do actually wish to see you most sincerely. The papers say you are to move soon to St. James's, where you too may have your innocent amusement of watching the new sown seed, and early discern whether it comes up or withers away. It will certainly come to little or nothing if care be not taken to provide scare-crows to fright away the birds of prey. You will let me know when I am to alter my direction, if you should be inclined to continue to give me leave to send you sometimes a piece of my mind. It is a pritty science enough to talk with one's fingers—yet more I love, much more, to hear thee spake. If you should have anything to say to me particularly comical, you may send it by the Salisbury stage-coach, Mr. Weber having taken leave of us for this season.

“Mr. Leveson wishes mightily to see the Prince's letters, and there are two of her Highness which will be bran new to us. In return I wish I could think of anything improper to tell you now, that I could not trust to the post; but I know of nothing but a growing passion between Mrs. Stephens and Mr. Spa Herbert, and I know you would chide me, and justly, were I to entertain you with scandal. To-morrow I design to hunt a doe which Mr. Spencer turns out on Beacon Hill. I go because that I was so frightened at the very sight of the hounds at above a mile's distance this morning; that it was so ridiculously uneasy to me that I am determined to get the better of my foolish fears. I have likewise thoughts of getting the better of meek spirits, headache . . . which, of late, I have too often allowed to trouble me; otherways I cannot in conscience laugh at Mrs. Pitt and Lady Cardigan and the rest of my whimsical friends, when they pretend to talk of that strange disease low spirits. Mr. Toll hath lived many years, and is yet a young man by the dint of being entirely ignorant of that imaginary ill; but Mr. Toll never allowed any of his friends to torment him with long letters. I wish you well through this; if it hurts you I shall wish I had done any other thing; if not, I can hardly ever think my pen better employed.”

#### THE DUCHESS OF QUEENSBERRY TO MISS ANN PITT.

1737, October 29. [Ambresbury.]—“I received some time ago a most merciful packet very safe; let me advise you by all means to write in English, for however much you are displeased at my abusing your French, I make no doubt of convincing you how much better you succeed in your own tongue. I thank you for telling me that you had had the head-ache, from whence I am willing to conclude that you had it not when you wrote. I should be obliged to you if you would neither suffer that or any other thing to tease you till the beginning of December, when I hope Mr. Weber will allow me to come directly to London to provoke you; to which place my brother advances this very day. You may yourself do him the pleasure to sing him Lady Cardigan's minuet, if the joy of removing your quarters may not have put it out of your mind. Where doth she sing, or say, or keep silence at present? I doubt that doleful ditty must come out of Northamptonshire; though the last line, according to my taste, is a most heavenly thought—*songeons, dormons sans fin*—to sleep, perchance to dream; one is in the very best company imaginable. Pray how often can people broad awake boast of such reality; or if ever, how much more is it than a dream.

"I wish I could dream how to apply to the Duke of Manchester, for I cannot ever persuade myself to talk to him, although I am fully convinced that he is as dreaming a man as ever crawled, and notwithstanding (your lucky thought of) the chance I have to succeed. I wish much to hear that Mr. Spa hath reached my Lady Suffolk; I had given him other commissions which still remain fruitless; it is not impossible that he may have taken the Spa in his way to London. Mr. Leveson is obliged to you; I know not how much longer I shall be obliged to him, for I think he begins to look as if I should not see him here much longer. I am sorry; he will be missed, and he is, too, a great encourager of laziness. For this last week I have been chiefly active with Gouppy, at which he grumbles, and hath slandered me to my brother; he hath had a fever which he assures me he is much better for.

"Our boys arrived this day; we are to have a fine ball on Monday as well as you, Madam. Lord Charles is so much reconciled that I dare answer he would be very happy to have you for his partner, had it not so happened that you are other ways engaged. His compliments in his own words—pshaw! forgive her! to be sure, but no more batts—this is just delivered with a very benign countenance. Mrs. Stephens is extremely afraid of the boys, though they have not yet thought her worth their notice.

"I must take the liberty to tell you that Lord Charles looks quite well and is in good case, though Gouppy told me a story of one of his girls yesterday, which determined me never to entertain people with my children. God send you an easy digestion of this my happiness, it sets mighty light upon my stomach. I will allow my ill breeding, if you will allow my excuse that it is quite natural to write of what pleases one, to those who please one, whenever they please; if this did not sound so like a riddle, it would not be worth your while to unravel.

"Mr. Leveson sends you his best respects; may I beg you to convey mine to Lady Cardigan." *Seal of arms.*

#### THE DUCHESS OF QUEENSBERRY TO MISS ANN PITT.

1737, November 14. Ambresbury.—"I do hope you think I have not written to you a vast while, for it is my opinion; and I shall always be pleased to agree with you, particularly in this instance. I curbed my inclination last post upon recollecting that a friend of ours who I never yet knew in the wrong, and whom I have ever found kind to me, suffers months to pass without answering a letter. I must own that half that time was hardly sufficient to have read mine; and that if people will lay an exorbitant inconsiderate tax on another's precious time, they must take what follows, or rather they must take patiently that nothing follows. Poor Mr. Spa I am extremely sorry to have dis-obliged; it hath every way proved of consequence to me; I fear 'tis a serious affair, for my commissions were easy to execute; only two pounds of tea, for want of which I have been forced to have recourse (thanks to the luxury of the times) to a farmer's wife. I am now provided, otherways I would take the liberty to think sincerely that you would not hate to take care of me.

"I take the liberty to tease myself out on horseback every day. I am very happy when once out, but neither Gouppy or I can bear the thoughts of my setting out. I wish my Lady Cardigan was at York, or any where but in Northamptonshire, for I fear she sings from the

bottom of her heart that song you are so ungracious to be fond of. If my coming could possibly put all those sort of things out of your head, I should be the greater beast of the two if I ever stopt my mare till I came to London; already I am often at least half-way there in imagination. My brother hath set up his rest there, and where he is, there would I be; neither have I the least objection to be where you are. I want to talk with you extremely, and yet I will not add one other word, except this word of truth, I am sincerely yours.

"If I could have wrote you a long letter, perhaps you would have Lady Suffolk'd me."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1737, November 28. Ambresbury.—"I have deferred writing until I could send this by Gouppy; but whether by the post or by him, I find I must write nonsense, and what is rather worse, it sounds like lying to dare to tell you that I wish to see you, and yet remain immovable; for it cannot appear to you impossible for me to obtain such an wish; yet I own that I should contend hard if I could imagine my coming could be of any use to you. On the contrary, I dare say my Lady Suffolk would think it very improper for you to keep such bad company at this juncture; and I think too she had better refrain your appartement till your affairs are settled. You are too bad yourself to need any help towards marking you out to be excepted in whatever shall happen to be done for the rest of your sisterhood. I have heard nothing but from the news-papers, which I cannot flatter myself are authentic. These are early days for a man who must be in affliction to design anything. I think you must have been in the midst of a most shocking scene, and think too, that it was very natural to have your spirits much affected. Poor Mrs. Herbert must have gone through a vast deal. I long to know how you do, and what is to be done for you; but I don't care to have you satisfy me except as to the first, by way of letter. I am extremely afraid of your conversing with me in any shape till your affairs are settled. I think of you for ever; I am dissatisfied with myself that I cannot be of immediate service to you; but thoroughly satisfied that if it can ever be in my power you may command me, and in so doing heartily please me. My inclination prompts me to offer you a room, if you should all be to leave St. James's soon; but prudence is so cross to tell me that would be improper for the above reason. We design to leave this place the tenth or twelveth of next month, till when I shall be impatient; nay, so I shall remain till I am happy enough to be as usefully, as I am sincerely, yours.

"The liberty which is often taken with post letters teaches one the trick of writing short of one's mind; but when honest Gouppy is the messenger, what else can stop my hand except the being certain how much more I feel than I can express. Pray thank my brother for telling me to day that Mrs. Herbert and Mrs. Pitt were *pritty* well. I hope he will make use of the word *very*, very soon. I have desired him to enquire particularly as to *our* mourning, and I much hope my Lady Suffolk will think it ridiculous for *us* to concern our-selves about it. I meant to have wrote to her too by Gouppy, but my head aches a little already; I believe it proceeds from the high wind which hath roared continually these two days and nights." (*Endorsed*): From the beautiful and witty Duchess of Queensberry to Mrs. Ann Pitt upon the Queen's death, to whom she was maid of Honour."



## The SAME to the SAME.

[1737, December.]—"I am very uneasy with the thoughts of your staying longer at Kensington. No body could be more desirous to have you out of town last week nor thought it more necessary than I did; but I must confess it was only for a few days, till you had recovered your fright, and had your mind a little settled; for I now think it as absolutely necessary that you should not be left longer there, for fear of getting a habit of indulging your melancholy, and making all thoughts of your returning into the world every day more uneasy to you; and I need not tell you how impossible that sort of retirement will be to one in your situation. I say nothing for the liberty I take, my friendship for you entitles me to it. I wish my understanding could assist you equally to the sincere inclinations I have for you, or the tender concern which your health and happiness is, and will always be to me. I propose being with you to morrow to bring you back with me to breakfast; you shall see nobody, or just such as you name. But after the vanity of thinking you will have some regard for me, don't give me the mortification of knowing I am to fail in the only occasion, perhaps, I shall ever have of proving I judge better than you do. I expect a comfortable answer. Oh! for Lady H. pen and head to convince you; but I positively will not change hearts with her, nor change the sentiments of my own in respect to you."

## LORD CORNBURY to Miss ANN PITT.

[1737.]—"I don't know how to direct to your brother. He says at Stowe, but I know nothing of the rest of the direction. Pray write it and seal it and send it.

"The Duchess of Queensberry says she is sure some wise man said women are curious creatures, meaning *charming*, and some fool repeated it again understanding it *inquisitive*; and as most men are fools, from thence that opinion prevailed ever since. She is not positive what year it began in.

"Thank you for your post-script." *Seal of arms.*

## HENRIETTA COUNTESS OF SUFFOLK to Miss ANN PITT.

[1738,] August 5, N.S. Spaw.—"That you may no more reproach me with saying nothing of myself, I design to talk of nothing else in this letter. To begin; I left Paris Munday was three weeks, and got to Aix La Chapelle the Sunday following. On the Tuesday, I began those waters as they are called, but in reality I drank eight half points of rotten eggs very hot, and well salted, every morning; which set as light as a feather upon my stomach. I rise at five o'clock, breakfasted at eight, dined at one, supped at half an hour after eight, and was in bed before ten. There was no company (except one lady that I was acquainted with both at Hanover and in England). I was always in spirits, and always well, though every body told me that I drank these waters in a most dangerous season, meaning the dog days; but, if it were not for the name of dog days, it might have been winter for most part of the time that I was there. But you must know they govern themselves in this country according as the seasons are called, without any regard to heat or cold.

"I arrived here last Friday, where I found the place swarming with English, and most Jacobites; here is the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry, Lord Lonsdale and his brother, Mr. and Mrs. Poultney (Pulteney), the Duke of Buckingham, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Newgent

(Nugent), Lord Cornbury, who gave me a letter from you, Lord Scarborough, who brought me one from Lady Betty Germain, Mr. and Mrs. Digby, Mrs. Pryce, and ten thousand more. But as the Duchess of Queensberry and I have made some new acquaintance, I fancy you will not dislike to hear who they are that you may happen to meet at brakefast in Saville Row; Mrs. Grub, Mrs. Qualm, Mrs. Cowsmaker, and Mr. Cabbage will enliven our tea table very much. I live the same life here that I did at Aix; and if Mrs. Hobart had not been ordered to drink the water of the town, and that she began yesterday, and that I had a mind to see how they agreed with her, I should have been this morning upon the hill at six o'clock, and could not have writ to you; for it's most certainly true that it is not possible to write when one drinks these waters. But as one leaves them off for two days every fourteen days, you will hear from me every such opportunity. I don't believe you could understand my last letter, for it was designed to be unintelligible to everybody but you; and as I writ in a hurry, and really did not read it over, it's very possible I succeeded beyond my own intentions. I have not taken one pinch of Scotch snuff since I saw you, though boxes are opened every day before my face, and under my nose. I take no snuff at all till after dinner, and drink no tea in a morning, and very seldom in an afternoon, nor no coffee. Lord Cornbury is this moment come in to desire that I would tell you the following story (*apropo* to a paragraph in your letter to me). A Recorder in his speech to the Lord Mayor of London said; my Lord, when I consider your riches I am amazed at your wisdom, and when I consider your wisdom I am amazed at your riches. Says my Lord, when I consider Mrs. Pitt's sencerity I am amazed at her art, and when I consider her art I am amazed at her sencerity. Mr. Berkeley began the waters to-day; he drank those of Aix, and bathed, which I really think agreed with him; but they say both was bold for a gouty man; but no other ways so then as it might give him a fit of the gout, for, in other respects, it was very proper for him. We propose being in England the middle of September, when somebody will be, but might have been more well-come at Marble Hill, if they had inquired in my absence for poor Fop, and given me an account of him. Are you satisfied? Have I writ sufficiently upon so poor a subject as that of the health of your friend.

"The first question Dutchess asked me was, does Mrs. Pitt wear her head still pasted upon her forehead? She is very sorry that you are obstinate, but however, is very much your humble servant. If you persist, she will wish you a peeres. She has a head and so has a pin, meaning Mrs. Pitt."

#### HENRIETTA, COUNTESS OF SUFFOLK to MISS ANN PITT.

[1738-40,] Oct. 18. Drayton.—"I know that you expect some account of my journey, and that I may not forget anything material that happened, I shall begin from the morning that I set out. We got into the coach at eight o'clock; very cloudy for some hours, but, understanding the weather, I promised a fine day, kept my word, and without being much tired, or any extraordinary accident, we got to Becklesworth before seven o'clock. Supper was ordered, and I, like a good wife, went to see our chamber was clean, aired, and in order. I was contented with the appearance, but we were no sooner laid in the bed, but a warm dispute arrise which side of the bed smell least; both was so powerfull we often wished for a pest smell; if you do not understand this ask Mrs. Carteret for the story of Lady Betty Herbert's. We slept

little, but Mr. Berkley's dress kept us till eight before we left the inn. He assured me we had but two and twenty miles to go, so it was no matter how late we set out; but the roads were worse than I had ever gone, and the miles longer. In two hours we went five miles, where we mett our guide, and in half an hour after were overturned; no hurt. I had a small wound, but in a place where I hope it will be no eye sore. Mr. Berkeley will tell you I was frightened, but I can and will, when proper, convince you I was not. We found miles and roads so very bad that we darst not bait, but performed our journey of twenty-two miles in about ten hours. I am now settled amongst my husband's relations; he takes all advantage and has once beat me. I must say Lady Betty seemingly takes my part, and you may easily believe I want a friend, for he uses me just as he used to do. He has this moment seized and read this letter. I dare not open my heart to you, but upon my word if I did, you would see little Gingle had a very pritty place there; and, at this time, I am talking a great deal to her, and I have not past a day without a long discourse. If anything should happen, remember my last advice, for I am, upon reflection, convinced it was not bad. I am very vain, but perhaps great attention and sincerity may counterbalance many other talents with less of those two. God bless and direct you, and may you be as happy as you deserve.

"There is a chariot and horses in town which my Tyrant begs you will command as your own."

T. PITT to C. HAWKINS, at Trewinnard near Marazion, Cornwall.

1746, December 5. Abbot's Anne.—Asking his opinion as to certain legal objections lately raised in regard to the making of 12 freemen in the borough of Grampound. Communications on this subject should not be trusted to the post; but sent by Mr. Eliot, or some other safe private hand.

[C. HAWKINS] to THOMAS PITT [at Upper Grosvenor Street, London]

1746[–7], January 4. [Trewinnard].—Forwarding a list of the voters that may be counted on to support their joint interest in the next election at Grampound. Mr. Buller's influence, being now exerted in their favour, has reduced the strength of their opponents.

"As you was pleased to intimate, when I saw you last, that his Royall Highness [the Prince of Wales] intended us the honour of being considered a coprincipall as well in the last as in future engagements, I take the liberty to lay before him, by you, a sketch of the charges."

"I have termed these sketches, being such items only as I can recollect, and bring to account with proper vouchers. I must leave you to guess what other charges and trouble my son's situation makes unavoidable, and which cannot be reduced to particulars." *Draft letter unsigned, in Mr. Hawkins's writing.*

T. PITT to C. HAWKINS, at Trewinnard, near Marazion.

1746[–7], January 17. Upper Grosvenor Street.—"I . peruse the list of the forces without the least dismay . As to the first part [of your sketch of charges], if anything wants to be set right . . I will do it when next in the country; and, as to the 2nd, regarding the time to come, I suppose that equal sharers in the adventure pay equal costs." *Seal of arms.*

T. PITT to Rev Dr. AYSCOUGH, in Gerrard Street, Leicester Fields.  
1747, June 7. Boconnock.—Adverting, obscurely, to matters of  
private interest. *Seal of arms.*

MEMORANDUM in Dr. AYSCOUGH's handwriting.

"The names and number of persons to be brought into Parliament  
by His Royal Highness, who are not able to bring in themselves—

1	Sir William Irby	}	Fixed and sure.
2	Mr. Montague		
3	Mr. Maden		
4	Lord Inchiqueen		
5	Dr. Lee		
6	Colonel Lee		
7	Mr. Martyn		
8	Mr. Heath		
9	Lord Londonderry		
1	Mr. Scot	}	Fixed but not sure.
2	Lord Baltimore		
3	{ Mr. Breton		
	— Stalden		
4	General Handasyde		
5	{ Mr. Forster	}	Not fixed.
	Lord Deloraine		
1	Lord Middlesex		
2	Mr. Blyth		
3	Sir Thomas Drury		
4	Mr. Witcher		
5	Mr. Jennings		
6	Mr. Douglas		
7	Mr. Bludworth		
8	Mr. Boone		
9	{ Mr. Potter		
	— Oxenden		
	Mr. Moreton		
	Mr. Tilson		
	Mr. Tysson		
	Mr. Barret		

to bring whom into Parliament there will be 3 sure places, namely,  
2 at Old Sarum, and one at Malmsbury; and

Chances at these places—County of Surry	-	1	
Queenborough	-	2	
Walingford	-	1	
Shoreham	-	2	
Hayden	-	1	
Scarborough	-	1	
Gramponnd	-	1	
Kellington	-	1	[Callington]
Fowey	-	1	
Tentagel	-	1	
Bodmyn	-	2	
Lestwithiel	-	2	
Saltash	-	1	
Scotland	-	1	

18

Great Bedwyn  
Salisbury or Sudbury?  
Wotten Bassett

"There are 14 persons whose seats are still uncertain, for 3 of whom there will be certain seats. 11 will remain to be provided for out of 18 chances—if we carry half of the 18, only 2 persons will remain unprovided for."

SAMUEL MARTIN to Rev. Dr. Ayscough.

1747, June 2. Carleton House.—"I sitt down by his Royal Highness's direction to give you an account of my Christian name and addition.—My description is, Samuel Martin of the Inner Temple." [Elected for Camelford, July 1, 1747.]

W. LEMON to Rev. Dr. Ayscough [in London.]

1747, June 10. Truro.—"The dissolution of the Parliament is . . a bold enterprise in the Ministry. . . I observe with concern the opposition his Royal Highness's friends are like to met with in this county . . The majority of the electors here are so attached to the Tregothnan family by the behaviour of Captain Roscawen, and his taking some of their sons to sea with him, that the attempt you advise me to make in this place would I am persuaded, prove fruitless. . . In the meantime, I must intreat you to assure your Royal Master that no man can be more attached to his interest than I am, who would lay down my life in his service."

SIR WILLIAM IRBY to Rev. Dr. Ayscough [in London.]

1747, June 11. [London.]—"I was quite happy . . and much obliged to you for the . . easy disposition of me at the ensuing elections . . . However, this unforeseen affair concerning Queenborough, and the offers as they seem to stand, made me willing to inquire into the affair, as we did last night. As his Royall Highness has been so good and kind to me . . . I should be glad, if it lay in my power, to widen his bottom in regard to elections; but . . I desire no objection may be raised in regard to matters as they are fixed at Old Sarum. It is impossible for me to appear personally at Queenborough, or to be at the least expence before the election; but, should the electors resolve to make use of my name, and can carry the election in support of their own rights, I will . . do all that is honourable and right by them, after the election . . . It appeared plainly to us last night, in our discourse with the two men, that the honourary freemen have a right to vote; and I am inclined to imagine that their number may be greater than these people give out, being desirous to put the best gloss on their own proposals. I should think that . . Mr. Blyth or any other who the Prince pleases to appoint, will stand just as good a chance as I can do. That my name is known at the place, and that they have an opinion of me, is all stuff. If these people are able and . . resolved to defend their rights and interests, as they call them, any person down amongst them . . must cultivate a better interest than I can have, absent. . . I will not take the journey before the election is over, nor will I be at a penny expence. If they will make use of my name and no other, it is at their service; and I will do nothing but write a letter to signify that they do make use of it with my consent."

T. PRYR to his brother-in-law, Rev. DR. AYSKOUGH, [in London.]

1747, June 12. Boconnock. — "Your messenger found me . at Trewithin, where, with young Mr. Hawkins and his father, I was consulting what measures to pursue at Grampound. The dissolving Parliament so soon has a little disconcerted our schemes . . . On Wednesday we went round the town, and found the people, as one must expect in such a venal place, some open in promising us, and others hanging off to see what they can make of it; but none said they had promised against us, not even those who we know are determined against us, but said it was time enough to promise. On the whole, I have no more reason . . . to despair of success than I had before . . . The worst thing against us is the Mayor being of the adverse party, which was owing to my being ill at the time of that election in October last; for he will certainly admit 12 freemen we object to, upon the poll; and perhaps reject 13 of ours, sworn in October 1741, and now objected to. As you tell me I am not to give up on any appearance of difficulties, I have issued forth the insidious argument plentifully; and, if my colleague furnishes his equal part, it may do the business. I have likewise bid high for the Mayor."

"The next is Bodmin; there, though I think we shall carry one, yet the scene is changed . . . Laroche's agent will endeavour to make all Laroche's friends vote for Mr. Hunt, and, for ought I know, it will be easier to carry both than be scrambling for one . . . I have laid out both ways, and am not without hopes of both there.

"As to Camelford, I look upon it to be quite secure; but Philipps still persists in desiring to have Lord Londonderry there. Bossiney I look upon likewise as secure, at least in conjunction with Mr. Wortley; but I am in hopes of jockeying him out of the other [seat], he having wrote me that he had talked with Lord Edgecombe about that place, telling him that he intended standing there himself, and supporting my interest for the other. Lord Edgecombe had promised to give Wortley his interest. He has wrote a letter to the Mayor recommending the person I shall name to be chosen with himself, and, at the same time, tells the people he will not serve them; and by this promise of Lord Edgecombe, he is secure from any opposition, and will save his money. Now, as he recommends my interest, I cannot appear against him; but by a proper application on my side, and a failure of the like from him, which I must supply, a spirit may arise among the voters to chuse a person that is not above representing them.

"As to Foy (Fowey) and Lostwithiel, I am sifting and inquiring. I have hopes of both, but am not sufficiently got into the knowledge of their situation. Neither can I speak anything positive of Okehampton; but by the conversation I had with Luxmore as I passed through the town, there is great reason to hope for success . . . I will be as active and diligent as possibly I can. I will spare no pains, nor scruple running any risque to promote the service of my master, who has bound me to him by the indissoluble tie of gratitude for the favours and honours bestowed on me . . . You tell me I am to spare neither money nor pains; to the utmost of my power I shall not, but the latter will hold out much longer than the former . . . No men can attack to any purpose without ammunition sufficient for the attack. The making the attack first and sending for ammunition afterwards, will never do. If any thing is to be done by money, it must be done at once, and the money ready to be laid down when the agreement is made . . . I will lay out none I am entrusted with, but with at least a good

probability of success. . . I think it not proper to detain the messenger longer, it being of consequence to have as speedy a return hither as possible, with such supplies and materials as is thought proper. If one has the means at hand, one may take advantage by surprise."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1747, June 13. Boconnock.—"It will, I believe, be improper for me to attend Old Sarum election. I am glad, therefore, you will take the management of it upon you. As to whether I would be chosen there myself, I cannot answer that positively till I have been at Okehampton . . . I think the best way will be to postpone the Old Sarum election till that at Okehampton is over . . . If I would be elected at Old Sarum, I will send a messenger with a letter directed for you at Mr. Tirrell's; so, if you receive no message from me to the contrary, proceed to elect those of the Prince's naming. The enclosed is a list of the voters, and what they vote for. Do not show it to any one, not even to the Prince. I send by this messenger likewise their deeds, which are to lay in Mr. Tirrell's hands at Andover till you call for them."

"As for Grampound I think we can carry it, but it must cost damnably dear. The villains have got a-head to that degree, and rise in their demands so extravagantly, that I have been very near damning them, and kicking them to the devil at once. The dirty rascals dispise 20 guineas as much as a King's Sergeant does a half guinea fee. If it had not been for the orders by your letter, spare neither pains nor money, I would not have gone on at such a rate . . . If I have not a large supply speedily, all that is done will be lost. . . How came you to allot 500*l.* for Okehampton? What would that signify if there is an opposition? It will but little more than pay the common expences of a quiet election . . . I could not talk to Luxmore of less than 1,000*l.* . . . When I see him, I must tell him the 500*l.* is in part. I go to-day to dine at Bodmin, where the scene is changed; for Mr. Cole the minister at Lanhydrock, the steward's brother, has sollicitted votes for Mr. Hunt, he says on Mr. Hunt's single footing . . . This has made a market there, but I hope that affair is pretty well secured. Tomorrow I go to Camelford and Tintagel; and Wednesday or Thursday, I intend being at Okehampton; from thence I shall return to watch and attend his Lordship of Edgcombe who, I am informed, sat out from London yesterday. . . I must tell you that I am in hopes of both Lostwithiel and Fowey; but I must be enabled to make the deposit in case my scheme takes . . . 1,000*l.* for each member. If it does not take effect; or the election [is] not made, the money will not be deposited, or . . . will be returned. Mr. Eliot dined here yesterday; he will send you a particular account of Callington . . . Mr. Gregor has engaged, and is now trying at Tregony what may be done. I took his house in my way to Grampound and luckily found only Madam at home. I found her in a right key, and . . . quite alone. You will say that was the lucky opportunity of putting the question. I did not neglect the happy moment, and she took it greedily, and I thought she had been then satisfied; but she desired another meeting, which I gave her, and satisfied her by telling her that her son would, immediately upon Mr. Gregor's engaging openly against Lord Falmouth, be made gentlemen usher to the Prince, with a salary of 100*l.* a year; and for the expences of the election, provided he

carried one, he should have 1,000*l*. This is what . his Royal Highness ordered me to offer. How far he can carry it I will not pretend to say, but it is worth the salary of the place to detach him for [from] Lord Falmouth . . . I think it worth while for somebody to come down ; it should be one that can bustle well, and be of some help to the little old man."

T. PITT to REV. DR. ATSCOUGH.

[1747,] June 14. [Boconnock.]—Containing suggestions in regard to the conduct of the election at Old Sarum. *Signet*.

SIR WILLIAM IRBY to REV. DR. ATSCOUGH [in London].

1747, June 15. Hedzar.—Expressing a strong conviction that promises of support against the sitting members, at the approaching election, received from the borough of Queensborough, are untrustworthy and venal; and his resolution not to interfere personally in a contest there.

T. PITT to Rev. DR. ATSCOUGH, [in London].

[1747, June 12–15 ? Boconnock.]—"In answer to your separate letter . . . I send you copies of Mr. Wortley's letter to me, and to the Mayor of Bossiney, which you will shew to the Prince or not as you judge proper. I shall not have any dependence on his Lordship's word to Mr. Wortley, but am endeavouring to secure matters, and if I can take advantage of Mr. Wortley's absence I will, to slip in Breton or some one else. But as he recommends my interest, with himself, I must not appear against him; but by means of his letter offering himself, and at the same time declaring he will not serve them, and a using the proper argument on my side, and neglecting it on his, hope to raise a spirit in the voters themselves." *Copies enclosed*:

1. EDWARD WORTLEY to the MAYOR AND THE REST OF MY FRIENDS AT BOSSINEY.

"As I am likely to be chosen again for Peterborough, I should have named to you another person rather than myself, if I had fixed on a proper person. But as the dissolution of this Parliament will be earlier by almost a year than I supposed it would be, I am not yet prepared; and shall, after Parliament has met, recommend a proper person to serve in my place.

"Together with myself, I desire you will choose and return such person as will be recommended by Mr. Pitt.

"My noble kinsman my Lord Edgcumbe has been so obliging to me as to promise to give me his interest; so that, with your favour, this election will be altogether quiet. I desire to be returned thus; Edward Wortley of Wortley in the county of York, Esq."

2. EDWARD WORTLEY to T. PITT.

1747, June 6. London.—"I send you a copy of what I have sent to the Mayor of Tintagel, this post. As you had suspected, and it was rumoured there might be an opposition, I thought it proper to wait on my Lord Edgcumb to know what was to be



expected. I told him I proposed to be chosen myself for one, and to support with all my interest any person that you should name for the other.

"And I have the satisfaction to acquaint you that he assured me that his interest shall be at my disposal; so that this affair is absolutely fixt and certain.

"No difference of opinion in politicks has ever lessened the friendship his Lordship and I have always professed for one another in private life; so that I know him well, and can rely on his word as much as upon any man's.

"As there can be no opposition, I must beg you will not take, or suffer to be taken, any step with relation to the management, without having first had my entire approbation.

"Some trifling expences may be proper to be made; but I hope none will be made but such as I, and every one that is most zealous for supporting and improving my interest, must think absolutely necessary."

WILLIAM HILLIER to REV. DR. AYSCOUGH, in Leicester Fields.

1747, June 17. Estchurch in Cent [Kent].—"I hope Mr. Floyed has a quanted you of the a fare, as Munday, the gentleman chuesed a new mare; the pressant Members mayd a spech the pepell turned from them and came to Mr. Floyed and me, protesting thayd have Sir William. Tuesday, the members whent to every mans wife, thay refused the same, Whensday, Commissionor Brown of Chattham yard and the Mastertendenc of Sheareaness and some more gentleman came which is gratly aganst Sir William, butt cold move few or none. I am tould Mr. Sawedg (Savage) will be down a Freyday, and for God's sack Sir William too; they meet him att Kingsferry, wich is three miles outt of the town, to compeney his honnor in. If Mr. Sawedg come furst, pray lett Sir William follow, notthing cann hurt him. I am att a plase called Eastchurch six miles outt of the town, thay constently comming to me."

M. MADAN to BROMFIELD, at Durdans, Epsom.

1747, June 18. [Bond Street].—"His Royal Highness has commanded me to acquaint you that Mr. Boone being loudly called for at another borough, [Stockbridge,] he hopes Mr. Gould will conferr his favours [at Malmesbury] on Mr. Douglas, who is deserving of his friendship. If it is thought necessary for Mr. Douglas to have a colleague, his Royal Highness will send one to him."

T. PITT to REV. DR. AYSCOUGH [in London].

1747, June 19. Okehampton.—"Your messenger found me at Camelford, Wednesday . . . I sat out from home Monday, and spent that day at Bodmin, . there I find some steady friends both to me and Laroche; and others stand out to make a market. I . have reason to believe there is no room to fear of carrying one, but have laid the scheme double."

"The next is Camelford. I had all to dine with me except two or three, . and in a right temper; no appearance of any disposition to oppose. The next day I dined with my Tintagel friends. We have of them 17 out of 21, and I think there is as little doubt of one

there, as at Camelford, and talked them up to such a pitch of Mr. Wortley's usage of them, that it is very probable we shall have the other instead of him. I promised them if Mr. Wortley was angry with them, and neglected the quay, I would engage to build them one. . . I hope the Prince will consent to Lord Londonderry being set up at Camelford. If he does, pray give him [Lord Londonderry] the enclosed, and ask him to go with you to the Old Sarum election. As to the other boroughs, I can only tell you that as for Grampound where the chief attack is, I have supplied my engineers well with ammunition, with orders to spare nothing, but to keep an incessant fire night and day; and have been informed . . . we have gained ground vastly. . . As to Fowey and Lostwithiel, I had stronger hopes of one at each of them the morning I came from home than ever I had. If I can do it, shall I engage for two at Fowey? May Rashly (Rashleigh) be turned out? Wo'nt it disoblige the Tories too much? . . . Now for Okehampton; as yet here is no appearance of any stir at all, and I believe, as to myself I am very secure, but must not venture directly to set up any one with me. I find Luxmore does not quite heartily give in to it; and believe that a person in the Treasury is agreeable to them, and therefore am apprehensive that if Lyttelton should offer himself, it would not be easy to turn him out. If he does not, something may be done. I speak very uncertainly . . . and have not had time to talk John [Luxmore] over. You know he is not very open; perhaps the argument of 1000*l.* may be convincing. I am to go round the town to-day, and when I have endured their noise and drunkenness of some hours, I shall know more of their disposition. Mr. Mountague must be put here provisionally.

"I cannot conceive the purpose of sending the account which was enclosed; for, if it is to limit me to those sums, then what becomes of that order to spare neither money nor pains. I have been very free with both, and hope for success, but cannot warrant it. . . I tell you fairly I am in hopes, but take notice it is but hope, of one here besides myself, two at Camelford, two at Bossiney, one at Bodmin if not two, one at Lostwithiel, one if not two at Fowey, and one at Grampound; and perhaps Hawkins may give up to me, for he is sweated at the expence. All these provision must be made for both of men and money, and neither to be used but as occasion offers.

"The enclosed is what came into my head as proper to be done; I wish it be not too late to have any effect, but it can do no hurt and may be a shoeing horn for Lostwithiel, though perhaps too late for Truro.

"I cannot finish without telling you that Mr. Gregor has had great success in making interest at Tregony, but whether he will stand the test when Lord Falmouth talks with him, is not quite certain."

(Enclosure.) "Heads for a letter proposed to be wrote by his Royal Highness's order; by his Secretary or some Chief Officer—

"That his Royal Highness, being acquainted with the attempt lately made to subvert the privileges and jurisdiction of the Stannaries in Cornwall and Devon, which he has under his protection and will suffer no diminution of; for the better ascertaining of those privileges and rendering more publick the authority of those jurisdictions, he thinks it may be right and expedient that a Convocation or Parliament according [to]

ancient custom should be called; and therefore it is his Royal Highness's pleasure that you his Warden of the Stannaries do consult with the gentlemen of the ——— about the holding the same; and what laws and alterations may be proper to be made; and that you do consider of a proper time and place for assembling the same." [*Draft in Thomas Pitt's handwriting.*]

(Enclosure 2.)

T. PITT to his cousin, the EARL OF LONDONDERRY.

1747, June 19. Okehampton.—“Having the greatest confidence in your Lordship's honour and steadiness in adhering to those you engage with, and being desirous of convincing you of my friendship towards you, I have laboured to get you nominated at Camelford, as you seemed to have it so much at heart; though, in my opinion, your Lordship would have been equally secure at Bossiney; and it is with the greatest pleasure I tell your Lordship that his Royal Highness has been pleased to show that regard to your Lordship and attention to me as to consent to it; and I daresay your Lordship will not have a less grateful sense of the favour and honour done you than I have towards his Royal Highness, whose service and interest we shall heartily join to promote and support.

“I hope your Lordship will be so kind as to accompany Doctor Ayscough to the Old Sarum election.”

DANIEL BOONE, to H.R.H. FREDERICK, PRINCE OF WALES.

1747, June 22. Stockbridge.—“All matters go on here as quietly and to our satisfaction as your Royal Highness can wish. The only difficulty I find to combat with, is to gett Chetwynd approved of; which I do, in order to prevent confusion and trouble, and to make the success at this place appear with all possible grace and glory to your Royal Highness, for it is well understood by whom I am recommended.”

“It is not to be conceived how much I have, in everything, benefitted from her Royal Highness's amiable and endearing character. Surely nobody was ever in higher esteem and had greater affection from the whole publick . . . No materials are wanted yett, I hope none will till the election is quite over. They attempted last night to bribe monstrously against us, but all to no purpose. The borough is as sure as Old Sarum.”

WILLIAM HILLIER to REV. DR. AYSCOUGH, Gerrard Street, Soho. .

1747, June 23. Queenborough.—“A corden to your derecksions, I whated on Mr. Loyed Tuesday morn, earght o'clock, and he acted as he thought proppor. The pepell are all venneesey nott seeing the genttelman, and if thay are hurtted, it was by saying thare was no oppersision; and for Mr. Loyed and I to go out of the town wee luase groud. I have seene Mr. Smith and Fisher to that desarted, thay say the hole resing was thay beleved thare was from that no genttelman to come; the rest, notwithstanding Mr. Loyed and the best frinds tells them how is to come, they still are unneesey. The oppersett a peares everey moment and gitts advantadgs wich I am verey sorry.”

## HENRY DRAKE TO H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1747, June 26.—“The ardent zeal I have for your Royal Highness’s service forces me to think this intrusion a point of duty. Since it is to lay before you, that having made myself master of the affair which hath been communicated to you from Mr. Courteville . . . I find your Royal Highness may be served even yet, though so late in time, beyond your expectations, with regard to many boroughs in Cornwall and Devonshire, . . . of which you are absolute master.”

*An Abstract relating to elections in Devonshire and Cornwall* . . .  
“His Royal Highness, though late in time, may influence all or many of the returns for members of Parliament in Devonshire and Cornwall, being seventy reckoned together, by a measure which I intreat permission to introduce by the following considerations—

“It is in his Royal Highness’s breast, as Duke of Cornwall, to issue writs returnable in 21 days after their date, to summon together a Parliament of tinnners; for which he hath a precedent so modern as Queen Anne’s time.

“Most of the gentlemen’s estates in those counties are, part of them or wholly, held (as are likewise some Lordships and manors that extend up to Westminster Hall Gate and Vauxhall, and which, it is presumed, are worth inquiring after as to the influence they may have on other elections nearer home) of His Royal Highness as Duke of Cornwall; and themselves, by such a tenure, obliged to attend the Parliament, where they form an Upper House and Lower House; the Lord Warden of the Stannaries presiding over the first, and a speaker of their own choosing over the last. The place for opening this Parliament is on a high hill called Crockenden Tor, in the middle of Dartmoor, where, as there are nothing but stone seats or rather rocks for them to sit on, they immediately adjourn to Tavistoke, Chagford, Ashburton, Bodmin, or some other principal stannary town. His Royal Highness, if he honours Cornwall with his presence, must be met on the bridge over the Tamar by the Earl of Radnor in his proper robes, which he wears on the occasion, and rides before his Royal Highness whilst in the Dukedom, as holding his estate by such a tenure. And other noblemen and gentlemen, by theirs, are obliged to furnish his Royal Highness with every other necessary even to billets for firing.

“As the estates, therefore, of such nobility and gentry were anciently granted to them on terms of vassalage and certain conditions, the non-performance and long neglect of such conditions hath put them under such an obligation (as can be explained) as to force them to obey his Royal Highness’s pleasure.

“For, though it is no ways to be recommended to his Royal Highness, nor would his generous heart permit him, to use his right in so absolute a manner as he can; yet the fear of his exerting such a right or any part of it, so as to endanger or lessen the estates of these nobility and gentry, must influence them, from the nature of their tenures, to concenter all the separate interests they have in an obedience to his Royal Highness’s commands.

“Therefore, if the reason given for such a summons to the Parliament be now made to be, among others; *A necessity to make new regulations as to the mart of tin; Enquiries into the tenures of estates; Redress of grievances relating to them, as well as the keeping up his Royal Highness’s right to call such a Parliament when he pleases;* . . . such a measure may inspire at this critical time, such a dread into those whose estates and properties will be so much affected, as

certainly to sway the elections in these counties . . . The original papers, rolls, and deeds relative to the point are in hands I can resort to, will set this affair in a still stronger light, and support what I have alledged in this abstract."

THE EARL OF MIDDLESEX to WILLIAM DENNY.

[1747, June.]—"You are desired to call upon Doctor Ayscough in Gerrard Street tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock, who will inform you of what you are to do; as much as I have heard of it, I think it will be very agreeable." *Seal of arms.*

CHARLES MONTAGU to [Rev. DR. AYSCOUGH ?].

[1747, June —.]—"The agitation of mind I was in yesterday hindered me from sleeping a wink last night; . . . I will, with an aking head, but cheerfull heart, endeavour to recollect what passed between Mr. Lyttelton and me. . . He addressed himself first to me, with as much civility as I could expect of him. I thought he talked high of his interest at Oakhampton, that he could carry it if he pleased; but, considering the circumstances he was under, he believed he should give me no trouble. He made no promise, but I did conclude from all he said I should have no opposition from him. You will pardon me if I give you my John Trott opinion upon this affair. I have never been intimate with Mr. Lyttelton; but, from the little intercourse in business I have had with him, I have, these many years, looked upon him as a gentleman of worth. I am persuaded he would not act the part he does but from necessity of getting into Parliament. If that is the case your advice will avail but little. An ambitious man in the Treasury, with very great parts, must stake his all to be in the House; therefore, if the Prince's point of honour is not too far engaged, I wish the two brothers would make up this affair between them. I am ready on all occasions to obey his Royal Highness's commands; to come into Parliament, to stay out of Parliament if it is his pleasure I should

"As you send an express into the West this evening, I cannot forbear a hint. Suppose this messenger had orders to go to Eliot to bring me into Parliament instead of himself? . . . If Eliot is wise, he would be no loser by that bargain, and our Royal Master would save a great deal of money . . . I look upon Oakhampton as entirely lost."

VISCOUNT ST. JOHN to ———

[1747, June.] Lydiard.—"Walking in my park this morning, I was surprised to see a messenger. I wonder you could imagine I would neglect this affair . . . It is my opinion, if Breton comes he will be chose; but the Prince will find that Neal nor Joderell w'ont stand, and therefore Madan and Breton must pay perhaps 180 or 90 votes, besides extra work."

"I expect you here on Tuesday, if possible by 11 o'clock, and by 1, I shall carry you to Wooten [Bassett]. Neal and Joderell are gone, and left the people swearing at them; they return on Wednesday."

CRICKLADE ELECTION.

*A proposal*, without date or signature, but in *Dr. Ayscough's* handwriting, to *Mr. Dear*, for the electing of James Tilson of Hampton Court Middlesex, as a member for the borough of Cricklade; 1400*l.* to be lodged for election expenses in the hands of Lord Sutherland, but not to be paid over until Mr. Tilson had sat 14 days in

the House of Commons, without a petition being presented against him ; or been confirmed in his seat in case of a hostile petition. "Mr. Tilson cannot come in person to the election."

This is followed by *Mr. Dear's* reply, also without date or signature, insisting on the presence of Mr. Tilson in the borough, or of some proper person with the money, which, however, is not to be paid until the election is secure. The expenses out of pocket, not exceeding 50*l.*, must also be advanced by the candidate.

LORD BALTIMORE to [Rev. Dr. Ayscough.]

[1747, June.]—"I desire you will lett our Royal Master know I can not tell where to find Lord Gernsey . . . In the meantime hartly wish you success. Things goe well."

MEMORANDUM OF CONDITIONS on which H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES consents to send 500*l.* to be employed at the borough of LUDGERSHALL [WILTS].

1st, that *Henry Oxenden*, of Dean Court, in Kent, and *William Denny* of Newnham in Oxfordshire, be proposed as Members for the borough of Ludgershall, and well supported; and, if returned by a fair majority, they shall pay the necessary expenses of the election, not exceeding the sum of 2,000*l.*

2nd, that *Mr. Barrow* and *Mr. Hyat* shall oppose *Mr. Selwyn* and his colleague at Gloucester; and, in case of a petition from either side, his Royal Highness will support *Mr. Barrow* and *Mr. Hyat*, with his utmost interest in the House of Commons. [In Dr. Ayscough's handwriting, without signature or date.]

The EARL OF SUTHERLAND to Rev. Dr. Ayscough, in Gerrard Street.

[1747, June .]—"If youl cal for me any time this evening at the Fountain tavern in Ludgat Hill, Mr. Drake and I will be glad to see you there, and Mr. Drake will be prepared to give you full satisfaction."

WILLIAM DENNY to [Rev. Dr. Ayscough.]

1747, June 26. Ludgershall.—"Things are doubtful, though not quite desperate. We shall act for the best, and be determined by the advice of our friends in these parts. Monday is the day of election . . . It is said here there is no opposition at Gloucester."

J. MADAN to [Rev. Dr. Ayscough.]

[1747, June .] New Bond Street.—"I this moment receive a letter from Mr. Madan, who desires me to acquaint you that he has hitherto reason to think his election at Wotton Bassett very secure, and also has great hopes of success for Mr. Breton; both which be pleased to communicate to his Royal Highness."

The EARL OF SUTHERLAND to [Rev. Dr. Ayscough.]

1747, June 27. London.—"I had the honour of waiting on his Royal Highness upon ane affaire of importance. He desired me to desire the gentleman to communicate the affaire to you, of which I spoke to him, but he is oblidgd to leave town in the morning."

S. MASHAM to REV. DR. AYSCOUGH, in Gerrard Street, Leicester Fields.

1747, July 1. Droitwyche.—“Mr. Foley, Mr. Winnington and myself are returned for Droitwyche. The numbers are, for Mr. Foley 19, for Mr. Winnington 19, for Mr. Masham 19, for Mr. Sandys 18 . . . I shall not be the sitting member, but hope my success being, as yet, disputable, will not make his Royal Highness imagine I have neglected anything on my part.” *Seal of arms.*

T. PITT to REV. DR. AYSCOUGH.

[1747], July 1. Mr. Gregor's [near Tregony].—“With heaviness of heart I send this. . . I spared no pains. The expence of that I do not begrudge, that was my own; but the money that is expended to so little purpose was not mine. . . I did my utmost to have procured success. . . I am this moment going to Tregony election, where finding Gregor's interest declining very fast, by means of the money from the adversary and none from him, for he is not able to advance any, I have persuaded Mr. Kirrell to risque some, and I have joyned him, so we set up for both [seats]. Without this, the election had been infallibly lost. I went round the town yesterday, and by the answers and tempers of the people believe we shall carry it for both. Mr. Bligh is set up. My scheme for Penryn was going on in a very likely way of success, when down comes a great blunder-headed fellow from Mr. Bickford the West Indian, and has broke and destroyed it.”

“At Grampound the affair is compounded one and one; but I have, for some particular reasons, thought proper to give Mr. Hawkins his option to be elected and take the whole expence upon him, or leave it to me. I believe the expence will make him chuse the latter. Fowey there is no hopes of. I went there with the assurance that 26 out of 45 or 46 had engaged, but they have not stood to it. What general can command success when the men wont stand? Lostwithiel I have hopes of but from the last push the night before the election, which is Friday next; and that is desperate. Bodmin is, I think, quite secure for Sir William Irby. . . Camelford and Tintagel I take for granted will go right; the election is to-day for both places. . . Now for Okehampton, which I feel great resentment about; I suppose you expect nothing but that the villainy must succeed. I had a letter from that rogue Luxmore in answer to a strong one I had wrote; he is all submission, but Lyttelton is to be chosen there with myself to-day. . . I am disappointed, vexed and fateagued.”

*Enclosed.*—1747, June 29.—Copy of an *Agreement* entered into by Lord Edgumbe on the one part, and Mr. Pitt and Mr. Hawkins on the other, by which each party is to share equally the patronage, and the election expenses, of the Borough of Grampound.

The SAME to the SAME.

1747, July 2. Bodmin.—“The election here is over, and Sir William Irby with Mr. Laroche is chosen. . . The election for Tregony was had yesterday, when by very partial behaviour of the Mayor, the majority of votes were declared for Mr. Trevanion and [Mr.] Amyon [Amyand]; but a scrutiny is appointed, to which I am this moment setting out; where, I doubt not, but we shall shew a legal majority for Mr. Kirrill and Mr. Bligh. I expect but little justice from

the Mayor; and therefore attend in order to be able to bear testimony in the House of Commons of his behaviour throughout. At least, Mr. Kirrill, who by the Mayor's account is but 3 short of Mr. Trevanion, will succeed by petition, Trevanion not being of age. It will be right as soon as possible to search the register of the parish where he was born, which was in Charles Street, Westminster." *Seal of arms.*

T. PITT to Rev. DR. AYS COUGH.

1747, July 3. Trewarthenick.—“The election for Grampound has been made this morning, when Lord George Bentinck and Mr. Hawkins were elected without opposition . . . For some particular reasons, I have acquiesced in Mr. Hawkins being elected now, paying the charges. . . . You have an account, as Phillippis informs me, from him of the elections at Camelford and Tintagel. Why Mr. Forster has not been elected, I do not yet know.”

“I attended yesterday at the scrutiny of the poll for Tregory . . . In my life, I never knew greater partiality exercised than was by the Mayor. Had it been in almost never so small a degree less, we must have had a majority of legal votes; but finding the Mayor determined to hold the same behaviour throughout . . . I made an abusive speech to him, and broke up the scrutiny. I am, however, very glad that I was present both at the poll and scrutiny, because I shall be able to testify in the House to the Mayor's behaviour, if a petition shall be thought advisable. The qualification of Mr. Amyand, both with respect to his age and his estate, must be inquired into. He avoided being present at the election . . . Mr. Trevanion is most certainly not of age . . . but the difficulty is to find proof of it. . . . I find he depends much on the difficulty of coming at proof. . . . Mr. Kirrill, who is set out upon his return; will give you more particulars of this affair at Tregory.

“I shall be ashamed to look the Prince in the face after the hopes that I had raised in him. I am vexed to the soul. What can I say? That I have been betrayed by villains that I had reason to depend on. I have a submissive letter from Lux[more]. . . . I must not directly break with him quite; but, as he is damnably afraid of having this behaviour of his known, I shall always have this hanging over him, which will turn better to account than throwing him off. This I can say, that nothing has been wanting in me; but my success has been far short of the expence of money and trouble. . . . My uneasiness at present is so great that I hope never to be desired again to undertake the same kind of work. I would not, almost upon any consideration, undergo the same anxiety of mind, which success could hardly have recompensed me for. Then what is my situation under my disappointments? . . . I am most damnably mortified at the enclosed list . . . I shall hide myself at Boconnock, for I am ashamed of making appearance in the world.”

*Enclosing Number 1.*—RETURN of recently elected MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT :—

Old Sarum	-	-	Two	-	-	{ . . . .
Okehampton	-	-	One	-	-	{ T. Pitt.
Camelford	-	-	Two	-	-	{ Lord Londonderry.
Tintagel	-	-	One	-	-	{ Mr. Martin.
Grampound	-	-	One	-	-	{ Mr. Heath.
Bodmin	-	-	One	-	-	{ Mr. Hawkins.
Helston	-	-	One	-	-	{ Sir William Irby.
						{ Mr. Evelyn.



*Number 2.*—Agreement between T. PITT and the MESSRS. HAWKINS in reference to the representation of their joint interest in the borough of GRAMPOUND, dated 1747, June 30 :—

The Agreement provides, 1st, that if Mr. Thomas Hawkins be nominated member in the joint interest at the ensuing election, he is to pay all the necessary expenses connected with his election; 2nd, that when another vacancy occurs, Mr. Pitt is to nominate a candidate in the joint interest on the same condition; 3rd, that, in future, the party nominating a member or members in the joint interest is to bear the whole cost of election: but that whenever, on the occurrence of two vacancies, each party recommends a candidate, the necessary outlay for the double election is to be shared equally by both.  
[Copy is in Dr. Ayscough's handwriting.]

The SAME to the SAME.

1747, July 4. Trewarthenick.—Enclosing copy of a note sent by Mr. Nugent [M.P. for St. Mawes] to Mrs. Gregor, with orange-coloured favours for herself and her daughter from the Prince of Wales; and inquiring if Mr. Nugent had acted in this matter by the Prince's orders.

Also urging that the appointment promised to Mr. Francis Gregor should be conferred without delay; the father's efforts to win Tregony from Lord Falmouth having been defeated only by the scandalous partiality of the Mayor. *Seal of arms.*

F. AYSCOUGH to T. PITT, at Boconnock near Liskeard.

1747, July 7. [London.]—"I received yours yesterday . . . and wonder not a little at the low spirits in which you seem to write it. You are too modest indeed when you talk of being ashamed to look your Royal master in the face. Why should you be ashamed of seeing him who would be very glad to see you?—and who declares himself perfectly well satisfied with your conduct. Thank God, we have a master who values his friends and servants, not according to their success, but to their zeal and sincerity in his service; and, as no one can have shown more of this than you have done in the late troubles and fatigues you have undergone, so no one can be more in his favour and esteem.

"I have not yet seen Mr. Kirrell . . . I imagine that by him you have sent up the *deposit* and accounts. If you have not, pray let me know how the accounts stand as soon as you can settle them; and the *deposit* . . . will be welcome here as soon as ever you have a convenient opportunity of returning it. . . It is the opinion of our master that as fidelity should be rewarded, so baseness and treachery ought to be punished. Indeed, I think myself, examples ought to be made; and to show no resentment against villainy is to encourage it. It is the Prince's pleasure, therefore, that you should remove both the Luxmores from their places; and you are at liberty to bestow them on those who, you think, will serve your interest with more honour and fidelity. But should you think such a step would too much endanger your interest, you must, at least, let the Luxmores know that you have received orders to dismiss them the Prince's service. They will then have no dependence but on your intercession for

them. . . I leave it to your consideration whether it might not be right for you to insist on their making such a number of freemen as you shall nominate to them; one part of whom might be the Prince's servants (and among them poor Montague,) and the other your own. . . I think no less atonement than this should be made for the vile part they have acted. . . Yet, after all, I think the part of the highest dignity would be to turn them out at once.

"As soon as ever your affairs will permit you to leave Cornwall, I hope you will come from thence; for, your presence will be absolutely necessary to settle many things in relation to the petitions to be carried on. . . Though we have met with many disappointments, and have been attacked both by fraud and violence, yet matters look well; and you may depend on it, that, on a moderate calculation, the numbers in the House of Commons at the meeting of Parliament will be at least 230. What then are you afraid of?

"I forgot to tell you that you and Sir William Irby were chose, last Friday, unanimously, at Old Sarum.

"Inclosed you will receive a letter from the person whose approbation will, I know, give you the highest satisfaction. Therefore, set your heart at rest, dispatch your business in the country, and come away as fast as you can. You will find your master at Clifden, about the beginning of August. You will meet there Dr. Lee and some other persons whom you will be glad to talk with; and a fortnight's sporting will not be disagreeable to you.

"You will know best how to settle the account of *the deposit* to be returned. I apprehend it will stand thus—for Okehampton - 1210*l*.  
for Lestwithiel - 2000*l*.  
for Fowey - 1000*l*.

---

4210*l*.

---

"I have his Royal Highness's permission to goe next Monday to Hagley, where I shall stay a fortnight." *Seal*.

FREDERICK, PRINCE OF WALES, to T. PITT.

1747, July 7. Leicester House.—"Mr. Pitt. This is to return you my thanks for your zeal and trouble. You have shown the ennemy a better generalship than they can boast off; and though I could have wished to have carryed Bligh, Drury, and Moreton, who so handsomely deposited their money, yet one at Grampound is more than I hoped for. Ayscough is to tell you my intentions upon another matter, which max's me very sore, for I never will forgive treachery. My first rule is to reward and to punish; and with that maxim, much may be done. When you have settled matters in the West, I hope to see you at Clifden with your gunn, and you will allways find me, as you deserve of me, a constant friend."

F. AYSCOUGH [to his brother-in-law, GEORGE LYTTELTON.]

1747, July 10. Gerrard Street.—"In return to the letter I wrote to you to Okehampton, which was owing to nothing but my most affectionate concern for you, you have been pleased to send me a most passionate and abusive answer, such a one as, I beleive, was hardly ever sent before from one gentleman to another. But I pass over the abuses of your letter, and must say that I am glad I received it; since it

contains the most clear and ample justification of me, that I could desire or hope for. I am sorry, at the same time, to say that it so thoroughly condemns you, that not a word can be said in your defence. There can now be no dispute about what passed betwixt you and me in relation to the election at Okehampton. You have now declared what it was under your own hand; and though we had various conversations on this subject, yet I agree with you, in your own words, that *the sum and substance of them amounted to this, that you plighted your faith and honour to his Royal Highness not to oppose Mr. Pitt's recommendation of Mr. Montague at Okehampton, by any personal act.* These are your own words, and by them I am willing to abide."

"Let me ask you these few plain questions. Did you not oppose Mr. Montague at Okehampton? Have you not, by opposing him, thrown him out of Parliament? Did you not go down in person to oppose him? and was not that a personal act? These are the facts with which you are charged. . . but I shall not condemn you till I have considered all you have to say against them. . . You put your defence (in your letters to Mr. Montague and me) on two facts, which, you say, so varied the case as to release you absolutely from your first engagement. The first fact is this; that Mr. Montague was not recommended by Mr. Pitt at Okehampton; but that Mr. Pitt, *finding himself too weak to set up Mr. Montague there, he therefore dropped it and never once named him*; and consequently that you cannot be said to have opposed Mr. Pitt's recommendation of Mr. Montague. . . . This is the green point on which your defence turns; and, was it true, I readily own it would be a sufficient defence. But sorry I am to assert it was *absolutely false*. I must repeat to you again . . . what you know as well as I do, the management that Mr. Pitt always made use of at Okehampton, where he was never to *appear* to chuse two members. But after his own election was settled, he used to mention another person's name to John Luxmore, who afterwards proposed him to the freemen of the borough for their choice. This was the way in which you yourself was first recommended and chosen; and in this very way was Mr. Montague recommended this time by Mr. Pitt. He mentioned his name and recommended him to Mr. Luxmore. Luxmore engaged to serve him, and promised to speak to the Mayor to call a hall the next Monday and name him a candidate; and the very next day (as soon as ever he had got Mr. Pitt out of the town) the villain went away to Mr. Harris, and entered into the design of setting you up against Mr. Montague. This is the short state of the fact as it can be supported by indisputable proof. You see then how absolutely you are in the wrong in all that you say about *Mr. Pitt not being strong enough to recommend Mr. Montague . . . going out of the town . . . and saying he should not return.* He did goe out of the town, but not in despair; on the contrary, in confidence that Luxmore would stand to his word and manage the point as he had promised. This was honest Mr. Luxmore's scheme to get Mr. Pitt out of the way, and then goe on with his villainous scheme. . . Now Sir, what do you think of this fact on which your defence is founded? Are you not now convinced that Mr. Montague was recommended by Mr. Pitt in the only way in which he ever recommended a member to the borough? and in such case, *you own* you had *plighted your faith and honour not to oppose him.* I must say that on this fact alone your whole defence must depend . . . for had every man in the borough offered you his vote, you were not at liberty to accept the election so long as

Mr. Montague stood there. But since you insist so much on it, I will go on to examine the other fact on which you place your defence; . . . *that the borough of Okehampton had unanimously determined to choose you, merely from their great satisfaction in your character and conduct in Parliament, and without any manner of solicitation from you.* This you must have been sure of before you left London; . . . the question is what assurance you had before you set out that the borough were resolved, unanimously, to elect you; and I must tell you plainly I think none at all. . . . The borough consists of about 260 voters, of which not more than 21 belong to the Corporation, and it is only the Corporation that Mr. Harris pretends to say were engaged for you. You have therefore most fallaciously confounded (both in your letters to Mr. Montague and me) the borough and Corporation together. You say, indeed, that Mr. Harris assured you in his letter that the town and Corporation were unanimously inclined to chuse you. I assert the contrary, and that Mr. Harris in his letter says only the Corporation; for he says expressly *that he should goe the next day to try the town for you.* Now the town votes are about 120; among whom Mr. Harris, at the opposition he endeavoured to raise at the last general election, could not get so much as one. . . . I must desire you not . . . to forget the country voters, who are about 120 more, and almost all of them Tories. Give me leave to ask you if you think these country gentlemen were so entirely satisfied with your behaviour in Parliament that they would have voted unanimously for you? On the contrary, are you not satisfied that they would (had Mr. Montague come down) have voted to a man against you? What then becomes of that unanimity in your favour which, you say, made it impossible for you to refuse the election? When you sate out from London, . . . had you the Tories? you had not; neither could you have had one of them. Had you secured the town? It is plain from Mr. Harris's letter that they had not been so much as tried for you. What then are you reduced to but the primitive 21? with which you sate out to canvass the remaining 239. This is what I told you in my former letter; and what were you pleased to answer to it? Nothing, but by calling it stuff and nonsense. I cannot understand how there can be nonsense in numbers; and if the numbers be true, I appeal to every man of common sense, if they do not contain a *demonstration* against you? Perhaps here you may ask me, if Mr. Montagu was recommended by Mr. Pitt, and had so fair a prospect of success, how came he not . . . to appear at Okehampton? To this I answer you . . . that he was so much out of order that he was not able to undertake the journey. Duke Chandois, and several other persons about the Prince, can witness how much Mr. Montagu was pressed to follow you immediately; but he pleaded his infirmities so strongly that it could no longer be insisted on; and therefore an express was dispatched to Mr. Pitt to acquaint him with what was carrying on in the borough, and to desire him to support his recommendation, so far as he could, without neglecting other affairs. Mr. Pitt's answer was, that he had left Okehampton on the strongest assurances from Mr. Luxmore that he would support Mr. Montague's interest . . . and could not return without neglecting business of greater importance in another part of the country; but he had wrote a most pressing letter to Mr. Luxmore, insisting on his abiding by his engagement of setting up and supporting Mr. Montague. Is there anything in this like what you have said in your letters of Mr. Pitt's *dropping his recommendation of Mr. Mon-*

*tague*, of his *not even pretending to bring him in at the borough?* Be pleased only to compare this, and your whole conduct, with the plain facts as they have been layed before you; and then consider whether you are not reduced to that very state I foretold you in my former letter, namely that you would have nothing to defend yourself with but subtilty and distinction. . Surely you must be brought very near to this state, when you can plead, as you do in your letter, that you went down to Okehampton, not *against* Mr. Montague but *for yourself*. If you will not own this to be mere subtilty and distinction, give me leave to ask what you think the late Managers in Westminster Hall would have said to poor Lord Lovat if [he] had pleaded that he never bore arms against His Majesty, and that what he did was only for *himself*? How do you think that such a plea would have been received? probably not as a subtilty, but as a distinction without any subtilty at all in it. . I am most ready to allow that, when you went out of town, you did not know these facts as I have since stated them to you. But then, surely, it may be asked how came you to be ignorant of them? Where your honour was concerned, how came you to take one step where your way was not clear? You both might and ought to have been informed in these points before you stirred out of town. . Had you applyed either to Mr. Montague or me, you would have been satisfied at once that Mr. Montague had been recommended in the same way that you yourself were; that he most certainly stood; and, as an undoubted proof of it, had sent a sum of money to defray the expense of the election which nothing but your opposition could disappoint him of. How strange an excuse do you make for not speaking to me on this point before you went out of town, that you were full of business, had many letters to write, and thought it not *necessary* to speak to me on the affair! For God's sake, who was it necessary to talk with, on this point, unless with Mr. Montague or me? . . By whom but one of us could you be informed whether you were at liberty to appear at Okehampton or not? . . You went out of town without speaking a word to either of us, upon the presumption that things were as you imagined them to be. Busy as you were that afternoon, you had leisure enough to go to Mr. Pelham; for, a gentleman, of my acquaintance assures me that he saw you and Mr. William Pitt come out from thence that evening; and there, I suppose, it was that those resolutions were taken which have invlved you in so many difficulties. For, I tell you plainly, and as a friend, that if you do not retrieve this, then your character as a man of honour will be lost for ever in the world; and so you would think if you were to hear half the reflections that I am forced to hear on this occasion. . If you ask me what you have to do to re-establish your character, I tell you plainly there is but one thing, and that is to throw up Okehampton, and to sit for Downton. I think you are bound both in honour and justice to do so. You have taken a wrong hasty step in the dark. . Your ignorance can never be admitted as an excuse, unless you act otherwise now, when . . better information is given you. . I conjure you by what I always thought dearer to you than your life, by your reputation, to retrieve this wrong step by throwing up the possession of what, by your own confession, you had no right to take. I do not desire you to be guided by my advice, but to refer the case to any man of honour and honesty. Let your defence and my letter be layed before him, and then let him determine what you ought to do. And though I once resolved never to mention this affair to your father, as thinking it would

grieve him too much ; yet, if you consent to it, I am willing to refer it to him, and only desire you to abide by his determination.

"I must desire leave to say something to you on the *manner* in which you have been pleased to treat me. . . You charge me with having represented to the Prince, *as if you had sent a positive promise to him, that you would give up the borough to him whether Mr. Pitt recommended his servant or not, and though they should unanimously determine to choose you without your having acted in it at all.* To which I not only answer that his Royal Highness is ready to declare that I never did represent the affair to him in that way, but that it was absolutely *impossible* that I should. How was it possible for *me*, who knew that Mr. Montague *had* been recommended by Mr. Pitt at Okehampton ; that he stood there ; and had remitted the money to defray the expence of his election, to talk and reason with the Prince, (who knew it all as well as I did,) on a supposition that Mr. Montague had *not* been recommended, and did not stand at the borough ? . . You charge me further with not shewing his Royal Highness the *difference* there was in the case when you promised not to oppose his servant at Okehampton, and when you went down to the borough. Had I attempted any such thing, I am sure the Prince must have done something more than laugh at me for it ; he would have been most severely and most justly angry with me. . . However, I did what you insisted on. I layed your letter before him . . . being convinced in my own mind it would give him no manner of satisfaction ; and such indeed has been the effect, for I am commanded by him to return you this answer. Full of dignity and free from passion, he bids me tell you that he has perused your letter, and wishes it had contained anything like a justification of you. But, as the case now appears, he must *pity you* much more than he does Mr. Montague ; but that he will suspend his judgment of you, till he sees how you end this affair. And now what would you have me do more in this affair ? What can you mean by my setting all matters right again ? Would you have me contradict myself and the truth ? That I will never do as long as I live . . . I have advanced nothing but what is strictly true—by your own words and confession acknowledged to be true—and I shall never depart from it."

T. PITT to Rev. DR. AYS COUGH, in Gerrard Street.

1747, July 14. Boconnock.—"I write this to acknowledge the receipt of the honour done me by his Royal Highness, by his most gracious letter . . . Such instances of our Master's goodness cannot but be extremely pleasing. To find one is not judged by success merely, must give the greatest alacrity to those in his service ; and the valuing honest endeavours must encourage honesty and promote his real interest. Nothing could have given me equal satisfaction to that I received from his Royal Highness's letter, except a consciousness of having merited his notice by real service. If zeal and sincerity in his service is allowed to be meritorious, in that I have presumption enough to vie with anyone." *Seal of arms.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1747, July 24. Boconnock.—Expressing regret that the necessity he is under of attending the assizes in Cornwall, on the 13th of the following month, must retard his visit to the Prince of Wales at Clifden.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1747, August 2. Boconnock.—“You have herewith the account as you desired, and I do assure you that I am out of pocket some hundreds, upon the whole. In those places where my efforts have not succeeded, a foundation, I think, is laid for success whenever an opportunity offers. At Lowisthiel, young Elliot professes great inclination to espouse my interest. The reviving the coinage there is a benefit hoped for to the town from my favour. It is one of the coinage towns, and, by the Stannary laws, all the tinn found within the district of any Stannary is to be brought to the coinage town of that Stannary; and with proper management I think if Mr. Edgecumbe, who is likewise chosen for Plympton, should make his election for that place, one may be carried in his room at Lostwithiel. This, it may be said, will interfere with Truro, where Admiral Boscawen is elected as well as at Saltash! And I must tell you that there is a private negotiation between Mr. Lemon and me for bringing in a friend at Truro in case Mr. Boscawen makes election for Saltash; but one may be the shoeing-horn to the other. . I must renew my wishes that such a letter was wrote to me, by the Prince's orders [in regard to calling a Parliament of tinnners] as I hinted in a former letter . . . At Fowey, Mr. Rashleigh is an old man, but healthy. . Captain Edgecumbe is likewise elected at Plympton and I know that one of the Edgembes must make room for Young Treby. . I have gained a good footing at Fowey, which, by bringing some kind of trade, may be established to be a prevailing interest. I understand there is a Club of West India merchants who make it a rule to promote the trade of any borough where a friend may be chosen. Could they not be prevailed on to order some of their ships to be victualled at Fowey? At Bodmin there is now a fair opening to settle my interest for both [Members]. There are some, and will be more vacancies in the Corporation, which must be properly filled up; for which purpose I am endeavouring to get the next Mayor; and I think that Laroche is in so bad a state of health that a vacancy is likely to happen there soon. As for Camelford, Phillips has declared to me that he is under no kind of engagement to Lord Londonderry. As Mr. Wortley will make a vacancy [at Grampound], it will be proper as soon as possible to agree with him. If you cannot bring him to reason, I think we may . . . carry it against him. Now for Tregony, I have collected materials for a petition; indeed, we have a very strong case of it, and . . . the strongest evidence to every point, and to each person; and as to the partiality of the Mayor, and Lord Falmouth's behaviour, such as fighting among the mob, and openly in the streets hugging the fellows. All these matters require a great expence to carry them on. My labour and time I am ready to give to the work, but the other I have not. . If, therefore, the work is to be carried on, the necessaries for working with must be supplied. How soon I may receive what is expended at Grampound from Mr. Hawkins is a little uncertain. Indeed I should not have given him the option of being elected upon paying the whole expence . . . but that he declared he wanted only one turn, and that, for the future, his interest would be at my disposal; and I wanted to get rid of him in the direction of the interest, being sensible what a weight his covetous temper was upon me. He has it upon a very dear footing . . . and then the money will come like drops of blood from him. I wish it was not necessary for me to speak of Okehampton . . . I am quite mortified to find myself brought to shame by the too great confidence

I had in that villain Luxmore. Lyttelton I think, stands in the same light with regard to the Prince that Luxmore does to me; and if Luxmore was as insignificant in regard to real weight in his sphere as Lyttelton is in his, I would . . . follow his Royal Highness's example in sending for every paper of mine out of Luxmore's hands. You advise the getting some acknowledgements under Luxmore's hand of what passed between us? I can, by no means, endeavour at that; for I can never think it necessary to bring any evidence to the truth of what I assert. Besides, this fellow is not fool enough to condemn himself under his own hand. . . I cannot determine what is proper to do with him. To turn him and his brother out is engaging that interest entirely against me, and drawing me into a very disagreeable and expensive contest; and perhaps just now, their loss may be made good to them by the Treasury. . . Suppose then, it should be thought more advisable to take advantage of this hawk over him, to work him to one's purpose; would it not be proper to send me an order to turn him and his brother out, which may be used to frighten him? If he is to be turned out, I must endeavour to lessen his interest, and set up somebody who, in time, will undermine him."

(Account enclosed) :

Deposites charged	-	-	-	-	-	4,210 <i>l</i>
<hr/>						
(To be repaid by Mr. Hawkins)—Expences at						
Grampound	at	1,200 <i>l</i>				
Expences at						
Tregony	-	1,050 <i>l</i>				
Expences at						
Helsdon	-	300 <i>l</i>				
Bank Bill re-						
turned	-	1,000 <i>l</i>				
		<hr/>				
		3,550 <i>l</i>				
In hand, to meet claims not yet ascertained	-	660 <i>l</i>			660 <i>l</i>	
		<hr/>				
						4,210 <i>l</i>
						<hr/>

T. PITT to C. HAWKINS.

1747, September 11. Boconnock.—Insisting on the strict performance of their agreement, that the whole expenses of his son Mr. Thomas Hawkins's election for Grampound should be paid by Mr. Hawkins.

The SAME to the SAME.

1747, October 2. Boconnock.—Acknowledging receipt of a bill for 334*l*. 10*s.*, drawn on Mr. Maddock, and an account of disbursements [by Mr. Hawkins] at a former election [at Grampound]. The amount of the bill, when paid, will be applied to reduce my claim on you in regard to the last election, but I cannot allow the accounts of that, and those of a former election to be mixed up together. "I desire to know if I am to look upon the office of Vice-Warden as actually resigned." *Seal of arms.*



C. HAWKINS to T. PITT.

1747, October 13. Trewinnard.—Disclaiming any intention of mixing up the accounts of two elections.

“When you did me the honour of appointing me your Vice-Warden, I have the vanity to think you intended more than a mere compliment; but I assure you . . . that the fees incident thereto, [do] not bring sufficient to reimburse my expences and pay a clerk. The business of that office . . . does and must require more time and attention than his Royal Highness or the country can reasonably expect from any gentleman, without making some adequate allowance.”

C. HAWKINS to Rev. DR. ATSCOUGH.

[1747,] November 8. Norfolk Street.—“Herewith I send you a copy of the compromise with Lord Edgumbe, and also of the constitution of the burrough of Grampond, stated with the opinions of Council in consequence of this agreement, and in order to get rid of 40 or 50 disputable and very troublesome fellows of both sides, and to render matters as easy and quiet for the future as things of this nature will admitt off.

“These proposalls and directions remain to be carryed into execution; half ways is already gon towards it; and when you will be so good as to let me know on what footing I am to be for the future, as wel as for the time past, I shall be ready, in conjunction with Lord Edgumbe, to proceed for the perfecting them.” *Two documents enclosed.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1747, December 12.—Concerning the expenses of the two last, and precautionary measures in reference to the next, elections at Grampond.

The SAME to the SAME.

1747, December 12.—“I am very much obliged to you for the great candour you have shown in our several conferences on the affair of Grampond; and I think myself, and also my son, extremely obliged to his Royal Highness for the reduction he has been pleased to order to be made in the account of the charges in the last election, and of which we shall allways retain a most gratefull sense.

“With regard to the nomination of one member at the next general electiou, both my son and self do consent and agree to recommend to the burrough such gentleman as his Royal Highness shall nominate to us; and to use all our interest to procure his election, so as the charges and expences at or previous to such election be . . . defrayed by order of his Royal Highness; which expense in regard to the burrough is now about to be settled on such a footing as to admit of the most frugall measures for the future; I think and verily beleive will not exceed 7 or 800*l.* at the most—a sum less than one-half of my son’s election.

“The sallary his Royal Highness is pleased to annex to the office of Vice-Warden of his Stannaries in Cornwall is a further mark of his

princely bounty and goodness; and he may be assured that, so long as I have the honour of that trust, I shall think it my duty to discharge it in such a manner as may be most for his service and the benefit of the tinnars."

T. BOOTLE to [T. PITT.]

1747, December 31. Pettworth.—Concerning the granting of a mandamus for the election of a new Mayor of Tintagel. *Copy of affidavit enclosed.*

C. HAWKINS to Rev. DR. AYSCOUGH.

1748, May 16. East Street [London].—Expressing a wish that Dr. Ayscough would write to him, signifying His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales's approbation of the arrangement they had made in regard to elections for the borough of Grampound. *Seal of arms.*

C. HAWKINS to — MADDOCK.

1748, September 14. Trewinnard.—I had seen Lord Edgecumbe, and arranged with him as to the election of a Mayor of Grampound, and a re-modelling of the constituency in accordance with the compromise arrived at in June last, when I received a letter from Mr. Jones, Lord Edgecumbe's agent, giving an account of an entertainment at Grampound, which all the freemen attended; "when Mr. Pitt's steward took occasion to harangue the assembly and to assure them that his master was determined to maintain his interest there. Such a proceeding appears to me quite misterious, and puts me under no little difficulty . . . how to behave consistently with my engagements." I shall feel obliged if you will wait on Dr. Ayscough and ask him for an explanation. If Mr. Pitt only means, by this, to strengthen the interest of the Prince of Wales, I shall readily co-operate with him. But if he means to set up his own interest, I hope my son and I will be excused if we endeavour to maintain ours.

T. PITT to Rev. DR. AYSCOUGH [in London.]

1748, September 27.—"I write this from Mr. Gregor's, where I have been these few days in order to attend the election of a Mayor at Grampound. Mr. Hawkins' behaviour I found so treacherous and base towards me and the interest he pretended to engage in, and for which he had a salary appointed last winter, in joining with Lord Edgecumbe to turn me absolutely out of the burrough, that I have thought it necessary to make use of a favourable opportunity of turning the tables upon them, which I hope I have done, and think it is in my power to turn them both out. I have elected the Mayor, and have at least 3 parts in 4 of the people most zealously with me . . . As matters stand now, I must change my Vice-Warden; and do desire most earnestly that . . . orders be given or sent to the Auditor to stop any debenture to Mr. Hawkins; and that his salary may immediately cease." *Seal of arms.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1748, October 2. Boconnock.—"I received yours of 26th of September. . With regard to the affair which Mr. Hawkins wrote you about, I think him very impertinent to trouble you at all with it.

What answer could he expect from you? How are you accountable for what I do? Or am I accountable to you for my actions? If he had wanted an explanation, he might have applied to me, which was nearer, and his application had been much more proper; but he was conscious of the rascally part he had acted by me, and the treacherous part he was acting by another interest which he says he has engaged in; and therefore endeavoured to put a false gloss on what he was doing. . . I saw what he was doing, and thought it my duty to my master to prevent him . . . My affairs require my attendance in London . . . I shall there explain matters more fully. What is wrote by Mr. Hawkins concerning my steward's harraguing the assembly, and declaring my determination at the entertainment, is absolutely false."

C. HAWKINS to Rev. DR. AYSOUGH [in London].

1748, October 8. Trewinnard.—"Some time since, I tooke the liberty by Mr. Maddock to intimate to you some proceedings then commenced at Grampound by the order of Mr. Pitt, which seemed pretty extraordinary, and which I then was and still am at a loss how to unriddle. Since that, at the election of a Mayor the 25th ultimo, he himself appeared full of passion and resentment, talked loudly of private agreements and underhand bargains . . . whether he particularly and only alluded to the agreement with Lord Edgumbe, or my engagement with you on behalf of his Royal Highness, I cannot say; but by his manner I fancied he had both in his thoughts.

"The reasons which have occurred to me for this attempt are these. By the death of Moor, the Magistrates (held indisputable) are now reduced to four, White, Pomeroy, Nance, and Pearce; (Hoyt illegal). Nance a man poor, but of a bold and turbulent spirit, not being able to bear seeing the burrough likely to be reduced to some order and peace, prevailed on Pearce to go with him to Boconnock with a tender of their services, and with assurances that if Hoyt could have his debts paid to Mr. Hawkins, be established a magistrate, and some of the disclaimers restored, the next election should be as Mr. Pit pleased. This offer could not be withstood; an entertainment was forthwith ordered in the burrough, and notice given that Hoyt's debts to Mr. Hawkins should be discharged. At the Mayor's election Mr. Pit attended as above; but White the Mayor absolutely refusing to admit [Hoyt?] or even to proceed if he was put in nomination or to be any way considered as a magistrate, after two days' attendance the project was then desisted from; but declarations made that Hoyt should be supported in Westminster Hall, against any informations or *quo warrantos* whatever.

"I have been so long acquainted with Mr. Pit's constitution, that no behaviour of this kind either surprises or affrightens me; and the hurry he has now occasioned in the burrough would give me very little concern was I assured he stood only on his own footing there. But, appearing as a minister of his Royal Highness . . . does, I own, give me much concern; inasmuch as his persevering therein will, I fear, render my engagements with you totally impracticable.

"You are no stranger (and I hope I may presume his Royal Highness neither) to the agreement and compromise I made with Lord Edgumbe on the behalf of Mr. Pit (then acting for his Royal Highness) and my son . . . and I could demonstrate the prudence and necessity there then was for entering into it, and now for continuing it; nor am I ashamed to own to you that the performance of my engagements with you depends on a mutuall and punctuall adhering to

that agreement. And I take it on me to say that, notwithstanding Mr. Pit's now boasted interest, and even to be assisted by myself and son in opposition to Lord Edgumbe in his present situation, the next election must be exceeding chargeable and hazardous. Is this agreement therefore with his Lordship to be of no esteem either in honour or prudence? Is it to be violated because Mr. Pit is pleased to call it an underhand bargain? or because a little seeming temporary advantage may be got by setting it aside?

"In consequence of this agreement with Lord Edgumbe, informations have been obtained against 50 illegal freemen, who have all disclaimed. These informations are all founded on Hoyt's being *no legall Magistrate*. These informations were granted on the motions of his Royal Highness's Chancelour, his Attorney and Sollicitor Generall, in conjunction with severall of the King's Councill; which sufficiently testified to the world an agreement with Lord Edgumbe for settling the burrough, approved off by his Royal Highness.

"What now is to be done? Is this agreement (already so far carried into execution) to be quite overthrown? and is the Prince's Chancelour, Attorney, and Sollicitor General to come next term into the Court of King's Bench, and attempt an establishment of Hoyt, in contradiction of what has been don the last term?

"I will not trouble you now, any further, with this affair. You best know all its circumstances, and, doubt not, will fully lay them before his Royal Highness."

T. PITT to REV. DR. AYSCOUGH [in London.]

1748, October 12. Liskeard.--"As to Grampond, I found Hawkins was joining with Lord Edgumbe to exclude me absolutely; and that the death of Moore and the ill-humour of the generality of the people of the burrough . . . against both his Lordship and Hawkins, seemed to give me an opportunity to turn the tables on them, and exclude them. I have improved the occasion . . . they have no chance of keeping their heads above water, but disqualifying Hoyte from being a magistrate or capital Burgess . . . This must be defended, and I have wrote to Mr. Henley to retain him; and, as their objections to Hoyte are founded upon the very same facts upon which they moved the King's Bench about eight years ago, and dropped the prosecution, it may be doubted whether the Court now will grant an information. It has already cost me upwards of 200*l.*, and must cost more; yet I think it worth while, as the entire interest of the burrough depends upon it.

"I wish James Nance had his patent of tinblower, for he has really done his part, and do desire it may be dispatched with all possible expedition, allowing as much of the arrears as can be afforded. He is to be in the room of the man at Launceston. . . Will Luxmore was at Boconnock to beg to be restored. He brought me a letter from his brother John to the same effect. My answer was . . . that I could say nothing till I could have an opportunity of speaking to his Royal Highness, but . . . thought the most likely means of being restored would be his brother saying or doing something to induce it.

"His Grace of Bedford is become the terror of the West. Having purchased Mr. Manatten's estates at Newport and Camelford, he has, under the management of Charles Phillipps, attacked Sir William Morris, and intends . . . under the same agent, to do me the same favour at Camelford. Phillipps's behaviour, since I have been in the country, has been very suspicious . . . I am at work to defeat him .

but the ungratefull villian has worked underground something too long. My situation here with regard to matters of a publick concern, added to my situation in private, is enough to make a man mad."

C. HAWKINS to Rev. DR. AYSCOUGH [in London.]

1748, November, 16. Trewinnard.—"I . do readily acknowledge the great candour and friendliness with which you adjusted the account between Mr. Pit and myself, and I am much mistaken if the matter of Grampound was not, at the same time, so settled with regard to his Royal Highness's interest, as to give no occasion for any interruption from that gentleman.

"There is no one to whome, as a comon friend, I would more readily refer any question regarding myself than to Dr. Ayscough. But, as to disputes arising in Grampound, Lord Edgecumbe being equally interested therein puts it out of my power.

"There is no occasion therefore to trouble you any further with Hoyt's right to the magistracy, or Pearce's to be sworn. Those matters Mr. Pit has made necessary to be settled in Westminster Hall."

"If I had been wholly unacquainted with the warmth of Mr. Pit's constitution, I should be very inclined to think he would not, without his Royal Highness's commands, have sent me the enclosed ticket, because it frustrates . a particular mark of his Royall favour and goodness, so lately signified under his own hand.

"Though quarrells may run high, yet I did not apprehend . they were intended, on either side, to exceed the boundaries of the burrough of Grampound. But as they now seem designed more generall, it cannot be imagined but that reprisalls may be made.

"I make no doubt the late proceedings at Grampound have been layn before [the Prince;] and if they make no alteration in the measures on your part, they will not make the least in those on [mine.]"

The SAME to the SAME.

1748-9, March 9. Trewinnard.—"Before Mr. Andrews left this neighbourhood, he favoured me with a visit, as he said by your direction, to acquaint me that it was your desire the matter of Grampound should continue on the footing we had put it, unles the late proceedings there had induced me to have made engagements incompatible therewith. I freely owned to him those proceedings had not, as yet, obliged me to make any alteration in my measures . . that I was resolved to perform all my engagements there, and particularly those with you, provided I could have some assurance they were still agreeable to his [Royal Highness.]

"He was pleased to give me some reasons to think they were so; and that I should, soon after his return to London, hear more particularly from you, which is all that, at present, is desired."

T. PITT to Rev. DR. AYSCOUGH.

1749, May 5. [London.]—Representing the desperate embarrassment of his affairs, owing to legal delays which protracted the settlement of his claims under his grandfather's will on the estate of the late Lord Londonderry; and urging Dr. Ayscough, as the only means of saving him from ruin, to lend him 4,000*l.* from trust-money arising from the sale of Swallowfield, and deposited in the Doctor's hands, for purposes which were not likely to be soon effected.

## T. PITT to Rev. DR. AYSCOUGH.

[1749, May. London.]—Requesting an immediate personal interview for further consideration of his pecuniary difficulties, a plan of relief suggested by Dr. Ayscough not being sufficient, and delay being perilous.

"I cannot send you the tickets, because I have entered into an agreement with other members to go down to the House to-day, and try to make a party there, by way of resenting the contemptuous treatment shewed the House of Commons, to throw the tickets on the floor as fit for only the sweepers and door-keepers. If this party does not form, and take effect, I will send them to you." *Seal of arms.*

MEMORANDUM, unsigned, undated, and somewhat mutilated,  
in DR. AYSCOUGH's handwriting.

[1749, May or June. London.] — "Mr. Pitt according to Mr. Godfrey's calculation, will owe his Royal Highness at Midsummer 1749, 1207*l.* 0. 0.

"His Royal Highness is willing (in order to accommodate Mr. Pitt's affairs) to remit to him the above sum, and to add to it as much as shall make up the sum of 3000*l.*, and to put Mr. Pitt in the receipt of his allowance and salary of 1500*l.* a year, on the following condit[ions]. That his Royal Highness shall have the nomination of [each] and every Member of Parliament that shall be e[lected] at the borough of Old Sarum for the term of — years, without any further expence to [his] Royal Highness, except the sum of forty pounds to p[ay] usual fees, at each election. Mr. Pitt shall deposite the deeds and l[ease\*] of the estates, to which the right of voting belongs, [in] such hands as his Royal Highness shall approve of; and further to secure to his Royal Highness the right of [nomi]nating and electing at the borough of Old Sarum [for] the term of years aforesaid, against the chance [of] Mr. Pitt's dying before that term be expired, Mr. [Pitt] shall immediately make his will and constitute. Dr. Ayscough his sole executor; who shall be [authorized] to act in respect of all elections in the same m[anner] as [Mr. Pitt.]"

## T. PITT to Rev. DR. AYSCOUGH.

1749, June 19. Bury Street.—"I hearwith send you six deeds belonging to the burrough of Old Sarum, since His Royal Highness will have it so; but I do again desire that he will be pleased to leave them in my hands, because, besides the mistrust it shows of me, I shall from time to time want to make alterations in the disposition of those lands for the security of the burrough; and I foresee great inconveniency will arise from my not having the deeds in my own custody. . At this present time I would make some alterations, but I must submit to his Royal Highness's pleasure." *Seal of arms.*

## The SAME to the SAME.

1749, June 30. Down House.—Excusing his departure from London on the ground that the state of his affairs no longer required his presence there; and requesting that a sum of money lodged in Dr. Ayscough's hands to pay Mr. W[ortley], who objects to the amount offered, may be paid over to his own account [in Hoare's bank].

## The SAME to the SAME.

1749, July 11. Boconnock.—Criticising a statement of Dr. Ayscough that he had paid the money referred to into his own bank, before receiving Mr. Pitt's letter of June 30; and insisting on its being transferred, without delay, to his account at Hoare's.

[1750.]—Memorandum of the Reverend Dr. Ayscough, in reference to a request of Mr. T. Pitt for a further loan of 5,000*l.* from the trust fund, arising from the sale of Swallowfeild, and lodged in Dr. Ayscough's hands—

	£	s.	d.
" July 6, 1744.—Remaining in Dr. Ayscough's hands of the trust money -	8170	3	8
June 21, 1749.—Lent to Mr. Pitt out of this money - - - -	4000	0	0
Received of Mr. Pitt towards replacing it - -	1242	10	0
Remaining to be raised -	£2757	10	0
	£	s.	d.
	2757	10	0
" If therefore Dr. Ayscough should advance 5000 <i>l.</i> further, - - - -	5,000	0	0
the whole advanced to Mr. Pitt will amount to	7757	10	0

The Memorandum, written as by a third person, proceeds to show how insufficient is the security offered by Mr. Pitt to protect Dr. Ayscough from ruinous loss and vexatious law-suits; and suggests another scheme whereby Mr. Pitt, through the intervention of Mr. Cholmondeley [Executor of Governor Pitt,] and by the help of loans from Mr. William Pitt and Dr. Ayscough, may be enabled to get rid of his embarrassments.

## The SAME to the SAME, in Lisle Street, Leicester Fields.

1750, June 19. London.—Showing that the scheme proposed by Dr. Ayscough for his relief, and apparently carried out, has not freed him from pecuniary difficulties, and refusing to allow Dr. Ayscough to retain a balance of 71*l.* on account of service rendered.

## HORACE WALPOLE to MISS ANN PITT.

1751, June 19. Arlington Street.—“Before I even wish you joy, I must hurry to thank you for the very obliging question you put to my Lady Townshend. *Wont Mr. Walpole be glad of the honour the Princess has done me.* Indeed he is. He never was more agreeably surprised than with the news, and as far as the greatest esteem and good wishes can intitle him to it, does deserve the kind distinction you made of his friendship. I never had the honour of knowing the Princess, but if any more Regency Bills were to be passed, I would be the last man in England to vote for laying her under any restrictions. She has convinced *me* at least how wrong it is to lay any restraint upon her judgment. When I have told you, Madam, how happy your

success makes me, I can't help telling you too that I fear it will affect the pleasure I proposed from your being at my Lady Cardigan's at Richmond this summer; but I am too much pleased to complain, and whenever I have the honour of seeing you, which I tried for again on Sunday evening, I will do nothing but tell you of my satisfaction."

LORD HYDE [formerly Lord Cornbury] to MISS ANN PITT.

1751, September 16. Paris.—"Though you will have heard in general that my affairs at last are ended, I owe to you, Madam, to tell you myself that they are ended to my entire satisfaction. By which you may be sure they are entirely ended. My health is much mended. I may probably never have more health and liberty than I at present enjoy, and I am therefore tempted to gratify an inclination which I have long had to see the southern provinces of France. I propose to set out in about ten days, and to pass the months of October and November, and part of December in that tour. I shall be able now to enjoy it, since my mind is freed from one of the weights that had long oppressed it; and removed from some others which would have their weight still if I were near enough to them. It adds much to my present happiness to know that you are happy, and to believe you will long continue so; which nobody wishes more than him who has long been with the greatest regard your friend.

"You will hear very soon of something that will please you and me a good deal, about a friend of ours."

The SAME to the SAME.

1751, October 27. Bordeaux.—"In four weeks absence from Paris I have made one of the pleasantest tours I ever made in my life, in good health, in good spirits, generally in good company; and found myself here, two days ago, in the brightest autumn weather, at the finest approach of a town that I ever saw. Passing by this great river full of ships, by the side of handsome buildings of considerable extent, into the town new built in a manner, and built magnificently; surrounded with beautiful walks communicating to the principal entries which open into the town (hitherto ill-built enough) by circles or ovals of buildings of handsome extent and architecture, the work, all within seven or eight years, of the Intendant at whose house I am lodged. As soon as I got out of my chaise I found your letter, Madam. Judge how pleasant a moment this was for me, for you could not but know that your letter was, every way, the most agreeable letter that could be written to me; you meant it so, and you will do me the justice to believe it had its effect. You are very good to communicate to me the resolution you have taken, and very just in believing that I must approve of what is so right for you. I wish I could help laughing at the last agonies of ambition, for after all, it is a melancholy and mortifying object. I am rejoiced to know that you have resumed equality in the *apprehension* of another person who can never *be* your equal. Your informing me of these particulars pleases me very much, as a mark of your regard and as proof of your happiness. But I hope I need not tell you that I could answer to myself *in general*, that your thoughts and actions in any situation would be such as became that situation particularly, and such as would become you in all. Do the wisest and the handsomest and the noblest things you can, you will not surprise me at all. I always knew the proportions of your mind were just, and its elevation proper; and I rejoice sincerely that you have



found at last a proper pedestal to shew them to the world, and especially to that part of the world who judge by the niche of the figure. You seem to be now in every respect in the situation one could wish for you; and I am very happy in knowing that, and very much obliged to you for acquainting me with it. These were the *very particulars* I wanted to know, and I was afraid I should not know them in a great while, from the distance which must, I fear, for some time continue between us. For I dare not *think* yet of changing my situation, which is at present so salutary and so pleasant to me in comparison of other situations; and I assure you, Madam, I take too much interest in your happiness to wish you any where but where you now are. It adds often to the pleasure of my situation to think of the happiness of yours.

"The *tabouret* of our Ambassadress was *what I meant* when I said you would hear soon what would please you about a friend of ours. It was *then* a secret here which I knew by chance, and I was not at liberty to tell it, and therefore could not write more intelligibly upon that subject which I thought you would understand. It was known, by several days, first at London. I am sorry to miss seeing her at her return to Paris; but I imagine she stays the winter, and that I shall find her there at my return from the Southern provinces, to which I shall continue my journey from hence in a few days."

The EARL OF CHESTERFIELD to Miss ANNE PITT.

1754, January 17. London.—"By all I have heard of Monsieur de Gisors, his merit will leave me none, where I should wish to have a great deal, with you and Monsieur de Nivernois; I could almost wish that he were a very unworthy object of your recommendations, that my attentions to him might be proofs of my regard to them. But why do I talk at all of attentions so unavailing and so useless as mine must now be? Some philosophy, and perhaps more laziness, made retirement from both the polite and the busy world my choice some years ago; my deafness has now made it my only and necessary refuge. I haunt my own house and seldom any other. I am a discreet ghost, and conscious that I cannot be welcome, endeavour not to disturb. By this account, which is a very true one, you see how improper an introducer or companion I must be, for a gay young Frenchman of condition. But, in all events, Monsieur de Gisors shall be master of my house and of my time, and I shall think myself happy if either of them were sometimes of any use to him. I have received a letter from Monsieur de Nivernois upon the same subject. You call Monsieur de Gisors his Mr. Stanhope; I wish, with all my heart, that I could call my Mr. Stanhope his Monsieur de Gisors. He was as kind to him at Rome as if he really had been so; and, I fear, as partial in the account he gave you of him, as he could have been had he been his own. For, notwithstanding all his travelling, he retains still a strong *goût du terroir*; and the Westminster school roughness, nor the true English inurbanity are by no means worn out. I own I am so superficial myself, that I would give up a great deal of what they call his sound knowledge, for a little more manners, attentions, and *tournure du monde*.

"I hope that the waters at Nevers will flow not only for the recovery, but for the long confirmation of your health. Between the springs of health and those of life I should without hesitation sacrifice to the presiding Deity of the former. They are by no means the same though often thought so. May they both conspire with my wishes in your favour."

## HORACE WALPOLE to Miss ANN PITT.

1754, February 10. Arlington Street.—“It was to avoid giving you the trouble of two letters, that I defer’d telling you how much I think myseif honour’d by yours, till I cou’d at the same time tell you that Monsieur de Gisors was arrived, and that I had already endeavour’d to execute your commands, by waiting on him to every place where I cou’d hope he would be the least amused. The winds and bad weather kept him back above a fortnight longer than I expected, which I fear will have made me appear a little negligent, when I was most desirous of expressing my gratitude to you. I have even more obligation to you, than for selecting me to return civilities shown to you in France, a point however in which I shall pique myself on the greatest exactness: but the agreeable manner, the good sense and good breeding of Monsieur de Gisors make his acquaintance, on his own account, most desirable: if you had sent me a Hottentot, and said you was obliged to his family, I should have used the same endeavours to please him, but you must own it is pleasant to try to please a man, who has every other reason too to deserve being pleased. He seems extremely disposed to like, tho so good a judge of what merits being liked; I flatter myself that this turn will incline him to accept my disposition to please him, whether I really succeed in it or not. There are two other gentlemen with him, sensible, reasonable men as ever I saw; my only fear is, that there being three will prevent Monsieur de Gisors from some, I can’t say pleasure, but ways of passing his time, which, had he been alone, wou’d have been easier to procure him, as you are sensible, Madam, that the difficulties which people make in England of inviting to dinner and supper, will be increased as he has two others with him. It shall not be my fault, if his stay here is not as agreeable to him, as a man of so little consequence and with no family can make it to him; and if I execute this commission, Madam, tolerably to your satisfaction, may not I hope you will employ me in anything else that can mark my regard for you.

“I have almost scribbled two pages without telling you how concerned I am to hear no better an account of your health; I would hope, Madam, that the extreme bad season is the only cause that retards your amendment; I should wish, what I certainly should for no other reason wish, that you were to remove still farther from England, and try the more southern provinces. I am no physician, but my insignificant person suffers so much from this sharp weather, that I can’t help fancying that whoever is the least thin wants nothing but the sun to be prodigiously robust. Your partiality for the same person will make you suffer me to tell you how excessively I feel myself obliged, and happy to be so obliged, to my Lady Cardigan for telling you, without my having thought of asking it, how much and constantly I have inquired after you. Her ways of obliging are as new and unprompted as they are constant: some people wou’d be extremely satisfied with themselves for doing a good-natured thing when asked; my Lady Cardigan extends her sensibility to the communicating the esteem of two people for each other; I speak very feelingly, for I own I was struck with so unexpected an obligation: my inquiries had been quite disinterested, and the mere result of my anxiety for your health.

“As much as I have said of nothing, I can’t repent it, as it leaves me so little room to say anything more; for what cou’d I say? You are not a sort of person, Madam, to inform of rounds of assemblies, of empty operas, or even of elections contested with no views. The House

of Commons is become a meer quarter sessions, where nothing is transacted but turn-pikes and poor rates. If it were not for some little storms that now and then blow over from Ireland, one shou'd scarce distinguish London from York or Bristol. With regard to that kingdom, the present policy is a little unlike what you have known of late years. We talk big and act quick—nay, what you never knew, a majority has been turned out. The Irish Parliament is prorogued; some of the chiefs disgraced, and the poor Duke of Dorset, I believe, very impatient to escape hither. Were a new choice to be immediately made perhaps it would be difficult—a year and half may produce strange changes. All the spirit or wit or poetry on which we subsist comes from Dublin; and unfortunately, as we do not live in the same latitude of party, I cannot say that any of it is very vivifying. You will forgive, Madam, my taking up so much of your time; I ought rather to trust to what reports Monsieur de Gisors will make of me; if he does not bear good testimony, what can I hope from my own deposition?"

The EARL OF CHESTERFIELD to Miss ANNE PITT.

[1754-1755].—"This morning I called upon you in my trouble that you might deliver me out of my distress; and my distress is this. Monsieur de Guerchy, intirely unprovoked on my part, took it into his head to come to my house yesterday, and I, *comme de raison*, was at his door this morning. But this is not enough, what must I do with Madame de Guerchy? Respect says, go make her a visit; but deafness and awkwardness say, stay at home. This puzzles me so, I can resolve on neither. Both my pride and my modesty forbid me to exhibit my *chétive figure* in good company, and a long disuse has totally disqualified me from doing it. I can converse now with none but true British Johns and Joans. Even cloaths, I mean dressed cloaths, are as uneasy to me, as they were to Humphrey Gubbin; for having dressed to-day in ceremony, à l'intention de Monsieur de Guerchy, with my sword by my side, it has got between my legs, and has very near thrown me down twenty times. Now you could, if you would, turn a compliment for me to Madame de Guerchy, that would satisfy us both much better than any visit I could make her, or anything I could say, for I do not believe I could now speak even prose to her. For God's sake, then, turn something very pretty for me, as you are the best or rather the only good turner in the kingdom. No matter for the substance, your *tournure* will make it do."

"I wish you would drop accidentally, that, among many other oddnesses, I have that of never dining abroad. As it may prevent invitations which I should very unwillingly refuse, but which it would be absurd and impossible for me to comply with."

The EARL OF MANSFIELD to Miss ANN PITT.

1756, December 7. London.—"I had last post the honour of yours of the 18th November. I wish you had given me the pleasure of telling me that you was in good health.

"The affair you mention appears, from the state you inclosed, to be a question of private right, in which there can be no interposition of favour from the Crown or any one else. I wish, for the sake of his protector, he may appear to be in the right, and I am persuaded no circumstances will prevent justice being done him.

"May I entreat you to tell Monsieur de Mirepoix how much I think myself honoured by his remembrance; that nothing could give me a greater pleasure than to have it in my power to do anything personally agreeable to him. Though he has many friends where he is, there is not among them all any one who can have a more sincere regard for, or higher esteem of him.

"I hope your intention of removing points this way."

Mrs. E. MONTAGUE to Miss ANNE PITT.

[1760, November.] Newcastle.—"The pleasure and pride I feel in thinking you are interested about me inclines me to hope you will be glad to hear I got here in good health last night, without having suffered any fatigue or accident; Mr. Montague is gone to day to attend poor Mr. Bowes' funeral, which, according to the custom of this country, is to be magnificent. There is more pomp at their funerals than weddings, as if they were of Solomon's opinion that the end of a feast is better than the beginning of a *fray*. All the nobility and gentry of the counties of Durham and Northumberland are to attend this poor man to the grave; from thence his moral actions only can follow him; and he was temperate, charitable to the poor, and religious, and died with resignation and fortitude.

"I must defer a longer letter to another post, having been much interrupted by company this morning; and I am [to write to my father on behalf of Sir Thomas Clavering, who is candidate for the county of Durham. I doubt whether we shall get the victory, and I hate to be disappointed even in an election; but he shall not lose a vote by my indolence; so I will write this moment. Dr. Monsey has wrote me word by this post that my Persian hero was murdered in a caravan; but he has it only from idle report; and as we have had false ones before, I don't believe it, but the very sound of it hurts my ears.

"I have ordered some more game to be potted and sent to you, directed to Hill Street, the first opportunity, and I hope they will find you there." *Seal of arms.*

The SAME to the SAME.

[1760, November 30. Newcastle-on-Tyne.]—"I could not have the pleasure of thanking you for your letter on Sunday; our post did not come in till the afternoon, when I was every moment in expectation of some Aldermanesses of Newcastle; and indeed the letters are hardly delivered out before the post sets out again for London; but I was impatient to thank you for accepting the accommodations you would find in Hill Street. I own it makes me envy Whalley's situation and wish we could change; people are seldom rightly placed; I should do the honours of Hill Street better to you, and I fancy Whalley would make a much more agreeable figure here; so if you will be [so] good as to deck her out in one of my best *negligées* and send her down by the first coach, I will slip into her *pet en l'air* and return to you, and I am sure you will admire the zeal tho perhaps not the dexterity of my service. I am afraid you will find many things wanting in your bedchamber, in which I considered myself only as a lodger, living in daily hopes Mr. Stewart would finish his work, and allow me to return to my own bed-chamber. But it is not wonderful that so sublime an artist, delineating the lanthorn of Demosthenes, the temple of Theseus, and the august Areopagus, should forget the little angle where I am to sleep or wake.

"Upon the happy presumption that you care a great deal about me, I shall give an account of all I have done since I saw you. In the first place, I have enjoyed perfect health, on which, in a good climate, perhaps happiness would grow; but happiness is a flower too delicate to blow in the latitude of Newcastle. I have always been able to keep my mind from sinking if I could have books or business. I greatly prefer the first, but even the latter keeps up the vivacity of my spirits. Here I have business in folio; my studies in duodecimo. I am extremely well lodged in a very large convenient house; my cousins are extremely full of attentions, and regards; and having done them some little services, they seem to have a good will towards me. They live very well, and with order, and neatness. By situation I am eased of all the fatigue of company at dinners, and, except Lord Ravensworth and Sir Walter Blackett, have not had any visitors in a morning. The Northumberland ladies and those of our worshipful Corporation only drink tea with me in the afternoon; and as soon as they go away, my kind hostess permits me to withdraw to my apartment.

As to my journey, it was perfect felicity. After the hurry of a public place I found myself in a delightful situation in my post-chaise; shall never again wonder at Diogenes for choosing to live in a tub, and only wish he had lived in a more enlightened age that he might have added wheels to it. Much of my journey lay through a dreary barren country, but I had books, and so my mind wandered in the muses' gardens of eternal spring; and while Susan saw nothing but the willow or abiel, I beheld the lofty cedars, spreading beach, mirtles and orange groves, and whatever the poet's eye, in a *fine frenzy rolling*, had seen in the fertile land of imagination. I called on my old friend Dr. Young at Welling, and had the pleasure of conversing with so extraordinary a being as a polite hermit and a witty saint. He has quitted the dreams of Pindus, th' Aonian swards, for the nymphs of Solyma; though they now direct his walk, his mind has still the gate and step of the gayer muses. He spoke with great pleasure of the *Dialogues of the Dead* as a reader of taste, but he relished them more as a man of religion and virtue, who rejoices to see profane history hallowed to virtuous uses and purposes. My agreeable hermit invited me very much to proceed no further on my journey that day; but I considered the call at the hermitage was only to be an agreeable episode in my work, and I reassumed the thread of my journey, and reached Bugden that night. The next day I indulged myself with an excursion to Burleigh House. It is worthy the great founder; its foundation is broad, its structure high, the very ornaments have strength and solidity, and it is gravely magnificent; but I should not have had a great deal of pleasure if his descendant had not adorned it with fine pictures. When I reflected how much of my satisfaction arose from the fine arts, I wanted to call up the *manes* of old Burleigh to chide him for his contempt of them, and convince him how necessary they were to adorn the state in which he left his country and family; and you may be sure I would not have let him go before I had reproached him with his ill usage of the poet Spencer. All who are not busy statesmen want a fairy tale.

"From this expedition I travelled quietly the turnpike road. I had intended going to York, but was frightened out of my scheme by a dead man. I happened to succeed at an inn the hearse of a young gentleman who died of the smallpox at York. As he was one of the militia whom they said were quartered at an inn there, I did

not know but I might get into his lodgings; and I was not quite happy in the suspicion that I had got into the room where, I imagine, as there was no other in the house large enough to contain it, his coffin had been placed all night; but I was not as much alarmed as a clergyman who arrived at the inn at the same time, and to whom the same foolish body had told of the corpse having been there all night. Perhaps, poor man, he has a wife and children whose subsistence depends on his life. I hope (as I believe there could be no infection) his fright will not have any consequence, but I wish I knew it affected him as little as it did me. I saw him walk about before the house in great perturbation till his horses were brought. I returned to my post-chaise, and read very composedly till the horses and servants had due refreshment, so happy it is on some occasions to feel one's insignificance; but I did not choose to run any hazard of getting into the house where the young gentleman died, and especially as I was told the distemper was much at York, so I broke an appointment I had made with Mr. Torriano, who was to have met me there; but as this happened two days before he was to have met me, I hope my letter prevented his going, or he will never condescend to make an appointment with a coward again.

"I am glad you have given Dr. Maty the happiness of passing an hour with you; he is very ingenious, a pretty poet, and more than all that, *fort honnête homme*. My humility hindered my showing you a very genteel polite copy of verses he addressed to me, on my interesting my wishes (and what else can I interest) for his being chosen secretary to the Society for the encouragement of Arts and Commerce. Indeed I might have trusted you would not have guessed the subject, for I was better disguised by panegyric than if I had been enveloped in a riddle. I am pleased that he thinks Lord Lyttelton's *Dialogues* well translated; but, as you observe, it will be difficult to imitate the graces of his style. I imagine he may be as solicitous about the translation as beauties are when they sit for their picture; but coarse and homely features intrepidly trust to an ordinary artist, sure that if they are not exactly represented they cannot be very greatly injured.

"I wish to hear you have got Lord March's house, but rejoice it is not ready to receive you; for I have infinite pleasure and pride in thinking you are adorning my house. I am only afraid, if Mr. Stewart should come there to make the designs he promised, the attic wit he will find in your conversation should make him fancy the ghost of Aspasia has got into the apartment, and frighten him away; but I rather hope he will only ask you some questions concerning Apelles, Phidias, and some other great artists.

"You will certainly see Lady Frances Williams at Bath. I have a bad account from Mrs. Carter of her head-aches; I believe she must submit to an operation to take the greek out of her head, which, as she keeps such regular hours, and is so temperate in her diet, must certainly occasion the pain she complains of. But, seriously speaking, I am very unhappy about her; continued fever and pain must wear her out. Why are not you all as robust as I am? One cannot enjoy one's health in quiet for you! I have presumed on the vacancy of the town to write you a long letter. I hope you will give Mr. Domville a habit of coming to Hill Street; and also teach him not to let his visit stop at the porter, whose face he chooses to see much oftener than mine."

Mrs. E. MONTAGUE to Miss ANNE PITT.

[1780, December. Newcastle.]—"I intended myself the pleasure of writing to you last Sunday to thank you for giving me the satisfaction of thinking you are sitting in my dressing room, and meditating or conversing by my fireside. I cannot express to you the joy this gives me; I fancy it resembles that an exiled patriot feels when he hears of some triumph celebrated in the dear land from which he is banished. He exults in the honors and happiness of which he cannot immediately partake, but still feels he has a kind of distant interest in them, and it adds to his pride. I think from this time the little Montague house will look down with disdain on the great Montague house. I know the Museum contains whatever is most rare and valuable in the animal and vegetable creation, and their library has all that the wisdom and wit of man has produced; but as to their varieties, they have not so much as the skin of the feathered phoenix stuffed; but I have in my house the human phoenix alive, alive; and for their books, wisdom there is stiffened with pedantry, and wit mottled over with affectation and conceit. In my dear Mrs. Pitt's conversation I see Minerva without the formal owl on her helmet, wit without a fantastical dress.

"Church kept me till late on Sunday morning, and I had company after church. As soon as I had dined, I went with the Bishop of Ossory to see a fine collection of shells and fossils, and, after I returned home, was going to take up my pen and write to you, when I was prevented by a visit from Sir Walter Blackett. Dr. Gregory, a very ingenious Scotch physician, came from Edinburgh last Thursday to make us a visit; and the Bishop of Ossory arrived the next day; so my time has been a good deal taken up with them. They left us this morning. The Bishop is the greatest traveller in Europe, and as well acquainted with the banks of the Nile as of the Thames; is an antiquarian and a natural philosopher, admires an old Pyramid; and if a peculiar kind of moss grew upon it, or a spider of an uncommon sort had spun a web on the tomb of the Ptolomies, nay even on the breast of Cleopatra, it would not escape his notice. It seems to me as if art and nature had sent him into the world to make an inventory of everything that belonged to them. He surveys every object with great accuracy and describes it with great exactness, which makes his conversation amusing and instructive.

"I carried the Bishop and Dr. Gregory yesterday to see Lumley Castle, a noble house very finely situated, and full of old portraits which, from the times, the characters, or dresses, are amusing, besides the pleasure that arises from the art of painting. We went from Lumley Castle to see a very pretty place of Mr. Carr's near Durham. Its wildness has a charm beyond the reach of art; to describe the whole would take more time than I have at command; but its principal beauty is a rapid river which, running over rocks and large stones, delights the eye and the ear. There is a walk made under the rocky banks where you walk with all the accommodation art can make, and behold beauties which nature only can create. The most potent and wealthy monarch, if he wanted such a murmuring stream to sooth his care, such magnificent rocks to shelter him, could not procure them in Middlesex. The ruins of an old abbey, on the side opposite to Mr. Carr, makes an object agreeable to the character of the place. The abbey had been once a fine piece of Saxon architecture; but by civil war had been partly demolished; piety had rebuilt its walls, zeal at the Reformation had again destroyed them. The situation is so fit for

contemplative devotion, one should lament the destruction of this monastery, if one did not know from the character of most convents, that probably *nè pietà, nè quiete, nè umiltade, nè quivi amor nè quivi pace* inhabited; but *avarizia ed ira, superbia, invidia, ed energia, e crudeltade*, . . . passions which the voice of wisdom cannot charm to sleep, and certainly are not to be lulled by the murmuring of a brook. The Bishop and my other companion crossed the river to visit the sacred relics of the abbey, but, being assured the boat was crazy, I contented myself with sitting in a cleft of the rock to contemplate it, and passed above half an hour very agreeably. My imagination made a drama suitable to the scene, and I followed the monks to matins and vespers, and attended them to the refectory. The Bishop was highly pleased as an antiquarian with the abbey. I had a more vulgar and less learned delight as an ordinary and ignorant spectator, but, from a certain enthusiasm for the *beau* in all objects, I had a tolerable share of pleasure, and went through a day of great exercise without the least fatigue. We did not get back till almost eight o'clock.

"I am to be at two concerts and a play here this week; and a great assembly on choosing a new mayor the next. Mr. Montague is to go to-morrow to Durham to a general meeting for the candidates for the county. I assure you I behave very prettily, make visits duly, and have been this evening to make my compliments to the wife of the sheriff elect; and I think, if Mr. Montague had the honour to be made an alderman of Newcastle, I should become the station very well; but, unhappily for me, he has no ambition, and so I must be contented with a private station. I long to hear what you do in regard to the house in Piccadilly; I wish you had it on good terms."

The BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER [W. Warburton] to [RICHARD  
BERENGER ?]

1762, July 4. Prior Park.—"The obliging favour of yours of the 1st inst. found me here on my return from a visit I had been to make to Mr. Hurd in Leicestershire; who, by the way, will be very proud of your approbation of his little tract; as I am of the honour you do me in your fine poem on the 6th Book of the *Æneid*, which you have retouched to great advantage, and which I shall preserve amongst my most choice papers, as a testimony of your friendship.

"The licentiousness of party scribblers is the greatest dishonour a learned nation can suffer. I leave it to our superiors to prevent or punish the civil mischief they occasion. The danger of opposite ambitions may be compared to the fabulous monsters, Scylla and Charybdis, in nothing more truly than in this, that, though their upper parts have the traits of humanity, all below have the rage and dissonance of dogs, and apes, and serpents.

"I rejoice with you on the important stroke given in Germany. It appears to be of great consequence.

"I am much obliged to Dr. Hawkesworth for his remembrance of me. I think of him as you do, and desire my best respects to him.

"Mr. Garric can tell you how much obliged to him I am for his friendly pains in an *eclaircissement* with Mr. H. Walpole, concerning a passage in which I thought my self contemptuously hinted at. Mr. Walpole denies the intention, and by that entirely disarms my resentment.

"I am sincerely glad you have got over your share of the late epidemic disorder; that other, now growing as general, the moral influenza of a



party fever, attended with a delirium, the goodness of your constitution will always secure you from. Let us private men endeavour to preserve and improve the little we have left of *private virtue*; and if one of those infected with the influenza of politics should ask me, what then becomes of *your public virtue*? I would answer him with an old Spanish proverb; *the King has enough for us all.*"

HORACE WALPOLE to MISS ANN PITT.

1763, December 10. Arlington Street.—"I shou'd be much concerned that anybody shou'd have reason to complain of Lord Hertford, much more so amiable a man and one I esteem so much as Mr. Selwin. However this neglect has happened, nothing shall be wanting on my part, as far as I have any credit, to set it right, not only from an old partiality to Mr. Selwin, but as your recommendation, Madam, tells me that you wish it too. I was ignorant that my Lord Hertford did not use Mr. Selwin's and Mr. Foley's house; but with those private affairs you may believe, Madam, I never meddle, nor ask a question relating to them. Mr. Selwin indeed does not seem to desire it, nor if he did, wou'd it become me to take liberties with my Lord Hertford's goodness to me, on such subjects. The obliging esteem with which Mr. Selwin mentions both my Lord and Lady deserves a return from them; I shall certainly let them know it, and can answer for the goodness of their hearts that they will not be insensible to it.

"The passages you are so kind as to quote, Madam, relative to Lady Hertford, and confirmed by Mr. Selwin, give me the greatest satisfaction. Indeed I hear from all hands that she is not disliked.

"I hope, Madam, you find benefit from the waters; the town begins to empty very fast, tho I believe the Parliament will not adjourn before Thursday sennight. I return you, Madam, Mr. Selwin's letter; assure you I shall take the first opportunity of doing him justice."

The SAME to the SAME.

1764, February 21.—"The gravest and best-informed persons say, that those divine ladies the fairies are under the necessity of appearing one day in a week in a mortal shape, during which time they are liable to all the accidents that afflict sublunary beings. I am sure yesterday was not your mortal day and I hope to-day is not. I hope your *humanity* does not suffer for a double exertion of your *fairyhood*. I have read many fairy-tales, but I never lived one till last night—

... so thick the aery crowd  
Swarm'd and were straiten'd, till the signal giv'n:  
Behold a wonder! they but now who seem'd  
In bigness to surpass Earth's giunt sons,  
Now less than smallest dwarfs, in narrow room  
Throng numberless, like that Pygmean race  
Beyond the Indian mount, or fairy elves,  
Whose midnight revels, by a forest side,  
Or fountain, some belated peasant sees,  
Or dreams he sees; *while overhead the Moon*  
*Sits arbitress*, and nearer to the earth  
Wheels her pale course; They on their mirth and dance  
Intent, with jocund music charm his ear.

At once with joy and fear his heart rebounds.

"Forgive me this long quotation, but you see, Madam, every word was too applicable to be omitted, especially the last line, for Milton alone cou'd describe how charmed the heart was of yours ever."

## HORACE WALPOLE to Miss ANN PITT.

"1765, August 9. Strawberry Hill.—"Tho' nobody can be more desirous of pleasing my Lady Bute, than I am, because nobody has more regard and esteem for her, yet I must not, for the satisfaction of receiving her thanks, relinquish my chief merit, which was my zeal to obey your orders, Madam. But I will be as happy as you please, that my success has gratified so many persons for whom I have great honour and friendship. There are few points on which I can pretend to any interest; fewer on which I care to try it, and perhaps fewer still on which I desire any. The sollicitation for Mr. Erskine was so reasonable, that I believe I shall rest my credit there. I am however, Madam, as sensible to Lady Bute's kind acceptance of my service as if I deserved it better, and beg you to thank her warmly for the honour she does me. Lord Hertford shall certainly see the letter and then I will return it to you.

"I mend very slowly, because my chief complaint now being weakness, it is not easy for me to recover what I had so little of before, strength. The quiet I enjoy here, is not only the best, but my sole medicine. The relief I feel seems to come more from a cessation of politics than of the gout; and I believe if anybody could force me to take a place of business, I should immediately think that I felt a pain in my foot or my stomach; for while I live, I shall never be able to decompound the ideas of the two disorders, from which I underwent so much three weeks or a month ago. If you laugh at me, pray let it be here; I expect no soul on Sunday and my gate shall be shut to chance customers. When one remembers an illness, one recollects too what did one good, and I can never forget, Madam, the charity and goodness you have had for me during my confinement. It has all the merit of good works, being bestowed on the most insignificant man alive, who has no desert but that of being yours."

## The SAME to the SAME.

1765, October 8. Paris.—"Before I came to Paris, I flattered myself that you had some regard for me, and wou'd not be sorry to see me in England again. Was addressing me to Madame de Rochfort the way to make me return? Do not pretend to plead two or three most obliging letters to her in my favour: one has read of ancient politicians, I forget when and where they lived, who used to give letters of credit upon a neighbouring Prince to those they wished to destroy, with a postscript recommending the bearer to a halter. Modern policy is better bred, and when it wants to get rid of one, sends one to Circe or Madame de Rochfort. What signifies whether one is hanged or enchanted, if one never has it in one's power to return home? Your friend, Madam, tells me you have long promised her a visit; but you was too wise to make it, and I alone am the bubble. In truth she exercises her power, this enchantress does, in a manner very different from Mesdames the witches her predecessors, for she turns all her subjects into reasonable creatures and makes them fit to converse ever with her. At a little supper t'other night in her apartment at the Luxembourg, there was but one of us that had four feet. He was in the shape of an Angola cat, but as gentle, sensible, and agreeable as his mistress; you yourself Madam, cat-hater as you are, would have stroked him. He is the Duc de Nivernois's particular friend, who has his picture on his snuff-box, and between them they have lately written

some fables, which I am to see, and which I am told exhibit such a knowledge of the quadriped kind, that most people think the philosopher Rhominagrobis must have had the chief paw in them.

"The quarrel I have with you, Madam, for having introduced me to such pleasing company, has extinguished the memory of a lesser injury. I fell in love at Chantilli with a *corbeille* and determined at my return to be the founder of *corbeilles* in England. The first thing I heard on my arrival at Paris was that the model of one was already gone to Mrs. Pitt. I was enraged—but if I am never to return how does this effect me? Madame de Rochfort says you have sent her a list of twenty questions about depth, quantity of earth . . . I know the whole, but will not give you a tittle of information. Should I ever escape from the magic circle in which you have placed me, what pleasure it will be to find a preposterous *corbeille* at Pitsburg! Strawberry Hill shall give itself airs, and ridicule your barbarous attempts. They ask me a thousand questions about Pitsburg; I tell them it is a vile *guingette*, that has nothing but verdure, and prospect, and a parcel of wild trees that have never been cut into any shape, and as awkward as if they had been transplanted out of Paradise: that you fancy you are making something of the house, but that you have been too long out of France not to have lost all taste: that you will not have so much as an antichamber full of cooks, chafing-dishes, and footmen in dirty night-caps.

"The Duc de Nivernois appears in much better health than when he left England. Tho' he is very good to me I have seen much less of him than I wish, for France is so changed that they pass near five months in the country. It is true a pastoral life appears a strange thing without green fields. I cannot yet divest myself of my northern prejudices, nor reconcile myself to landscapes built of stone and chalk.

"Madame de Mirepoix, as I told her, is the most constant of women, for I found her *with a cat in her lap, drinking tea, and as obliging to me as formerly*. It is a little inconvenient that she is so great a favourite with the King, which leaves her but few moments to bestow on Paris. Her talents and her favour are so acknowledged, that most people think she might be Prime Minister and a Cardinal, if she pleased; and yet she is so moderate, and inattentive to making her fortune, that she every now and then gives it a wicked blow at Pharaoh. Whisk has stepped in a little to save her, for you know, Madam, it takes a long time to ruin one's self by odd tricks. Her house is extremely pretty; her little cabinet and library charming. Madame de Bentheim has a very fine house opposite to the Cours de la Reine. I was a little unlucky; it was a fine moonlight thrown over the garden, river, and terrasses. She ordered me to admire the view; I rubbed my eyes and those of my almanac, for I protest to you, on seeing nothing but white, I thought it was December and a scene of frost and snow.

"The Court is gone to Fontainebleau, whither they say I must follow it; must I? I don't love Courts. Nay, I saw this t'other day in its highest point of glory; the wild beast of the Gevaudan is killed, and actually in the Queen's antichamber at Versailles, where it was exhibited to the foreign Ministers and *nous autres étrangers*. It is a very large wolf to be sure, and they say has twelve teeth more than any of the species, and six less than the Czarina. The Duc de Richilieu, whose lamp is to go out in a ballet, has ordered nine operas for Fontainebleau, but I am not one of the beasts which their music would ever draw after it. To tell you the truth, Madam, if I was a maker of nations,

I think I cou'd make an agreeable one out of France and England ; but I do not quite like either as they are. I shall not pick and chuse the materials, till I have seen a little more of this country : the plan I invite you to adjust with me some fine evening at Pittsburg, for thither I will return if there is a talisman left on this side of the Persian tales to break Madame de Rochfort's enchantments. Oh ! she is an artfull sorceress and appears so gentle and natural ! There is no particular beauty and youth to frighten one and put one upon's guard. She appears the most rational humane being upon earth, and then when one comes down stairs, there is a straw or something laid at the threshold of the Luxemburg, and one cannot stir a foot over it.

"I have received since I came hither a letter from Lady Frances Erskine so full of thanks, that I was going, Madam, to send it to you, who I am sure have much better right to them. Pray tell her how much I was ashamed to receive what I deserved so little ; and that I hope she has received my acknowledgment of her letter, tho' I cou'd have so little conscience as to accept the thanks.

"Let me see, Madam, it is the beginning of October ; planting is not begun ; the paper-man has disappointed you, the *corbeille* was wrong and must be made over again ; my Lady Bute is but little in town, my Lady Cardigan is at Blackheath, the balls for the prince and princess of Brunswic are taking breath, Mesdames de Leillern and Masserano are at home but twice a week, you dont live much at my Lady Harrington's and the evenings are very long ; yes, you have full time to write me a very long letter ; and having no news is no excuse, for you see what a volume one can pen without having a tittle to say. Why, there is no more in my letter than if my Lord Sandwich had written it, and signed it Anti-Sejanus. On the contrary I pique myself on writing as many words without meaning, as if I hoped for the favour of the City of London ; and I do more than their best authors can, fill whole pages without having recourse to Billingsgate. Wont you reward such merit ? Whether you do or not I shall still be yours."

*Postscript.*—"I have seen a Madame de St. Prié wife of the Intendant of—dont you know where ? She inquired extremely about you, having known you in the south of France."

HORACE WALPOLE to Miss ANN PITT.

1765, November 4. Paris.—"Pray, Madam, what signifies being very happy, if one is very unhappy ? You have sent me to the most charming people in the world, and then I am confined to my room, and then I limp abroad, and then I have the gout in my eyes, and then I get better, and then you tell me I must not sup with the very people you had bid me sup with ! For my goddesses, and passions and amours, Lord bless me, I can give them up. I like a cold chicken as well as ambrosia, and a reasonable woman of forty better than an immortal beauty of fifty-three ; but I am not so patient under your tyrannical goodness. The night before last I went to the Luxemburg, and to be sure if I had conquered America in Germany, I cou'd not have been received with more attention. There was the *tabouret* ready for my feet, and the supper brought into the dressing-room, that I might not catch cold by going into the *salle*. Do you know that I did not dare to touch a morsel ? You might as well have made me Governor of Barataria ; I saw Dr. Ann Pitt and *her dread wand* before my eyes, and lest she shou'd whisk away the dishes from the rest of the company,

I did not so much as tuck my napkin under my chin. Is this obedience or not, madam? I hope it is, for I am sure it is not virtue: I was as wickedly disposed as possible, and only resisted, as saints themselves do when they do resist, from fear. Mine however is very cordial and voluntary obedience, and founded on gratitude for what is past, not on interested views for what is to come. You have been good to me beyond measure, and how much soever I admire Madame de Rochfort, she will not easily shake the attachment and esteem I brought over with me. Your situation, Madam, is truly melancholy; one never wants a comfortable house more, than when one wants to be out of doors in November. Let me preach in my turn and advise you not to catch your death. You are not above a thought more Herculean than I am. Planting is not—but very likely my sermon will come too late—I hope it is only a cold in your head. Keep yourself warm; don't rake nor let my Lady Bute keep you up late at supper, nor go to see if every tree that you have planted with so much care and taste, is alive: indeed they will not make great shoots before April; but I fear they will be quite in leaf before Madame de Rochfort drinks tea under their shade. She does not seem to think very seriously of a journey to England; the Duc de Nivernois talks of it more in earnest. In general, the *Anglomanie* has had its day, and will very soon be gathered to its ancestors, departed fashions. They know nothing new of us: I tell them in vain of George Grenville's epigrams, and endeavoured t'other day to translate one of them, but was interrupted before I had been above an hour and half about it. Then their mistakes about us are endless; they take Wilkes and Lord Sandwich for the same person; and I found out that a lady who had commended Rigby for three quarters of an hour, and talked of the genteelness and slimness of his person, had meant Beauclerc all the time.

"My knowledge of my own country is not much more recent than theirs. Nobody tells me a word of news. I am reduced to believe in the chronicle, and I suppose shall return with a total set of false ideas, and without knowing at all whose turn it is to be virtuous. This wou'd preserve me from meddling with fables, if the gout did not. My partiality to dogs, cats, birds is naturally so great, that I do not love to have them made to talk and act like human creatures; but it wou'd be too cruel to pervert their own characters, and give them false ones for us too. I might draw an old monkey acting patriotism, while the old monkey might be dressing itself again in a lion's skin and making bishops. You see, Madam, how little the distance I am at fits me for writing fables; and the gout has destroyed the very slender talent I had for writing any thing else. One makes little better figure hobbling up Parnassus, than upon crutches at Paphos; nor do the many precedents for both reassure me. I want to hide myself in my own chimney-corner and be forgotten, but by the very few whom I myself remember with pleasure. The part I am acting here seems little suited to what I feel within, and tho' I snuff the candle to try to make it turn a little briskly, it does but make it waste the faster. My greatest ambition is not to grow cross, which is a spitefull way of communicating the misfortunes of age and illness to other people. It wou'd be unpardonable in me, who have no dignity, and who have been humoured and caressed as if I had. Among others I should be very ungratefull not to mention Lady Mary Chabot and Madame de Bentheim: the first is all good nature, and I will add of the latter, that I have not seen three Frenchwomen so lively; they have forgot their natural character or do not perceive that they have lost it.

"I wish, Madam, I cou'd send you anything new, but whatever appears, relates to the clergy and the Parliament, in which I believe you do not much interest yourself. The warmth increases every day, and the poor clergy are overwhelmed with satires. If they don't take my Lady Huntingdon and a body of Methodists into pay, I doubt they will be routed. Voltaire is the idol of the Parliamentarians, tho' his own system in the *Dictionnaire Philosophique* is so much more foolish and absurd than anything he has ever ridiculed; but nonsense is always excused by its own party. You have sent me, Madam, to the only society in the world where I believe such prejudices have little weight; therefore, when you are worn out, as I was, with madness and extravagance, come to the Luxemburgh; you will not hear the Jesuits or Lord Temple named."

HORACE WALPOLE to Miss ANN PITT.

1765, December 25. Paris.—"Nothing cou'd have given me more pleasure than your commission, if you had left me any hopes of executing it well; but I own I do not comprehend how it is to be effected. You forbid ornaments, and tell me the room is to be hung. On these terms it is impossible to make it resemble a French room. The chimney and the pannels of the doors may admit French designs: all the rest can have nothing but a bead or *baguette*. This is not only my idea, Madam, to which I wou'd not trust, but Madame de Rochfort's too, to whom I carried your plan, and left it with her to consider. The proportions of your windows and doors are as un-French as possible; the former, to be like those of this country, shou'd be much higher, and the others not near so wide. I have seen but one idea in all the houses here; the rooms are white and gold, or white; a lustre, a vast glass over the chimnaey, and another opposite, and generally a third over against the windows compose their rooms universally. In the bed-chamber is a piece of hanging behind and on each side of the bed; the rest of the room is stark naked. Now and then there is a piece of tapestry or damask opposite to the windows; but surely there is nothing in which they so totally want imagination as in the furniture of their houses? I have seen the Hotels de Soubise, de Luxembourg, de Maurepas, de Brancas, and several others, especially the boasted Hotel de Richelieu, and cou'd not perceive any difference, but in the more or less gold, more or less bawbles on the chimneys and tables; and that now and then Vanloo has sprawled goddesses over the doors, and, at other times, Boucher. There is a routine for their furniture as much as for their phrases, and an exceeding want of invention in both. As to a comfortable chamber for winter, they have no more notion of it than Queen Fredegonde had. In short their whole system of habitation is to me absurd; yet as I shall have the more merit if I can succeed in executing your commands, Madam, there is nothing I will not try, if you will be so good as to explain your intention a little farther. May the mouldings or *baguettes* be carved? may there be any ornament to the ceiling or cornice? may the chimney be widened, without which it can never be a French chimney, which is always very low and straddling? may the corners of the doors be rounded off, without which the pannels must be square too, and then they will be English doors? All these, I doubt, are necessary demands and at last, I fear, the proportions of the windows and doors will destroy all Gallicism. However, I will neglect nothing on my part. I have consulted Madame de Surgere too, whom you know, and who is reckoned to understand these things; she wants

more information ; and it will be the impracticability, not our faults, if you are not pleased, Madam.

"The Dauphin's death has stifled all diversions, but will increase mine, by bringing more people to Paris.

"His whole behaviour was good nature and good sense. It was one of the few deaths (I mean of those who die in public) void of pedantry, affectation, or bigotry. It is plain he was not known, and consequently his discretion is plain. We were all admiration for four days—but now repose ourselves, with settling mourning, who ought to *drapper* their coaches, and with how many guards the Dauphiness is to have. It is never necessary to conquer grief; let it alone, and in two days it will vent itself on a hat band or a muslin ruffle. However, lest it should fix even there, I hear some people had the precaution to fortify themselves with diamond earrings and gold shoes as a preservative.

"Our friend Madame de Mirepoix has made a very unfortunate campaign at Fontainebleau, and lost thirteen or fourteen hundred pounds at whisk. I am sorry for it, but with her parts, how shou'd she play so dull a game well? The Prince de Beauvau is holding the States of Languedoc very triumphantly, and I shall not see him before February.

"Rousseau is here, protected by *the Temple*, but is going to England. Considering the mischief he has done at Geneva, may not he hope to be protected by *the Temple* in England too?

"I am glad, Madam, that you only think you have the gout, for then I am sure you have not. It is by no means an ach in one's fancy. If you should have it, come away directly to Paris, where it is treated with the utmost respect and indulgence. Nobody laughs at one's stick ; on the contrary, they give one the warmest place, and a great chair, and advise a thousand remedies, all infallible, and equally fit to cure a smoaking chimney. In—about 7 or 8 weeks you will be quite well, and sup and sit up till two in the morning—except the nights that you go to the Luxembourg where they keep good hours.

"Wednesday night, late.

"I am just come, Madam, from the Luxembourg ; the Duc de Nivernois has pronounced your plan impracticable ; and we can find no way of making your room look French, but by sending it a box of rouge. However I keep your plan till further orders. Monsieur de Nivernois has been reading us a dozen new fables, all prettier than one another—in short you had better come and bespeak your mouldings yourself. You shall play but one rubber, *you shall not eat much*, and after supper we will set on your plan. It will not only be the shortest way, but I am sure the most agreeable. Adieu ! Madam."

#### D. GARRICK TO R. BERENGER.

[1760-1765,] Easter Sunday.—"Thank you again and again for your very obliging and always agreeable letters. Your trouble in preventing my fighting yard-arm and yard-arm with Captain Hood (which by the bye I had rather do, than lick the whiskers of his *cara sposa*), demands my best and warmest thanks. Could not you, my dear friend, have smuggled my name upon a card, and then, *l'affaire est faite*.

"But think you, my merry wag, that I will so ill requite your kindness to me, as to bring you down this blistering weather to Hampton? What ! shall I draw you from those flagrant dunghills which are placed so near you, and to the breath of which you open your enraptured

nostrils, to sniff at my hyacinths, gilly flowers, violets, snowdrops and polyanthuses? Shall the sweet music of Hackney coaches, muffins and tiddydoll, be exchanged for the chirping of birds, the cackling of hens, the gobbling of turkeys, and the grunting of hogs? Heavens forbend! No, my dear Richard, I love you too well to bring you from the lap of noise and luxury, to repose your high-tuned spirits *sub tegmine fagi*. Let the sun leave off his playing at bo-peep—put on his flame-coloured garment and make the mews as hot as the Devil's oven, and then, my master, you shall run through dust for 14 miles till you are almost choked, and we will brush you, clean you, and lay you down softly upon the banks of the Thames, till the salads, custards, and sillibubs are ready to regale you. In short to be plain with you, we shall expect that the echo at Hampton (and there is no finer) shall repeat your pleasantry very soon and give you dash for dash; for she can only match you, and give you as good as you bring. So much for that—when did you see the delectable *Rust*? That a man with such a head and heart for society, should be laid by the heels for a third of his life—t'is a damned shame; and we his many companions should bring an action against the college for false imprisonment! But I must stop my nonsensical career, as Sir Sidney's gallop was by a subpoena, as the bearer of this will hardly stay."

"Madam throws her love at you, for the messenger wont take it.

"What a scrawl! always in a hurry, and a damned hand at the best."

D. GARRICK to R. BERENGER.

[1760–1765,] July 4, Hampton.—"My enemies who are most curious in their malice towards me, will not let me rest either in the winter or the summer; but I am happy in my innocence, and flatter myself that they who know me, will know me to be incapable of being a bad man, though a bad writer. I have not seen the supposed authors of the paper you mention, since we saw them together at this place, nor did I ever see one political paper in my life in manuscript, which is very particular, considering how much I have had to do in my time with scribblers and their works. But I see very plainly the reason of this low injurious falsehood at this time. There is some talk and some hopes of a *third* theatre, and we know that some good friends of mine, who have dabbled in politics, and whose rancour (at present) to me, is as virulent as it is unmerited, will try all methods to injure me, where I have so many obligations. Nay, I am told, that even last summer, there were several anonymous letters wrote to Lord B[ute] calculated to prejudice me most essentially, and from persons who had received many favours from me. However, I hope that I am not so little known in private life to have such ingratitude laid at my door; I am sure that my good friends, (and you, my dear Berenger, at the head of them) will not let such slander tear my credit whenever you have an opportunity to give it battle. I am here with my family, spending my time as innocently and as thoughtlessly as the theatre and my slanderers will permit me. I look upon myself as lawful game in the winter, when I am justly hunted and shot at from all quarters; but surely a manager ought to have the same privileges with hares and partridges, and not be disturbed till such a day as should be settled by Parliament."

HORACE WALPOLE to Miss ANN PITT.

1766, January 19. Paris.—"You did me but justice, Madam, in assuring my Lady Cardigan that I shou'd have singular pleasure in



executing her commission, but she has thrown a difficulty in the way, which I must beg she wou'd resolve before I bespeak the commodes. She would have them ornamented with *or moulu*, and sent to the Custom-house. That wou'd be the direct way to lose them, for *or moulu* is counterband and as severely seized as my Lady Holderness's gowns. If I did not advertize her Ladyship of this, she wou'd have reason to blame me. If I receive a repetition or alteration of her orders, I shall have time to execute them (which I will certainly do as well as I can possibly) as I shall not return to England before the end of March.

"Your commission Madam, is in a fair way. Mariette has undertaken to get me the design of a cieling by the best draughtsman in Paris, and I will send it the moment I receive it. *Baguettes* are understood by every carpenter in England by the name of a *bead*. You may have it quite plain, or here and there broken by three carved beads, *literally*. The drawing of the cieling will include everything necessary down to the paper of the room. There is nothing particular in Madame de Mirepoix's house but the neatness of it. There is a little closet full of china and pictures, and a small library, but still in the universal style of this place, no part of which as far as I can conceive wou'd adapt itself, Madam, to your room. You need not be in dread of true architecture. It appeared here for a moment as a mode, and consequently spread itself like wild fire into their snuffboxes, china, and dress; for whether composed of gauze or marble, no fashion is meant to last longer than a lover—it is the form is considered, not the materials. Architecture consequently, which had resisted time Time and Vandals, grew mortal almost as soon as it had set its pedestal in Paris, and Corinthian capitals are gathered to their predecessors, *fontanges* and *Pantins*; at least nothing *à la Grecque* is suffered, but to adorn urns, the emblems of mortality. Their rooms were just surprised with the *soupcon* of a Doric fret; which is more than I shou'd be if I was to see a knotting bag hung on the arm of the equestrian statue of Henry 4, on the Pont Neuf.

"Now I talk of fashions, alas! wou'd you believe it Madam that I am the fashion? Not probably when you receive this letter; there is my comfort. An unlucky letter which I wrote in the name of the king of Prussia to Rousseau got about—and spread as if it was architecture. Every body wou'd have a copy; the next thing was, every body wou'd see the author. There was I dandled about, with my little legs and arms shaking like a *Pantin*. I was hoisted to the top of the Luxembourg to a Princess of Ligne, and then down again to the Priucess of Talmond who wou'd see me, did not know what to say to me, and dismissed me with begging I would get her a lap-dog. I thought at last I shou'd have a box quilted for me like Gulliver, be set upon the dressing-table of a maid of honour and fed with bonbons. However I have almost weathered the storm, and trust, as there are forty or fifty English here, that some of them must take compassion on their poor countryman, and to relieve me, stand upon their heads in the snow for a wager. If, contrary to all precedent, I shou'd exist in vogue a week longer, I will send you the first statue that is cast of me in *bergamotte* or *biscuite porcelaine*.

"Here is the unfortunate letter.

"Le Roi de Prusse à Monsieur Rousseau.

"Mon cher Jean Jacques. Vous avez renoncé à Geneve, votre patrie; vous vous êtes fait chasser de la Suisse, pays tant vanté dans vos écrits; la France vous a decreté; venez donc chez moi;

j'admire vos talents, je m'amuse de vous reveries, qui (soit dit en passant) vous occupent trop, et trop long tems. Il faut à la fin être sage et heureux. Vous avez fait assez parler de vous par des singularités peu convenables à un véritable grand homme. Demontrez à vos ennemis que vous pouvez avoir quelquefois le sens commun. Cela les fâchera, sans vous (faire tort). Mes états vous offrent une retraite paisible : je vous creux du bien et je vous en ferai, si vous le trouvez bon. Mais si vous vous obstinez à rejeter mon secours, attendez vous que je ne le dirai à personne. Si vous persistez à vous creuser l'esprit, pour trouver de nouveaux malheurs, choisissez les tels que vous voudrez ; je suis Roi, je puis vous en procurer au gré de vos souhaits : et ce qui sûrement ne vous arrivera pas vis à vis de vos ennemis, je cesserai de vous persécuter, quand vous cesserez de mettre votre gloire à l'être."

"My celebrity has not been my sole misfortune. This idle letter, stamped with the approbation of the *best part* of the Luxembourg, and pronounced *the fashion*, had the misfortune to give great offence *au Temple and aux environs*. But this part of the history I must not write, tho I shall dare to divert you with it at my return, and it is not the least comic part of this lamentable history. Adieu ! Madam."

#### HORACE WALPOLE to Miss ANN PITT.

1766, March 1. Paris.—"At last, Madam, I have the honour of sending you the design of a ceiling, which you wou'd have received much sooner if the person who drew it had not been very ill. I enclose Monsieur Mariette's letter as a *piece justificative*, which will prove to you, Madam, that I had teased him with my impatience.

"The design, I think, very beautiful ; it is in the newest style, and taken in some measure, as everything here is now, from the oldest style, that is the antique. It may be executed either in stucco, colours, or *chiaro scuro*, and fills only the cove, leaving the cieling, as you ordered, vacant, except the small rose in the middle. The directions accompany it.

"Your late silence, madam, tho not like my impatience, makes me fear you have thought me dilatory. I trust I shall now stand excused. Am I to order, or forbear ordering my Lady Cardigan's commodes ? I hope neither you nor she blame my caution. I could not help stating a difficulty which I had experienced myself, and which has prevented my making some purchases to which I had great inclination. Whatever commands you may have for me, let me beg to know them soon ; I am thinking of my return, and propose it for the end of this month or beginning of the next.

"We are occupied here (with due deference and distance) as you, all you, generally are in England ; that is, with the Parliament and a horse race. On the first subject, the Parliament had won the last heat, and jockey'd the commission in Bretagne ; but two nights ago the king knocked up three grooms *à mortier* in the middle of the night, and it is said some of those gentlemen of the Turf will be *distanced*. The latter article makes full as much noise. Lord Forbes and Count Lauragais rode a race on the *plaine de Sablon* ; all Paris was present. The latter's horse was ill, died that night, was opened, and proves to have been poisoned. You cannot imagine the noise this makes. *We* are treated as if we were Russians, assassins, subjects and disciples of the Czarina. It is in vain that I assure them that poison is the only

trick I never heard allowed of at Newmarket, and that a man would forfeit his honour who shou'd practice any cheat that is not according to the known rules. The truth, I believe, is that national honour interfered, and that an English groom belonging to Lauragais himself, or to Lord Forbes (for I scorn to clear a difficulty without starting a greater) committed the fact that the four-footed champion of his country might be sure of the victory. In the meantime the spirit of racing has taken root, and *petits palefreniers* will be substituted to *petits maitres*. As Monsieur de Lauragais, who has introduced this system of English policy is now amongst you, I hope he will bring back the true code, the unwritten law, dictated in those wise and virtuous ages, when the legislators themselves cou'd not write. If Mr. Hume means to preserve his renown here, he must return in a white sattin waistcoat, black cap, nankin breeches, and tight boots."

The SAME to the SAME, in Berkeley Square, London.

1766, March 7. Paris.—"Tho I wrote to you, Madam, but the day before yesterday by Monsieur de Lillebonne, and sent your plan, I must add a few words, as, since he set out, I have received yours, dated so long ago as February 7th; where your letter stopped to drink I do not know. However I instantly went to Poirier's and ordered him to bring me designs of commodes. As the pieces of granite are square, there will be more difficulty in adapting them to beautiful forms, tho I think this may be remedied, and will omit nothing on my part to do justice to the commission. The discovery that *or moulu* is not counterband interests me personally, tho it will cost me a little money.

"You cannot conceive how much I think myself honoured by Lord Chesterfield's approbation and with the prospect of the party you promised me, Madam, at Strawberry, whither I hope you know you have unlimited power of inviting; but if his Lordship has the least favorable opinion of me, will not the whimsical indulgence of my imagination of Strawberry destroy it all? No, I have never passed myself off for a wise person, and his Lordship has too much sense and too much good humour to quarrel with folly, that cordial drop, for that is the true cordial drop, that heaven in our cup has thrown. If it was not for the consolation of one's own folly, one might wet a dozen pocket handkerchiefs, like Heraclitus, over the follies of others.

"Madame de Rochfort has received your letter, Madam, and is so good as to say, she will take no pains to execute your orders of sending me over. Is not that negative, positive disobedience? Would not it detain you? Yet set out I must, though I hate your Parliament and your politics, as much as *le Roi* does those here. He what you call plucked up a spirit, got into his cabriolet, and drove away to the Grande Chambre t'other morning and delivered a *discours* that frightened them, and I believe himself too, out of their senses. They have recovered theirs a little, and have sat ever since, like a cuckoo on a chalk egg, which they can neither hatch nor abandon. There is nothing else but funeral orations, on the Dauphin, Duke of Parma, and King Stanislas. They were on the point of having another for the Queen, but she is out of danger.

"My Lady Suffolk has forgot me, Mr. Brand has forgot me; for the last I suppose he thinks of nothing but the colonies, so I excuse him. He doats upon his country and hates the French, though the latter are up to the ears in whisk and horse races: cannot those things mollify

him? *Noir et tout noir* is to run against Life-line next Monday, but there is some difficulty, as the Prince of Nassau insists, like a good patriot, on riding in jackboots." *Seal of arms.*

D. GARRICK to R. BERENGER.

1766, March 19. Bath.—"I am much, and very much obliged to you for preventing my neck being broke, and sending the vile quadruped to the place from whence she came. I should most certainly have made use of your knowledge had not a very good horse providentially dropt from the clouds, to save my life and restore the faded roses to my cheek, so that I shall not trouble you this time, but beg of you, when a tight thing presents itself, that you would signify as much to me. The best horse to day may be dog's meat to morrow; I put not my trust in horse flesh, and my present happiness may not last long; therefore, my good friend, if a phoenix should come across you, or rather if you should come across a phoenix, when I return to town, I beg you will give me notice of it, and if I should be unprovided, I will certainly be proud to mount a palfrey of thy appointment. So much for that business.

"You must send directly to my brother George, and let him know that we wish to oblige Mrs. Sarjent, and that he must let you have the box as soon as possible for that good purpose; and moreover tell him from my wife, that Coatherly's bed must be washt as soon as possible, and to put it up again with the window curtains, and that the chairs must be changed for those in the fore-room upon the ground floor, and likewise to put the carpet there too, in case my French friend should want it. Pray tell him too that the man has sent the cloaths from Plymouth directed to him in Southampton Street, and that I must have notice of them as soon as they arrive, and whether they are worth the money, that I may pay the man. Excuse this trouble; as you have some business with George, you may tack a little more to it.

"We hear of great changes—when you have any news pray refresh us with it. Mr. Ramus has spoke to George from his M[ajesty] that I should prepare to play the *Guardian* at my return—did you ever hear the like? I have not acted that dawdle these 100 years; what can I do? If I don't perform the best parts, I am undone. I could not get the *Guardian* into my head for half a year. Not a word of *Kitely—Ranger—Howlet—Drugger—Lear*? . . . O tempora."

"Write soon. I write in a crowd and upon the gallop."

The SAME to the SAME.

[1766,] April 21, Bath.—"You must not be angry at me, that you have not yet received your French books. My factotum Charles, by mistake, put them among the other books, which were sent to this place for the entertainment of Madam and me.

"My brother tells me, you have enquired after my health. I have been better, and worse; the bile, which is my chief complaint, is so very uncertain in its motions, that it comes upon me like a thief in the night. I went to bed very well the night before last, but was roused with such an overcoming sickness, that I was half dead for near 3 hours. The waters have made me better, but left a kind of hoarseness, and weakness in my bowels, which our friend Dr. Schenberg combats most wisely with rhubarb, magnesia . . . I am now much better, but I fret myself a little to think I cannot possibly venture upon

Macbeth; which is a treble mortification to me, as I fear his Majesty has a desire to see it. Will you be so obliging to call upon our good friend Mr. Ramus, and let him know the exact state of the case. He wishes me well, and will explain my uneasiness upon this occasion.

"We have ten thousand political reports, which I hear without regarding. If the great men only bark at one another without disturbing your gracious master and mine, they may divert themselves that way as long as they please. Take pity on me and send me a little of your spirit, to this water-drinking place."

"Ever in a hurry."

D. GARRICK TO RICHARD BERENGER.

[1766, July —.]—"A taste of your rum will be sufficient; if it is excellent, I shall imitate the church and keep it all to myself. Don't send me too much—to keep still in the church phrase, a *tythe* will content me.

"Tho'ugh the great T[emple] will not accept, the greater P[itt] has,—drive your nail there. If I were in your place, I would in a plain, manly (with a dash of the pathetic) manner, tell him my situation and intreat his assistance. It is the most astonishing thing, that you should be the friend and relation of all the great men of great interest, and that you should not have a rasher of the gammon. Now is the time to save your bacon; you must be free and open with his Magnificence.

"When will Messrs. Cox, Gataker and your honourable self taste my red champagne? I have various wines and all of the best, and therefore the best are deserving of them. I have been ill of a swelled face, a pain in my shoulder."

"*For age with stealing steps* . . . You know the old song. My spirits are good in spite of these changes, and they would be better if the weather was not as changeable as the State; but in all changes and all time we shall be glad to see you. You are a sort of male coquet; you are, like other coquets, cursed and forgiven in the same breath.

"If Pitt turns out Fitzherbert, I shall gall his administration. Let him beware of meddling with sacred ground."

"I shall be in town next Saturday, the middle of the day, most certainly. Whether I shall return to Hampton in the evening, the weather must determine.

"Pray let Mr. Cox know I esteem him much, and hope that he take a smell at my Hampton nosegay."

EARL TEMPLE TO R. BERENGER.

1767, September 13. Stowe.—"Most feeling yet most gay philosopher! your letter of the 1st instant came not to hand till last post; it travelled with many others westward, but did not overtake me, and returned here lagging two days after me. I am tired with writing, having an arrear upon my hands in consequence of a month's absence; suffice it then to say that I shall stay here till near the meeting of Parliament, and shall be glad to see you whenever it suits you to turn country gentleman."

GEORGE, LORD LYTTLTON TO MISS ANNE PITT.

1768, October 11. Hagley Park.—"I am much obliged to you for the new proof you have sent me of the Duke de Nivernois's partiality

to my *Dialogues*, which I think a great honour to them and to me. Monsieur Deschamps sends me word that he has seen the French translation made of them in Holland, and that it is the worst and most unfaithfull that ever was published of any book. His, I know, will do them justice; but I wish the ill impression given of them by the other may be ever effaced.

"If you were as well as our friend Mrs. Montagu says she is now, I should be quite happy. I pray God the Bath waters may do you good. The weather has been so bad that I have not of late had much enjoyment of my *Paradise*; but now that the equinoctial tempests are past I hope it will mend; and it made me feel the great benefit of my new house, which is so warm and so cheerful that I could be happy in it without the sun, which I never was in my old one. My long gallery gives me a pleasant walk in rainy weather or cold north winds, an advantage very necessary in my state of health which, though good at present, is delicate, and easily hurt by catching cold. But if you would know all the conveniences and pleasures of my house, you must come and live in it, as I hope you will do another year. In the mean time I shall be glad to wait on you in yours."

HORACE WALPOLE to Miss ANN PITT, at Knightsbridge.

1768, October 28. Strawberry Hill.—"I give you a thousand thanks, dear Madam, for your very kind note: it gave me great pleasure, as I own I have been wishing, ever since I have been out of pain, for some opportunity of telling you how happy I should be to see you; the weather has been so bad, that I could not be unreasonable enough to ask that favour directly, and as for this week past I have been on the point of going to town, I restrained my impatience and waited till it would give your charity less trouble. I am so much mended, that I shall certainly be in Arlington Street tomorrow or Sunday at farthest, and then I will not *resign* the honour you intend me, but shall be very glad of every idle quarter of an hour, you have to bestow on me, for I think it will be some time before I shall be able to dance an *allemande* with my Lady Milton." *Seal of arms.*

D. GARRICK to R. BERENGER.

[1768,] December 27.—"I had always a sneaking kindness for the Bishop of Carlisle, and I now reverence his memory. Had I not heard of your being out of your cage, and met by somebody in Holborn, I should have seen you before this time. You may depend upon having me soon at your door."

EARL TEMPLE to R. BERENGER.

1768, December 29. Stowe.—"I rejoice much that the good Bishop has signed and sealed in so amiable a manner to his kind intentions towards Job, the second of that name, to use the elegant phrase of an illustrious pedigree writer of the present age: I choose to dwell with pleasure on these same moveables of five hundred, rather than condole with you on the loss of so old a friend, or the acquisition of so many cursed maladies, which Madam Pandora has dealt out to you from her box of poisons with such copious profusion. I shall be glad if a remedy can be found for an empty purse and a bad habit of body; if not for both, at least for the former to make the latter the more tolerable. This same five hundred will I suppose, for some time, stop the cries of the most merciless, and make this Christmas season pass off, as it should, more merrily."

D. GARRICK to R. BERENGER.

[1765-1770.]—"I am about marrying my nephew David and have not a moment free from lawyers . . . I am tired to death; the moment I am clear of these incumbrances, I will most certainly call upon you, and tell you in person what I tell you upon this paper, that your *Imitation* is a good one, and many things excellent."

The SAME to the SAME.

[1765-1770.]—Friday, 10. Adelphi.—"What! shall it be said . . . that I turn my back upon my antagonist now, I who have fought face to face.

*Et militavi non sine gloriâ*

No, No—we shall clip the wings of calumny, and make defamation peep through timber, as the blackguards call it. I am very proud to see all the world, friends and foes, join against this most consummate s——l to do me justice."

GEORGE GRENVILLE to R. BERENGER.

1769, May 28. Wotton.—"Though I cannot refuse the request which you make of enrolling my name with those of the King, Lords and Commons, who, you tell me, have subscribed to your *History and Art of Horsemanship*, which will soon be published, yet, as you yourself can witness for me, that my testimony upon this subject cannot possibly be of any weight, you will allow me to wish, that it had been given upon some other occasion, where it might have been of more service and advantage to you; I shall however be glad if it can be of any pleasure to you in this instance."

Mrs. E. MONTAGU to R. BERENGER.

[1760-1770, December.] 24, Hill Street.—"It was impossible to make any of the party who dined together here on Sunday believe you ever were subject to any pains but the pleasing pains of love. Our imaginations ever represented you as *Knit with the graces and loves in dance*; and how could we credit you grunting, and limping, with the rheumatism. Bid the foul fiend avaunt; cherish her not with posset, nor indulge her with cushion or pillow! What have you to do with aches and cramps and the ugly monsters that march in the train of old age. Hence loathed rheumatism and come

. . . the goddess fair and free  
*In heaven y'clep'd Euprosyne* [Euphrosyne].

Bring her to dine here with you on Thursday next, and you shall meet your cousin Mrs. Hood who is a fit companion for the blithe goddess, being very happy in having a good husband; and your cousin Mrs. Fitzmaurice, who is in the next degree of beatitude, that of having no husband at all; gay Mr. Rust shall sing you the jolliest ode of Anacreon; I will smile with joy to see you; Miss Gregory shall give you the dimpled smile, such as hangs on Hebe's cheek; and my nephew shall caper on the light fantastic toe. On the above conditions I wish you a merry Christmas, and a happy new year, and all the good wishes that are given at this season; and even the wish of higher prosperity and joy which every man keeps for himself. Let me know how you do."

## D. GARRICK to R. BERENGER.

[1769.] July 24.—“I should have called upon you often had not the Stratford matters in honor of our immortal friend engrossed me wholly. Have you nothing to say about him? no song, epigram, frisk, fun, or flibbertygibbet upon the occasion? I will call in upon you for a moment the next time I am in town; in the meantime pray think of some good inscription to be put upon a blank part of the pedestal of his statue which we shall erect to him. He is pointing to it. I would not have that which is in Westminster Abbey, but something relating to his own genius, immortality, or what you please. Look over your Shakespeare, and assist me with your thoughts directly; I shall want it in a day or two. Send me your letter to Southampton Street to-morrow or Wednesday before 12 o'clock. I shall bring you in return some stuff that may not be disagreeable to you.”

“The sooner I have your inscription for Shakespeare (from his works) the better. Half a dozen lines more or less.”

## The SAME to the SAME.

[1770-1771.] March 3.—“I am very sorry to hear of your illness, I knew nothing of it till lately. I rejoice to hear that you intend to set us on horseback; there are too many that get upon their *high horse* before your book appears. My midwife, upon these occasions, is *Master Becket* bookseller near the new church, or rather Surrey Street in the Strand. He is a plain, stirring, honest, agreeable fellow, and will do your business most dexterously. You had better stay, and let me pimp between you. If you are in haste, send to him and talk with him in my name, and you'll see his lack-lustre eyes sparkle as at a mistress. He is not over genteel in his address. I call him the *worm*, from an agreeable vermicular motion he has with his arms and legs. You'll soon ken the wight and be pleased with him. I am glad that Valliant with his vile politics is removed from our street to Pall Mall.”

## Miss HANNAH MORE to R. BERENGER.

[1770-1771.] April 1. Queen's Square, Bloomsbury.—“Miss More presents her compliments to Mr. Berenger, and thankfully restores the book which he had the goodness to send her by their admirable friend Mrs. Boscawen.

“Mr. Greene's appears to be a work of learning and merit, but as Miss More does not know a single letter of the Greek alphabet, she cannot pretend to judge of the fidelity of the translation, and as she is bold enough to think that lyric poetry is extremely apt to be unintelligible (though she honours the sound of it) she confesses with all humility, that she does not experience so much delight in the perusal of it, as from more *common sense* compositions. Besides she is grown extremely nice in her taste of late, since she has had the pleasure to read one of the finest imitations of one of the finest Epistles of Horace, which she pretends to admire, and to understand too, although the subject be equestrian.”

## Mrs. E. MONTAGU to R. BERENGER.

[1771.]—“Trusty and right valourous knight, Flower of chivalry, Mirror of courtesy, Glory of arms.

“Whatever be thine adventure, whether it be to cope with some giant critic in single combat, or to fight *à toute outrance* with the regiment



of critical reviewers, most joyful shall I be to furnish thee with lance or target, spear or shield, or any arms offensive or defensive that may serve thee in th' imminent deadly breach. The learned and courteous Baron Lyttelton, skilled in lore of chivalry, much commends thy book, and as I trust thy courtesy will on some milk-white palfrey put a side-saddle for use of damsel errant, I do insist on being a subscriber; but as the gentle name of Elizabeth might disgrace thy perilous adventure in literature, put down Sir Guyon, the Red Cross knight, 5*l.* 5*s.*, under which name I will pay the squire thy bookseller on demand. I have sent the first volume of the *Memoires de la chevalerie*, the other I cannot find to night; but to morrow morn at the hour of dawn, when the renowned Don Quixote used to address his orisons to the fair Dulcinea, I will rise and seek the second volume. Mayest thou in fame surpass the renowned Amadis de Gaule, Palmerin of England, and all *les preux chevaliers* of antient times. I am in plain prose words, but with most heroic sentiments yours." *Seal of arms.*

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO R. BERENGER.

1771, May 4. Pall Mall.—"I should not have deferred so long acknowledging your kind letter accompanying the book you was so good to send me, if business, and much head-ach had not prevented me. I am now considerably better, and though not able to have perused, yet happy to possess what I am sure will afford so much of pleasure to me, and of instruction to my younger and better self, Pitt. Lady Chatham desires, as truly honouring the noble art, to add her best thanks for your obliging communication of this valuable institute of manly accomplishment. . . Allow me to enclose the subscription to the work."

GEORGE NUGENT GRENVILLE TO R. BERENGER.

1771, December 4. Wotton.—"After Mr. Pitt's interesting account of the state of your affairs, I am the first to blame myself for putting off the enquiry into them till I came to town, without knowing how pressing your situation might be. The kindness of a very good friend to you, has laid open your situation; the enclosed paper will I hope obviate all present inconveniences; and whatever arrangement Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt can make to probe the wound to the bottom, believe me I will lend myself to it with pleasure. At present your health ought to be your first object, and allow me to say that you owe it to Mr. Pitt, and to some others whose friendship to you makes this only claim upon you."

LORD LYTTELTON TO R. BERENGER.

1772, July 25. Hagley.—"The inclosed will procure the delivery of the Arab into your custody, the best that Bucephalus, if he were upon the earth, or Pegasus himself, could desire. We return you hearty thanks for being so good as to take on yourself the care of him, in so very obliging a manner, and give you full powers to keep and dispose of him when a proper season comes, according to your own judgement.

"The inscription Mr. Garrick has sent you with his bust will draw upon you great envy; for his *heart* is a treasure exceedingly coveted by all his acquaintance. I must beg you to spare a little bit for me.

"Your kind invitation to your table in London shall certainly be accepted when I return to that City; for I can truly say and swear,

that I had much rather eat a *boiled chicken* with you than an ortolan at the board of the greatest man in England. In the meantime I wish that you would come and partake of my *doubles entrées* here, as long as you can like to be a country mouse, and not a minute longer. My son and his bonny bride join in this request with me."

The SAME to the SAME.

1777, April 5. [London.]—"I beg you would dine with me on Tuesday to meet what Foot calls the *Beaux Sprites of the Age*; the rising generation who want extremely a little of your *mother* wit to brood upon their weak imaginations. I will take no refusal, and this is *the last time of asking*."

HANNAH MORE to R. BERENGER.

[1779.] Saturday Morn, Adelphi.—"How could I flatter myself when I had the pleasure of seeing you yesterday, that I should be furnished with so excellent a pretence for intruding upon you to day? I am indebted for this privilege to the commands of my friend Mrs. Garrick, who has charged me to present her kind compliments to you, and to request that you will do her the favour to get permission for her being continued the privilege of going through Richmond Park at any time, as usual. She hopes to owe this obligation to your goodness.

"When I am in any house but this, I have the secret satisfaction to find that my taste for nonsense is as acute as ever it was; but *here*, so far from the comfort of being foolish, that I have all the difficulty in the world to be cheerful! The table I write upon, the too-resembling picture which stares me in the face, the speculation in those eyes, and all the thousand reminding objects which surround me, make a fool of me indeed, but not a fool of the *right sort*. *I cannot but remember such things were.*"

The EARL OF MORNINGTON to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1782, July 12. Dangan Castle.—"We are all thrown into the utmost consternation by the apparent confusion in the British Cabinet at this time instability of counsels will be absolute destruction. W. Pitt Secretary of State! and Lord Shelburne Premier! surely the first cannot be qualified for such an office, and the last is, in my opinion, little to be depended upon. He certainly has not the confidence of the people: what can be the cause of this change? Pray let me know your information on the subject. We shall suffer a prodigious loss in the D[uke] of Portland, whose conduct here had gained him universal esteem. Carlisle's return to us is threatened; and the veteran band of courtiers already cry out, like the old jacobite at Oxford, *redeat! redeat!* I am quite angry with your silence in Parliament; do you remember what Burke said on that head; that a habit of not speaking at all grows upon some men as fast, and is as difficult to be broken through, as a habit of speaking ill; and that he was not sure which of the two was the greater misfortune.

*Quid dubitas? nunc tempus equos, nunc poscere currus.*

*Rumpe moras omnes, et turbata arripe castra;*

two verses which I remember to have hit upon, when I was hesitating whether I should write for the prize at Oxford.

"As to what Ireland has obtained, every rational man in the country is contented, and those most so, who were the loudest in their complaints, before any concessions had been made on your part. Flood is a fallen man; he expected to be restored to his office, and finding that expectation failed, he has made a desperate grasp at popularity: his speeches on the inadequacy of the repeal of the 6th of George 1st, unless accompanied by a renunciation of British supremacy over Ireland, have certainly inflamed the minds of some; and have raised doubts, which otherwise would never have existed; he is a very shrewd and wicked politician; and for the peace of both countries I wish he was gagged."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1782, July 23. Merrion Square [Dublin].—"I hear that Lord Temple is to succeed the Duke of Portland in the government of this country. As I am persuaded that he would not undertake such an office without a certainty that he was to be instrumental to such a system as the people of Ireland expect to see pursued, I wish him every possible success, and shall be happy to contribute any little assistance within my power to the ease of his administration.

"I wish you would take an opportunity of mentioning to Lord Temple the name of Mr. Jephson who has been Master of the Horse to several Lord Lieutenants, I think to everyone since Lord Townshend. The Duke of Portland continued him in the office on his arrival; he is a man of genius, has distinguished himself as an author, and is very well heard as a speaker in the House of Commons. The loss of his place would be a great injury to his circumstances, which are rather confined. He is a great friend of mine, and you will oblige me much by recommending him to your brother.

"I wish I could give you a pleasant account of the state of this country, because I think you personally interested in it at this moment; but I am obliged to say that the poison of Flood's insinuations has diffused itself through the country with more rapidity than even despondency could imagine. The people begin to think the repeal of the 6th of George 1st an inadequate concession; they begin to lose their confidence in Grattan, the most upright and temperate *demagogue* that ever appeared in any country. Flood rises upon the ruins of Grattan's popularity, and, to crown all, several of the Volunteer Corps have ceased to recruit for the British navy. Lord Abingdon's speech and Bill gave much offence; certainly some man of consequence should have publicly reprobated it, when proposed. Silence is at least ambiguous, and in this case, has been supposed to argue consent. I do not think I shall be able to see England before the end of the summer, and therefore, unless you can make me a visit here, I fear I must not hope to meet you till autumn. I have just heard that Lord Temple is created Duke of Buckingham, and heartily congratulate you."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1782, August 1. Dangan Castle.—"Your letter gives me the greatest pleasure, and, notwithstanding the apprehensions you express, I assure you that you were of all others the person I wished to see in the office of Secretary to Lord Temple; which I should not have done

if I deemed it possible that your conduct in that situation could either injure your own reputation or the interests of Ireland. The task will certainly be very arduous, more so than it ought to be after the concessions which have been made to this country; but I have the strongest reliance on your powers, which I know you will call forth to their utmost extent on this occasion. As to myself, I have said in a former letter that, as I was persuaded Lord Temple would not accept of power in Ireland to destroy the fair system established by his predecessor, I shall with the utmost sincerity give my feeble support to his administration. I need not add that the zeal of my support will be highly increased by the warmth of my friendship for you. I shall be happy and proud to take a decided part with you in and out of Parliament; and shall, with the greatest readiness, contribute anything within the compass of my abilities to the success of your plans, and to the arrangement of them. In short, I shall deem it a very small tribute paid to that constant, uniform, and ardent friendship which has so often assisted me in every shape, to devote myself to the use of a Government proceeding on pure principles, and in the prosperity of which your ease and happiness and credit are so intimately involved. You may consider me as one of your assistant secretaries, a servant though not a slave of the crown; and ready to fag with you at business as we used to fag at Lent verses and Episcopo-pastorals together. I have extended myself rather beyond your patience perhaps, but not beyond my intentions and sincerity on this head.

"I shall certainly remain in Ireland until your arrival, unless it be unreasonably protracted, and will meet you in Dublin, and stay as long as you please; though my country house is so small a distance from town that we can meet at any time, at a few hours notice. You best know whether it might not be expedient for you to come over here for a fortnight or so before the Lord Lieutenant. The Duke of Portland, from what you say, seems to be a friend of Lord Temple, and his information might be of assistance to you; nor would it prejudice you in this country to have it known and observed that you had the confidence of the Duke.

"With respect to the official routine, I believe there cannot be a better person in the world to direct you than the man who is Fitzpatrick's secretary, and was so to Eden and to Sir R. Heron. You must have remembered him at Eton; it is Ned Cooke brother to your *favourite* tutor; he bears a very high character and, I believe, very deservedly, not only for his knowledge and talents in his line, but for the integrity of his principles. You will therefore, I am persuaded, continue him. No man has had better opportunities than he of knowing the characters of men in this country; the hot-bed of Eden's corruption forced out every man's principles, and Cooke was witness to the whole process.

"That first of all men in ability and virtue, my friend Grattan, left this country on Sunday last, on his way to Spa, for the recovery of a constitution absolutely broken down in the service of Ireland. He passes through London, but did not intend to stop. However if, by accident, he should stay a few days, I would by all means advise you to see him. It would be a mark of respect due to his character; and his conversation would give you many lights upon Irish affairs. You may possibly hear of him either at Nerot's Hotel in King's Street, or the Gentleman's Hotel in Pall Mall. You will be sure of his support, acting upon the system you profess.

"It is impossible in a letter to enter at length into the affairs which we should naturally converse upon if we were together; besides, I have little more experience than yourself, and can only pretend to wish for without affecting to lead your success. I shall therefore conclude with assuring you that you may consider me as a firm adherent to Lord Temple's administration; I do not mean a passive approver, but an active promoter of his measures, prepared to undergo any labour that may be necessary to the service of an incorrupt Government, and ready to give up my time, pleasures, in short anything but what he will not require, nor his system admit, my character such as it is, and my conscience."

"Pray let me know of your motions as soon as arranged. I have no house in Dublin at present; but if you do not choose to go to the Castle at your landing, I can very easily accomodate you somewhere or other in town. Have you heard whether the Irish Parliament is to sit again in February or not till next year?"

"I fear you will hardly be able to read this letter, which has been written in the midst of a crowd of noisy fellows who are now with me to celebrate the races of Trim. If you have any questions to ask about any matters that I know, you shall receive my answer by the first post after I receive your letter."

EARL TEMPLE, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to his brother and Chief Secretary W. W. GRENVILLE, in London.

1782, November 27. Phoenix Lodge [Dublin].—"Since you went . . . we have been tolerably quiet till a new hare has been started, which the enclosed papers will sufficiently explain. You will possibly have left London before this reaches you, and yet I write at the venture to say that I am every hour more convinced that we are right, and no pains have been spared by us on this side. If this should reach you, I wish you to forward the idea which I have adopted to Townshend; as it is most material and, to speak openly, most unfortunate at this crisis. The Attorney General is clear that this does *not* involve the 6th George 1st, but he agrees with me that it will be so stated by our opponents. . . Our embargo is truly popular and most popular at Cork."

*Postscript* :—"I do not write more upon this cursed writ of error to you, as I think you will gather all I could wish from my letters enclosed, and you know enough to see the full force of all I state."

The SAME to the SAME.

1782, December 1. Dublin Castle.—"Your messenger . . . reached me this morning, and you will not wonder at my eagerness to send him back again, especially when the difficulties which appear to us infinitely hazardous, are further increased by the new game which has been here started, of which I gave you some few particulars; and of which I have given a very ample detail to Mr. Townshend, particularly in a despatch, which I sent to him last night, and which I earnestly desired that he would communicate to you; as I really had not time to make out a duplicate for your inspection, and I was anxious not to delay one moment. To you who are apprized of the frenzy of the country, I can describe the effects which this judgment has produced. We had every reason previous to your departure to suspect the firmness of individuals. And this event has completely overthrown the practica-

bility of complete and absolute resistance. The protest, upon which we had built so much, had, notwithstanding a variety of obstacles, been more favourably received than we had reason to expect. It would have been produced to the world immediately, and notwithstanding popular clamour, it certainly would have had a reasonable effect in preparing the way for that stand which we hoped, with a new Parliament, to have been able to make.

"Every expectation of that nature immediately vanished. The protest was immediately suppressed and disclaimed by almost every one who had signed it; and the Attorney General and Grattan were the first to urge the perfect inutility of the measure, the certainty of the support which this would give to Mr. Flood, and the necessity of an immediate and a satisfactory explanation on the part of England. You well remember that the practice of the writ of error was grounded on the Common Law of Ireland. This question is amply stated in my despatch, to which I refer you. And you recollect that the Irish Act limits the operation of any such judgment in England to the 1st of June. Upon what ground Lord Mansfield has so tenaciously insisted upon giving a decision upon this cause, which he knew to be in the teeth of the spirit of the compact between the two countries, and of the Irish Act to which I alluded, and under a certainty, which he must have seen, that no process or writ of his could have execution, I cannot comprehend. Whatever were his reasons, whether his conduct has been matter of choice or of necessity, the result is still the same. For every man, even the most moderate, now thinks, that the spirit of the compact is broken; and I own that I do not materially differ with them. After a variety of ideas upon the subject it occurred to me that a real and actual use might be made of this event, by giving an explanation of the Act of Repeal, which should in fact be tantamount to a Bill of Renunciation; though, in reality, by making this determination of Lord Mansfield's the ground-work for our Bill, we should not be reduced to the humiliating necessity of acknowledging doubts derogatory to the dignity of both Parliaments, and personally aimed at the characters of all who have taken part upon this question.

"Upon these grounds, thus shortly stated, our Bill is drawn. I think you will see the necessity of the measure. I know that something of the kind is indispensable; and I think that this will let us down as handsomely as we could hope for from a scene of real difficulty, and will certainly give us a weight and strength in this country which we know will otherwise be equivocal. This however, attended with our peace (if providentially we are to have one), materially alters the appearance of things; no one seems to have the slightest expectation of an immediate dissolution. But Grattan, Yelverton with whom I parried, and Ogle, Ponsonby, Lord Chancellor, and Lord Chief Baron to whom I have shewn the Bill, have adopted it with an eagerness which convinces me that the most sanguine and the most interested of the simple-Repealists would finally have abandoned us. But, at the same time, all entertained the strongest hopes that this will completely satisfy and settle the country; particularly when supported by the material advantage which a pacification will give to us. We were not blind in speculating some weeks ago to this advantage; but, whatever it may be, we know that Lord Shelburne is mistaken in imagining that the Volunteers will, by this event, be completely thrown upon their backs. The question of peace may be to decide upon the propriety of meeting our Parliament till October; possibly we may be enabled to put it off till that period; and you know that an earlier meeting always has been

an evil with me, which I would eagerly wish to avoid. This however does not apply to the question of an immediate dissolution.

"Since you went, I have received the enclosed addresses from two of the counties, which you may shew as a proof of the evil which we apprehended; the counties of Fermanagh, Antrim, and Monaghan have agreed nearly to the same tests; and meetings are called for the same purpose in the counties of Galway, and Longford. This, progress in the short period of the last ten days, gives you an argument to any who may doubt the expectation which we had formed. In short, the advantages of immediate dissolution, and every rule which applied to that measure in England, are infinitely more applicable to the present state of Ireland; and can only be counterbalanced by the necessity of a meeting, which I should hope might be parried by the advantage I expect from the Act which I have above stated, and by the general pacification, which I perfectly agree would be truly material to us. I must therefore continue to think this measure necessary; and that the only alteration that a peace will make, will be in the time of meeting for business. And in this light I wish you to state it to Lord Shelburne. Though even this pacification may possibly induce the necessity of a meeting, as the treaty may possibly want regulations in directing the commerce of Ireland, particularly with respect to North America; which regulations you are sensible must proceed from the Parliament of Ireland.

"Hitherto I have reasoned upon a supposition that the peace will take place. If it should not, I conclude from the reasoning which you have stated, that there will be no objection, as, in that contingency, I fear that we must meet the Parliament in March, and at all events it must immediately be dissolved; and we can truly say that even this week's delay will have made a serious difference. We have seen enough of the country to know that it is impossible to reason upon probable events from the rule which commonly guides the conduct of mankind. The grievance is that the real Government of the country is in the hands of those who, for the most part, do not think consequently, and do not act from any first principle whatsoever. You seem to have acted with the utmost prudence and precaution. I am not surprized that Lord Shelburne does not see the situation of Ireland in the same alarming light with ourselves. We have always imagined that there were individuals who held that language to him, and I think we can trace the reason for it. However, you will remind him that I have stood firm upon the article of concessions till this moment, when he will agree with me that, by this determination of Lord Mansfield's, the compact is broken, to which he, as well as I, pledged our personal faith and honour. He will say, and will say truly, that the giving this Bill (tantamount to a Bill of Renunciation) takes from me the ground upon which I proposed the dissolution. And to a degree it does; so much so that if the measure be difficult to carry in England, and if we have peace, I might agree to delay it till spring from a principle of accommodating the opinions of others, though my own is decisively against it. But if the war continues, I will not suppose it possible that you can return without the permission I wish for, and, even then, I shall have regretted exceedingly the difference even of the ten days.

"I have not yet seen Mr. Forster (Foster) upon the subject of the Speaker's chair. You do not say whether you have seen Perry (Pery); and I cannot account for his utter silence, except upon an idea that Lord Shelburne has promised him a peerage, an idea which you must know we cannot give way to. You may

state, what is strictly true, that my engagements to Ogle at no time went beyond very general expressions, and all founded upon an idea that Perry (Pery) would leave the chair; a measure to which I would not give any credit. To this Ogle himself added another proviso, which implied the possibility of Mr. Ponsonby's wish again to resume that situation. This event was the last in my mind, and yet it has taken place; as he yesterday notified to me in form his wish to be a candidate. You know the objections which I should have to see him there, and, by restoring him, to restore that aristocracy which it cost this country so much to break. And yet, with eleven members of Parliament mostly unprovided for, and twenty-seven influenced by him, he much (must) be managed; and no management occurs so good as that of re-electing Perry (Pery), whom Ponsonby told me he would not oppose. You will therefore speak with Lord Shelburne openly upon this point, and impress him with these reasons, added to reasons of compliment to Perry (Pery), which make me wish him to remain in the chair."

"The Duke of Leinster is exceedingly earnest that the Vice-Treasurership should be given away. Do press Lord Shelburne about it, and beg he will relieve me from this singular species of persecution. Hussey Burgh has been with me to press for a peerage. I was obliged to tell him that, from his personal character, I already mentioned it as a thing which I should probably propose before the Parliament met. You know the chain which this peerage would influence, and I must desire that I may be commissioned to do it for him immediately, or to give him unequivocal assurances that it will be done by the meeting of Parliament. In the case of a dissolution he may be made with the others whom we propose, but the sooner he is assured of it the better.

"Some letters are enclosed to you upon the supposition that the Parliament may be dissolved. They are of moment, but of course they will not be sent till you are furnished with full powers for the immediate dissolution. I am surprised at the little interest which Townshend seems, by your account, to have taken in this business. As to Lord Shelburne, we were both satisfied that he meant to play me fair. You cannot therefore too much call forth the verbiage which you have stated."

"The letters which I enclose are to Mr. Tighe who, as you remember, influences five seats; to Mr. Lambart, who has two; and to Eden, desiring to have some copies of some engagements which were entered into during Lord Carlisle's Government, and must now be claimed."

*In Mr. Bernard's handwriting, excepting the last paragraph.*

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1782, December 4. Dublin Castle.—"I enclose to you another despatch to Mr. Townshend. . . The situation of the country is precisely what I have stated it; some of the corps in Dublin have met and parted again upon an idea which every body adopts, and which I strongly encourage, that England will explain authentically and explicitly that breach in her compact which has been made by Lord Mansfield's determination; and seem inclined to give us time. You will not, therefore, leave London without an explicit engagement for passing *my Bill* if possible, and, if not, one equally conclusive. For I think, without conversing with you upon the subject, I know your opinion upon this necessity agrees with mine; and, if this ground is not cleared, we cannot remain another hour in Ireland. And it would be equally clear that English Government would not long survive us. For, upon



this point you know that Grattan and Yelverton feel as strongly as Mr. Flood; and with them every moderate man in Ireland joins.

"I have seen Forster (Foster) and have had much conversation with him; they both (Foster and Ogle) state their intentions of declining in favour of Ponsonby, and this circumstance makes me impatient for the event of your communication with Mr. Perry (Pery), whom, you will easily see, it is now more than ever necessary to keep in the chair; and indeed Forster's (Foster's) language gives me great reason to expect it.

"Many reports have reached me, authentically though not officially, of General Burgoyne's intention to quit this situation in case of a peace, and possibly sooner. He has had some conversation with Cuninghame upon this subject; in consequence of which, the latter has been with me to state his wishes in that contingency. We had I think made up our minds upon this; and there not being a Lieutenant General in England for whom I care a straw, or one who understands the detail of the Irish army half so well, I saw no difficulty in stating my wish upon that subject to Townshend, and giving a copy of those lines to Cuninghame, that he may be enabled, if it is mentioned to him, to converse upon the business himself with the King. . I cannot state to you how truly anxious I feel in the reflection that this hour has probably decided the question of peace or war. It is truly pregnant with every consequence which can decide upon the situation of this kingdom. I still, however, continue to see the present dissolution as a most desirable event; though I own that if my Bill is adopted, and if ministry should be exceedingly averse upon the supposition of the effect of a peace, I would, in that case, compound for the last week in January; and, possibly, if both these contingencies should favour us, I mean of the peace and of our Bill, it might be as well to let that species of good humour operate, if any such disposition should be the fortunate consequence of these two events. It may possibly be a strong testimony in support of our favourite idea that the state of Ireland is not truly understood in England, when I tell you that Mr. Forster (Foster) assured me that he never was more astonished than at the total ignorance which prevailed on that subject in England. Whatever may be the event of it, I shall for many reasons have been happy in your journey, though, without affectation, I can say that I truly miss you. Our embargo is very popular, and very quiet; the Fencibles, as you see, nearly complete, though not without many frays, some of them unpleasant. Latouche has this day reported to me the Bank subscription complete. The charter will therefore be immediately made out; however, a great deal of discussion must previously be had upon this business."

December 5.—"Thus far I had writ, when I received yours of the 30th. I will hazard this letter though it is probable you are on your road, to express my happiness that, though 400 miles separate us, yet that our ideas upon the remedy to be proposed should have so exactly squared. We all like your *præmunire* Bill. But we make the other a *sine quâ non*."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1782, December 12. Dublin Castle.—"You may truly believe that any certainty of the *tracasserie* which we both apprehend, would make me quit this kingdom, as soon as your messenger could bring me back my letters of recall. I will not yet imagine that Government will venture to trifle with this subject. It is a question,

however, which will not admit of doubt much longer. For a Cabinet must meet, and must engage to a full and adequate recognition, and, if possible, in the words proposed by yourself. And to the principle of this I am so decided from the knowledge that, if England means fairly to Ireland, this can cost her nothing, and if she means ill, I cannot in conscience or in honour be the instrument, that I ought not to accept an answer, which is not clear and precise; and they have every material from my despatches, and from your information, upon which they may form a judgment. If therefore the disposition to protract still continues, or if the explanation be not left clear and satisfactory as [to] that which I require, you will then communicate to Lord Shelburne and to Mr. Townshend this letter, that they may apprise His Majesty of my humble request, that you may be permitted to see him, and lay before him the impossibility of carrying through in Ireland a system of government, which I will pronounce hopeless; and which, if it were practicable, would impeach every profession to which I had pledged my personal honour, as well as the faith of England. And after this, I would wish you not to lose a moment in returning, that I might be enabled to make this request officially in the mode the most respectful."

The SAME to the SAME.

1782, December 12, 12 p.m. Dublin Castle.—"The letters which I enclose give you my feelings and my opinions at length . . . The other letter to you is, as you see, meant to be shewn if occasion should call for it. And I enclose to you the two despatches, under which, as well as under my instructions, I have pledged myself to those rights, which I think this refusal most completely impeaches. I see and am prepared for every contingency. Thank God, my line is clear, and it is an additional happiness to me that we feel it in common. Mr. Townshend's kindness to us both merits the confidential communication of my intention, whenever circumstances shall have decided it. You will therefore give it him with many thanks for the attention which he has shewn to my ideas, communicated through you. Things remain in Ireland must [much] as when I last wrote. I have not exaggerated the picture in my despatch. They are quiet because they are convinced that all must in justice and honour be granted to them. What the event will be of a refusal we both know; but for that event we must clearly be known not to be responsible. But you may recommend to Townshend to keep that pen which signed the treaty with America, for it will be wanted on some future day for the treaty of Conciliation with Ireland."

"I enclose you extracts which pledge the faith of the Cabinet to the claims already conceded; look to the addresses of Ireland and you will see the external legislation amongst those claims; and these addresses were the groundwork of the whole. For God's sake return me a messenger or post express as soon as you can."

The SAME to the SAME.

1782, December 14, Saturday, 5 p.m. Dublin Castle.—"I am shocked . . . at the receipt of your despatches stating the conversation which you have given me in cipher, for I think I see plainly what the game will be, and you will easily believe that I will be no party

to it. You will therefore see Lord Shelburne and Townshend ; add what you will upon the alarm given by this delay, an alarm which I have discountenanced by pledging (in consequence of the King's orders through Townshend in his last despatch, of which you have a copy) assurances that every thing should be done to evince this good faith which ought to be maintained, and which must be explained ; and that I think it due to my situation to require an explicit answer to my ideas. This is writ upon the idea that the Council might be delayed, though I trust that, long before this, the whole is over one way or the other ; and you have ample instructions from me in my last letter how I wished you to act, and I see no reason for wishing any change in your language but what may drive further the necessity of a Council.

"I think that your *Bill* which you probably received, returned by me and recommended, soon after you last wrote, will completely satisfy every one here ; and will steer clear of Thurlow's objection which goes, as you state, to a different point ; but you see that, in my despatch which accompanies this, I have apprized Townshend of the causes now depending in the English House of Lords, which, from enquiry, I find is the case, though I cannot get at their titles. At all events the plot now thickens, and our situation, unpleasant as it is, has one advantage, that it necessarily draws near to a conclusion. It is with me a moot point whether Lord Shelburne did or did not know the probable answer which you would receive from the Chancellor. If he did, he has played most foully. However, my mind is made up to every possible event, and my only anxiety is, that I may not seem to abuse that confidence which I think the people of Ireland have in me ; for I verily believe, from what I have seen and learnt, that personal confidence has done more than any other consideration to preserve that calm which, you know, the termination of this business in the mode which we now apprehend will effectually destroy. And if this really was the intention and object of Government when I accepted this situation, I, above all others, feel what I owe to Lord Mansfield, who has brought the question to immediate discussion.

"If the peace proceeds, you must desire that Ireland may be specifically included, or known to be so, to prevent any attempt similar to that made by the Court of Portugal, whose new book of rates is by no means satisfactory, as it only admits camlets, and those subject to a duty."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1782, December 21, 6 p.m. [Dublin Castle.]—"You have certainly done right in every part of your business, and particularly in pressing this Proteus to some decided line and shape. I have in my despatch touched nothing upon the idea of a settlement, a measure infinitely short of what Ireland has a right to claim, and clearly having no other object but that of delay. I would not however abandon it, as it may lead to what is absolutely necessary at some future time. You will therefore lend yourself to that discussion, and talk upon the Portuguese book of rates, and of the duty of 10 per cent. laid by Spain in 1780 upon Irish linens, in revenge for the duty laid here most absurdly by Sir R. Heron upon Spanish wines ; all which must be considered. But, above all, if this letter should find the business incomplete, do not let it in the smallest iota break in upon our great point, which you see I press still more strongly ; to which you will add to Lord Shelburne and Townshend my sense of the mode in which I am trifled with, and my directions to you (in case they do

not hold out some immediate prospect of decision) to return to Ireland, and to await here their pleasure. You will however easily believe this to be a threat which I cannot wish you to put into execution, unless in the greatest emergencies, as your presence is so material; and, at all events, if that should be necessary you will see the King, according to my former ideas. I have stated the question of external legislation in the instance of Kelly and his gang whom we cannot try, as the Irish Act makes the presence of the *Admiral* necessary: which *Admiral* in law exists only under our Irish great seal, and therefore does not exist in the persons of Lord Keppell and his board. Grattan has pledged himself chin deep to every body of men that this assumed right of Lord Mansfield will be clearly disavowed, and so has every friend to Government. I took care to have Scott sounded upon his ideas, and sent him *your* bill which he approves, and says that any delay is ruin; but this is secret to yourself, but it will explain what I allude to. Lord Shannon says that it must be explained; and this you may mention, for the King looks upon him as the most firm. Lord Tyrone holds the same ideas; as to Ponsonby *cum multis aliis*, it follows of course. People begin to grow impatient, but I have thrown the delay so completely upon the peace, that they do not apprehend the least hitch in the business.

"The Fencibles are all complete, but not reported as inspected; for God's sake press as strong as you can the sending over blank commissions, for otherwise we shall lose half of them, as every attorney tells the soldiers (what is true) that they cannot be tried till their commissions arrive; and above fifty of Talbot's are now confined for mutiny and misbehaviour. Pray press upon Lord Chief Baron Burgh's peerage, and about the Vice Treasurership, which this blockhead of a Duke is always teasing me upon, and suspects that it is kept for *him* if I will press it. Our Bank of Ireland goes on very well; but, if you have time, pray call upon Mr. Ewer of the House of Commons, the Governor of the Bank of England [M.P. for Dorchester,] to beg that they would think over some active clerk whom they could recommend to us, and that they will allow a Mr. Hoffmann, who will be sent over to beg leave, to examine their mode of keeping books, and that they will assist him in the important point of getting the paper from their maker. Latouche is Governor, Mr. Thompson Deputy-Governor, and 15 Directors..

"Mr. D'Ivernois is upon his return with his committee. The Duke of Leinster has abandoned them, and I have at last determined to settle them on the Curragh of Kildare, which from its vicinity to Dublin, to the Waterford river, to the Bog of Allen, and to Kilkenny coal seems the best spot. I fancy the Bank will lend the money. Pray likewise press my order of St. Patrick, as it will be very useful. I write strangely unconnected, for I am tired with incessant writing since 10 o'clock till this moment, when I am called for the play after a mouthful of dinner. Perry [Pery] has writ for the Bishopric of Limerick when vacant, which I shall give him, but he must remain in the chair."

The SAME to the SAME.

[1782,] December 25, Wednesday, 12 p.m. Dublin Castle.—"Your despatches of the 10th December were brought to me yesterday after having been three days at sea. I will not attempt to describe my feelings of indignation at the iniquitous attempts which you have detailed, nor those attendant feelings of regard and confidence which every part of your conduct so amply merits."

"This day has brought me your different letters to the 20th inclusive, with a most interesting account of your different interviews, of Lord Beauchamp's motion, and of your conduct on the 19th in the House of Commons; nothing could have been done more ably, more wisely, or more fortunately. I feel the ground which we now hold, and have not an uneasiness, as, whether we stay or quit, our good name is equally secure. I have judged it necessary to print your notice and your debate in the newspapers for tomorrow, and I trust that the effect of it will be immediate, but it will be conclusive upon Government in England. You will see that my tone in this despatch to Townshend is raised. I need hardly remind you, but I would not omit to desire you to tell Townshend that I know from you what I owe to him, and that my peevish expressions are to enable him to give me that support in the Cabinet which I am persuaded he will be happy to shew to me, and that I should be unpardonable if I was not sensible to his goodness. Your note to him is just what I could wish, and I applaud most truly your judgment and spirit in answering that memorandum, which I could only have considered as an insult.

"As to the new idea of an enacting clause without the preamble, I must reject it *in toto* as inadequate to my ideas, and to those of all here; and inadmissible for the very reasons for which Lord Shelburne proposes it. I cannot imagine that he is serious in his struggle, but, at all events, I will persist in this object of acquiring for Ireland that recognition which (if no other circumstance called for it) is now necessary, for every reason private to me, or public to both kingdoms. I have stated my wish for amending the Bill in order to meet the claim of the Peers in consequence of what you told me of Lord Ashburton and Lord Thurlow, and what fell from the Attorney General in the House of Commons; and indeed every precaution is now absolutely necessary. You will interline the copy which you probably have kept. I do not say that *I wish you* to continue, because it would imply that I do not miss you here; but I do say that you are so truly necessary there, that you must at all events remain till after the 21st, and upon that day I wish you to take an active part (to move, if you can, the Bill) that we may have what is justly due to us, I mean popularity. I am anxious to know what we can now do with Lord Shelburne, and how he receives you next time; I expect a detail of his *embrassâdes*; but, to speak gravely, much will be collected from your next visit; for he will have learnt not only your manœuvre to pledge Conway, Pitt, and Townshend to a different line from himself, (and recollect what other lines of difference may exist,) but he will have understood the answer to his memorandum in Council which was only to gain time. With all these concurrent circumstances attended with the delay of the peace, I think we are very secure of carrying our point; but our tenure with such a Premier is most unpleasant. However, this will have given us an advantage of which he will not easily disposes us."

"Some people are jealous of this delay in our proposition, but Grattan and several others have pledged themselves so deeply for full satisfaction that it has had some effect. I enclose to you his letter to his corps (who have re-elected him) as a specimen of many other letters which he has writ. The Attorney General, Prime Sergeant, and Solicitor General have settled with Lord Annaly that they are to be heard as *amici curiæ* when the mandatory writ is presented, as to the jurisdiction of the English court; and, (between ourselves,) Lord Annaly has told me that he means to refuse the writ, and to order it to be torn from the record of *his judgment*.

"I wish much that you would see Pitt, and, with every compliment, wish to know in my name and in confidence, what line he follows in

his intended reform of the pension list of England; whether he attacks pensions for lives and terms, or whether he attacks those holding during pleasure, and what his general rule is, for you well know that this is a favourite wish with me. If Lord Shelburne presses you about Ireland giving a portion of civil list to the King, you will let him know that I am preparing a state to convince him that, after striking out pensions to Irish Secretaries or dependents, or to Irish resident in England, it appears that above half the pension list is for English jobs and to English connexions, exclusive of Vice Treasurers, Clerks of Pells, Chancellors of Exchequer, Masters of Rolls, Conways without end, Clerks of Quit Rents, *cum multis aliis*. As to Lord Shelburne's hint about Scott, I was perfectly aware of it; but I am equally *sure* that I shall have support as far as he can give it without a new patent, and the alteration in his at this time would be too strong, and would give claims to others.

"I will think over the Order again, but my idea is to give it only to *peers*, as the other plan will lay me under a variety of difficulties; and this was strongly the King's wish. I will look over the names, and think of limiting the number to sixteen: which, considering that we have 157 lay peers, of whom near 100 are resident in Ireland, and others occasionally there, will not be more than is absolutely necessary. I shall think myself at liberty to give one to private love and regard, and upon that footing, in confidence, offer one to Lord Nugent. . . I do not quite agree with you about Perry (Pery); he has, I know, quarrelled with Lord Shelburne: and . . . as he truly is, I think we can make it his interest to be fair with us. He has writ to me, in the most pressing stile, for the Bishopric of Limerick for his brother, when vacant; as Killala is nearly as good, and as Cleaver will not take one or the other, I have sold him the favour in my answer, and have expressed my wish that he would remain; a wish now strongly enforced by a quarrel between Ponsonby and Ogle. . This makes it most unpleasant, as I would not oppose or support any one of the three; particularly as I find Ponsonby; (of whom you need not think me jealous) is universally reprobated, and I think it rather strong to force him in the Chair by the weight of Government. Endeavour therefore to see Perry; do not hold out the least present hopes of any peers to be made, and he will gladly close with the offer.

"There is here a strong idea that the Archbishop of Cashel is fighting English claims, and supports the idea of not giving way, and that the ground is tenable; try to find out where he is. I hear that the Primate is ill at Bath; pray enquire. I have routed the accounts of the Barrack board, and Adderley the Treasurer has failed for above £5,000. I shall dismiss him, but no one yet knows it, and I have not named or determined his successor. I am preparing for Mr. D'Ivernois, and have, I think, fixed for the Curragh of Kildare."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1782, December 29, Sunday 4 o'clock. Dublin Castle.—"I enclose to you a letter which you will think sufficient, and which I desire may not be delayed one moment if no answer has been given, as I am sick of this scene of duplicity. I have drawn it without referring in it to the minutiae of the question, in order that I may hereafter call for it if necessary; and I am much deceived if you are not satisfied with it. What a scene does your letter hold out? One comfort is that whatever the event is, it must now be honourable to us: I will

not attempt the least *tracasserie* or else how much is in our power, with the knowledge of the *carte du pays*. Your declarations in Parliament have been most useful, every confidence is given to us; and I judge amply of the effect by the pains taken to give the credit of it to Flood and to Lord Beauchamp, who are held up in the *Dublin Evening Post* as the real friends; however, on all hands a real testimony is borne to our candour and explicit proceedings, and upon such grounds who can hurt us? . . . If my despatch enclosed does not produce its effect, you will then use every power both of immediate resignation, and of assigning the reasons *only* to the *King*; and amongst those reasons dwell upon the increased difficulties to a plan of resumption arising from the hopes given by me in consequence of his Royal pleasure signified December 2d, and by you in the House of Commons; hopes which have contributed to quiet, and will operate as decisively on the other side. All our friends are in transports of joy, which I do not check; for on the one idea it would be imprudent to cast a doubt, and on the other we must be borne through by our own integrity, and by the public resentment.

"Thank Townshend in the strongest terms for me; a private correspondence would lay him under difficulties, else I would assure him how truly I feel his friendship and integrity. You say nothing of Perry (Pery) and of his business, nor have you dropped a word of Hussey Burgh's peerage. I had prepared a commercial despatch which I shall delay for some days, but it will pass through your hands. General Burgoyne's letter was transmitted by me desiring leave, and I have this day received a refusal of it; which I shall send, and it will probably end in his resignation, of which I will give you the earliest notice that you may apprise Cuninghame of it."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1782, December 31, 11 at night. Dublin Castle.—"I trust to the post to tell you that I have received your letter of the 25th this morning, that I am contented (if those professions are strictly adhered to,) but that I think it indispensable that you should remain where you are, to await all circumstances: and to attend to every proposed alteration; and I see no one use in your journey hither which can in the least compensate for the risk attending any possible change of measures. You will easily guess how happy I should be to express to you in person what I feel, but I must suspend my curiosity, and every other feeling in hopes that you will not have left town before this reaches you; and, if so, do not stir, but send me the proposed draught as soon as you can. What have we not gained by that spirit of independence which has here carried everything?"

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1783, January 2. Dublin Castle.—"The mail of last night brought me your letter of the 27th, and the messenger brought your despatches of the 28th. I see your difficulty respecting the words *Upper House of Parliament*, but at the time that I sent them I was not so thoroughly informed of Lord Thurlow's determination. I therefore truly hope that you have suppressed the despatch, as I now think that it would be imprudent to hazard it; and the words *appeal* and *courts of law* clearly reach the point which I had in view. I cannot say that the despatch from Mr. Townshend is quite explicit and satisfactory; but it has given

me the means of choosing to understand him to have recognised all the claims of Ireland, and I can allow for his difficulties with others, as he means fairly to give us all we ask on that head; but this want of explicit clearness makes it more necessary to watch every motion. You will see that he promises to communicate the draught to me; I wish that you may see it so as to give you the means of writing to me your thoughts, and you will see that I particularly dwell upon the necessity of being so prepared as not to hazard the putting off the Bill from the 21st, as such a measure would have the worst effects. Upon the whole I am very little pleased with this transaction. There is an insincerity in every part of it which very little encourages any species of confidence. We must therefore be singularly attentive to every proceeding; and, in the present instance, the stick is so completely cleft that I think we must play our cards very ill if they escape; and, at all events, I will not commit myself for any evasion or equivocation. Perry's (Pery's) letter is indeed very explicit to me in every sense of the word; and, if engagements are binding, we clearly hold him, and the solution is easy between the rival powers who are all angry with each other; so, upon that head, we have no further trouble.

"I must now wish you to state to Townshend my mortification at the answer I receive touching Hussey Burgh's peerage. My request was that he might either immediately have it, or have an assurance that he should be created whenever Parliament met. I stated his merits; and I likewise stated that the legal questions now thrown upon that House, upon appeals from the Lord Chancellor and from Lord Annally, would leave that discussion to one law opinion only, and both of them worn out. When I therefore state it is indispensable to the justice of the kingdom, to the dignity of the House of Peers, that legal assistance should be given, to them, and when I added the advantage I should draw from his abilities, from his character, and from his influence over a large party, I little expected to have this evasive answer, which pledges nothing but leaves me totally unsupported. How is it possible that I can give it to Lord Chief Baron with[out] hazarding those unpleasant reflections which will naturally influence every part of his future conduct. The King must consider that I have parried every other application, but he must enable me to secure to his service those who can be useful to it; and for that he must give me credit, or else *actum est*.

"As to Cuninghame, you know, that the extent of my affection to him certainly does not lead me, nor could for a moment make me pin my faith or my residence here upon his promotion; but I own myself at a loss to imagine why Townshend wishes to state the impracticability of my naming a Commander in Chief, as being a thing unusual, when he must recollect the case of Burgoyne's appointment. I wished to have Cuninghame because I thought him agreeable to the King, and because I knew he could be useful to the army here which he so long (in fact) commanded. But his silence upon this and the other persons, some of whom I recommended for the staff, makes me imagine that they consider the army as an appointment independent of the Lord Lieutenant, and to that idea I never will submit; and I will add that I explained that idea to Lord Shelburne before I came over. It always has been matter of jealousy, and with reason; for the business of Ireland cannot exist under two masters; and the strongest proof of this is that even Lord Harcourt, under all the circumstances which you so well know, first was obliged to force out General Elliott, and then to resign himself. Judge then how necessary my fullest acquiescence must be in the appointment, and



how I shall feel to have an improper temper put in upon me. This is all on a supposition that Burgoyne is to resign . . . I have seen much of the Archbishop of Cashell this morning. His language of support is most cordial, and decided, and *clear as to the necessity of our measure*; in the strongest terms reprobating the possibility of finding *any set of men* who would undertake English claims after such a direliction.

"As to the Order, Townshend's despatch calls for the names. I have therefore delayed my answer till I can prepare it, but you may in confidence shew him the enclosed list, which will probably be submitted.

Duke of Leinster .	Earl of Clanricarde +
Earl of Antrim +	Earl of Westmeath .
Earl of Inchiquin .	Earl of Drogheda
Earl of Tyrone +	Earl of Shannon .
Earl of Clanbrassil +	Earl of Charlemont +
*Earl of Hillsborough	Earl of Mornington
Earl of Bective	Earl of Courtown
Earl of Ely . +	Earl Nugent .

"You will observe that no particular party or description of men is here marked out; but I have confined myself to Earls because, if we go lower, I do not see what line can be drawn between numbers whose pretensions are equal, and the first institution being confined to Earls puts it on a higher footing. I mean that the Viscounts and Barons shall be informed that they will be equally candidates in future. It is confined to resident Earls, except in two instances; Lord Courtown, by which I mean a particular attention to the King, and Lord Nugent, which last needs no comment. I shall be ready to send over the statutes, badge, in a few days, and would wish that the installation might take place on St. Patrick's day, the 25 March. Those marked with the dots have been already informed of it; the others marked with a cross I shall send to; and the others I shall pause upon till the King's pleasure; but Lord Beilamont, who ended last session the advocate of Mr. Flood, must be objected to till he has expiated his offence. If his Majesty would give the riband to one of his younger family, it would add to the honour of the riband, and might lead, at some future day, to establishing an immediate connexion between the Royal family and the Government of Ireland, in case the King should wish to send any one of the Princes as Lord Lieutenant; and, if so, the Sovereign and the young Prince added to the knights would fill 18 stalls. I would propose to establish two House of Commons offices of Secretary and Register with fees, but no salaries; and two Bishops as Church officers; and I must likewise be allowed to name two heralds (of which we have none) with fees but no salaries; but the detail of these playthings, as you truly call them, is hardly serious."

"Brooke has communicated to me a strange collection of facts gathered from the Stockport manufacturers whom he has engaged from Derry; in some parts clearly true, but in others charging respectable persons as concerned in the plan; and has just now given me a letter from a merchant in Derry requesting them to come thither to embark on board a ship named and cleared for New York, but bound for Philadelphia. The artists have refused, and the ship shall be watched and searched at leaving the port; but I do not send the story officially to Townshend

---

\* You will smile at this name, but I am told that he has always spoke in the strongest manner of an Order as a thing he wished, and his language of support both to me and of me has been *unequivocal*.

out of regard to Burke, whom I cannot but think falsely accused. You may, however, shew it; but return it to me, as the names at Derry are material."

The SAME to the SAME.

1783, January 3. Dublin Castle.—"I have just received your letter, and have enclosed to you a despatch which will only operate upon the Cabinet in proportion to the degree of candour with which they mean to act in this business. You will see, by my last letter, that I had made allowances for the difficulties under which Townshend wrote the last despatch; but the obscurity of it made it necessary for me to understand it as I chose; and I trust that you will think that I have given the Cabinet the change in the manner in which I have accepted their intentions. I shall be sorry that you should have delivered the despatch recommending the insertion of the words *Upper House of Parliament*, as I think that it will strengthen Lord Thurlow's ground, of which I was not informed when I wrote it; but, however, be it as it may, the great point must be carried, and explicitly; or else I neither will nor can remain; and I wish you to press upon Townshend the impracticability of their new Lieutenant succeeding. Lord Shannon, Archbishop of Cashel, Lords Tyrone, Clements, Carleton, and the Provost [of Trinity College] have all been spoken to by me, and the supposition has been stated as what might have happened if the point had not been yielded; and their opinions have been asked whether any or what stand could be made. They have all disclaimed the practicability of my holding my ground without further recognition; and they have all agreed that my quitting the government upon these given grounds would have rendered it impossible for my successor to find one man who would support English claims. Scott has been spoken to (you know the channel) and agrees in every iota of this. I must therefore again repeat that the Cabinet has not a choice.

"As to the mode of bringing on the business, I think it cannot be better done than in the sketch which you have sent; but it is worth while to consider whether the declaration of what England meant by the repeal may not draw on very unpleasant consequences, as our opponents (and *quere* the Scotch party) may deny this truth. But in this, so much depends upon the temper of the House, and of the people, that I hardly dare hazard an opinion except that *I will make* no further proposition of bill or mode; and you are at liberty to communicate what you will in confidence to Townshend; but I feel myself too illused to hazard anything further than a state of facts; and having submitted one idea which they wish (if they dare) to parry, I will make them responsible for the consequences; and nothing short of the preamble, or the substance of it *unequivocal*, will be received by me as a measure, in Townshend's words, likely to *quiet the apprehensions of the people of Ireland*. You will remember that no part of this suspicion of bad faith applies to Mr. Townshend, to whom I feel as I ought for his candour and generosity, so much of a piece with what I have always found in him; but I wish that, in return for his open proofs of friendship, that you will read to him the former part of this letter, that he may know most clearly all that I feel. I hope that the draft will be returned to me in time; but remember that this is the 4th; that you will not receive this till the 8th at soonest; and think how near own time approaches; and, trust me, no consideration shall make me remain if Government adjourns that day which is fixed."

"I have heard nothing from Burgoyne; but I have this day heard from Cuninghame. He says, *the King's graciousness to me has from*

*the beginning thoroughly marked his intentions, and I have nothing to beg of your Excellency but to employ me as you please . . . This seems as if there was in reality a wheel within that which is moving according to the language of Townshend; but upon this I am not interested au derrier point; though I shall look upon the refusal of this arrangement as a proof that my word is not current in Israel; and I shall likewise think it leads to another discovery, that the King non è Padrone."*

The SAME to the SAME.

1783, January 13, 12 p.m. Dublin Castle.—“I did not answer your letter which I received on Thursday, in momentary expectation of the account of your conversation with Lord Camden. Yesterday brought me two mails but no letter from you; but an account of another boat being at sea, who had sailed 48 hours before them with a messenger. After some suspense he arrived and brought to me the very satisfactory despatch of the 7th; satisfactory in every thing but in the official communication of what is now clearly the intention of the Cabinet, to give us the thing fairly and explicitly. But you will see, by my despatch to Townshend, my wish about the title of the proposed Bill which should parry Lord Beauchamp's intention; and the title or recognition is in fact the whole of the business. It might run, *a Bill to recognise the sole and exclusive right of His Majesty and the Parliament of Ireland to make laws to bind the people of that realm and to prevent* . . . This would be ample, and, as I take the words of the preamble, would I hope be clear of difficulty; and therefore I wish to press it through you.

“You will see much detail in my letter to Lord Shelburne, of which I wish you to take notes. The letter was begun some time ago and nearly finished, but suppressed from want of confidence. I have had much conversation with the Post Office upon the question of the two offices, and the probable value of the cession; and, from the arrangements thrown out, I fancy that both countries may be considerable gainers. In the mean time you may quiet Lord Shelburne's fears of losing a revenue by referring him to the Post Office, where he will see that Ireland never paid 8,000*l.* per annum clear of all expenses; but upon this I will write specifically, and likewise upon the Spanish and Portuguese impositions. The hop question must be settled in England, and a detailed account of that business has been sent some days since to the Treasury, where you may see it. I agree fully with Lord Shelburne upon the necessity of a commercial settlement; much remains there to be done, and many questions are involved in the consideration. The Navigation Act will stand as a material barrier against the trade of Ireland with the British settlements, as she cannot export any part of their produce to England; a restriction the more extraordinary as it would be imagined that England would by the same Act equally be restrained from export of those articles to Ireland; here is a material point to be regulated. As to the pension list, I will have my state copied out for you, and he will see our difficulty.

“In the contingency of war, I should much dissuade the meeting of our Parliament, as we have still 60,000*l.* applicable to raising men; and, if they will indulge me with the mode, I think that we might get as many at least as we should even if Parliament exerted themselves to the utmost; but I do not lose sight of the dissolution, but, on the contrary, still think it is a measure well calculated for February next.

“My despatches contain the list of names, and, by the statutes, the Lord Lieutenant will fill the Sovereign's stall, which will leave our

number 15; and the young Prince will still diminish this to 14. I see your difficulty, but I own that I see no reason to dread any discontent from the Viscounts or Barons who will be, of course, eligible in future. *Nolo Privy Councillari* rode a high horse; but I thought his name of moment, and wrote him an official letter stating the *public* grounds upon which it was offered; but you must see Mornington and propose it to him, as I do not send an official letter to him knowing that he will like it better from you. I enclose you an official letter to Lord Drogheda which you will direct, as I know not where he is in England; and the same to Lord Courtown, which you will send or not as you think necessary; but you will see that the favour is sold to Townshend, and by my mode of bringing in the King's name, I think that it will be stated to him.

"I enclose to you a letter to my brother; read it that you may regulate your language accordingly upon Lord S[helburne's] conduct, and then seal it carefully, and send it to him without appearing to have seen it. You will see that there were in his letter expressions which have drawn on a species of retort on the regard paid by Fox to domestic ties; of which, to be sure, Lord R. Spencer and he are palpable proofs.

"I have discovered much of iniquity in the Barrack Board; and Lord Shannon has behaved like an angel, and, with his full approbation, Adderley is dismissed. The office is in fact in being, though nominally suppressed, and this will enable me to place Cuffe responsible at the head.

"I just now learn that the Statutes . . . cannot be prepared in time for this mail."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1783, January 15. [Dublin Castle.] *Secret*.—"I have read your letter of the 8th, and of the 10th, with an indignation proportioned to the disgraceful and scandalous equivocation and delay. The winds have again delayed the messenger, and I have barely time to send the despatch enclosed so as to ensure (if possible) its arrival prior to the 21st. This despatch speaks my feelings, but does not speak them fully, from personal considerations to Townshend to whom it is officially addressed; but I mean to convey my sense of the ill treatment which I have received in deferring their Cabinet certainly till the 18th, possibly till one o'clock on the 21st, and upon a question as nice and as interesting to the public as that of America; and to me involving my honour, which, since they will not consider, I will take care of. I have made my proposal; if they will accede to the principle explicitly, I care not for the words; but I have told them in plain terms that I suspect them, and that nothing short of that which every amendment from them has parried, shall satisfy me, because nothing else will satisfy Ireland. I have stated likewise the only consideration under which I will acquiesce in the delay beyond the 21st, and with these impressions I think it due to my character and honour to stand acquitted to both kingdoms; and, in this view, (supposing any delay which will be proposed can only proceed from that want of candour and communication which is truly disgraceful,) I will interpret it as an intention to force me to an immediate resignation; for I accepted this situation (cursed as it always was) only on the basis of confidence in those with whom I am to act; and although *I know* that they dare not shuffle with Ireland, and *therefore* this must end satisfactorily to my ideas, yet I will not keep my situation one hour after I shall have judged

it necessary to appeal to the public in justification of myself. You will therefore in this circumstance of delay, or of a proposition short of an explicit recognition of the exclusive legislative and judicial rights, declare in the House of Commons the circumstances under which you gave the notice for the 21st, and you will likewise protest in the strongest terms against this delay which I interpret as a refusal; and against any *half measure* of the nature to which I alluded. And you will again remind the House of the propositions to which you pledged yourself and me, and conclude by opposing such a measure as inadequate and unsatisfactory; and it must depend upon the debate whether you will not be obliged to produce the Bill proposed by me. After this, even if they could suffer me to remain here an hour, I could not submit to my situation. You will therefore request an audience from the King in which, with every expression of my sense of the very undeserved partiality with which he sent me hither, you will deduce from my despatches, from Townshend's Office letters, and from the manner in which I have been almost abandoned and possibly deceived, the impossibility of my remaining in this responsible and unsupported situation; and that my immediate request to his Majesty will be to allow [me] to retire from a situation dangerous to both kingdoms, (as I cannot support measures contrary to my opinions,) and disgraceful to myself from the manner in which I have been treated. And, after this, you will come away immediately from a scene which must truly wound every feeling of honour and integrity; and may those whose councils (wherever they are) have advised this system deeply answer it!

"I cannot express the jealousies which this delay, (for I cannot shew the real state of things as you state them,) has spread amongst those who begin to fear that all is not right. I have been obliged to keep the Chancellor, Attorney-General, and Grattan at arms length; and I know that they are told from England that *nothing explicit will be done*. Think then to what (even if it is at last yielded) I have been exposed by this cursed delay; ending in Lord Camden's preamble, upon which from delicacy I have not said one half of what I feel, and in Mr. Pitt's, as uninformed and unsatisfactory as the former. I have done with propositions, and no consideration shall make me *now* offer one; but I enclose to you the last preamble amended to my ideas, that, if you should be convinced that there is at last a disposition to act fairly, it may be undertaken for by you. In this mode I satisfy my conscience, for by that conscience I fear that my departure from Ireland upon such grounds, will throw the kingdom into revolt.

"Such is the situation to which the timidity of the Cabinet (I mean the dread of meeting each other,) and the Christmas parties of some of them have reduced this kingdom. Of their other transactions I know nothing, but from this specimen their system cannot last; at least it is unsafe for me to continue responsible where I have not the weight of a feather, and where I cannot hope for a reciprocity of regards, of confidence, and of support. I have written thus much upon the subject, because I mean clearly to convey my ideas at large to you, or else much less paper would have contained my resolution. With every advantage it would have always been a sacrifice with me to continue here, notwithstanding the field it opened to an honest ambition; but without those advantages my line is so obvious, that I must imagine the Cabinet see it, and mean to drive me to it. Thus finishes my political career; *Sat Patriae Priamoque datum*, and no temptation shall again draw me from those enjoyments within my reach,

the value of which I truly know, and sacrificed, when I took this splendid plaything. For you I feel, as it checks a line of business for which you are so truly fitted; however, other objects are within your reach equally valuable, and to them I consign you as the sure result of your patience and application.

"Our provincials are all raised, and, if the war goes on, I think we might gain some men for them *without applying to Parliament*; and we should gain nothing by the meeting, as, till their trade operates more in their favour, and, in short, till industry enables them to raise money, we could not venture at a large encrease, or indeed any encrease of establishment; but men might certainly be got, but they must be instantly embarked or they will not be held an hour. I have checked but not stopped desertion by the severity of the courts martial, who have shot one man, and have sentenced near 40 to serve in Africa and the East Indies. The Duke of Leinster was restive about the Order being given to him as a *full compensation* for his services. However, I have talked him into good humour, but he specifically bargains that this shall not prejudice his claims upon the Garter, which I have as gravely agreed to. I have made a vacancy by bargain at the Barraek Board, and placed Cuffe at the head of it; from which arrangement in all its views I expect the best consequences."

*Really secret.*—"I have enclosed a letter which will speak my sense of your despatches and my feelings, and may be shewn to Townshend as in strictest confidence, and which will, I think, operate decisively. It is writ to be shewn, but it is likewise writ as the rule of conduct to which I am sure you will adhere, whenever the time comes for finally deciding the delay, or the verbiage of our Bill. Things are quiet in Ireland, except a real jealousy that we are giving way in our support of Grattan, who wishes us to fight his battle more avowedly; and I have as repeatedly declared my intention of adverting to the great outline as the first point, and looking upon him *en second*. This does not quite please, but he cannot help himself; and I know that Fitzpatrick writes to him, and even to Yelverton to feed them with the hopes that Fox is sure of coming in chief Minister. This may be the real cause of his jealousy. However the cry is so industrious against him that he is wonderfully lowered with the mob; and his Excellency the General Lord Charlemont has accepted the Order, which I shrewdly suspect will be equally unpopular in a very short time; and in this light we shall be masters of our situation, without taking the law of government from one or from the other. However, I keep very fair with them both, and they seem to feel what I urge of the necessity of gaining our point, the effect of which, I tell them, may be hazarded, (as indeed it may,) by a protest of the Chancellor upon the real effect of the repeal, and upon the rights of Great Britain supported by Lord Mansfield and Lord Loughborough.

"Fitz-Patrick has writ to Scott to complain of a wicked and infamously *false* report that the Duke of Portland meant to remove him from the office of Clerk of the Pleas; and he has pledged his honour that it is *false*. This Scott has shewn to me, and shewed me his answer *after it was sent*, containing in four sheets more acrimony and real severity than I ever read; all grounded upon the declaration that the Duke of Portland did *not* mean this *mean and illiberal* (Fitz-Patrick's own words) *dismissal*. Now compare this with G[eorge] Ponsonby's repeated declarations that it *was* offered to his brother; and to the repeated histories of Lord E. Bentinck and of Fitz-Patrick himself; and, lastly, (in confidence,) to the Duke's story to me when he told me he meant to give it to W. Ponsonby. Flood is restless and angry and seems to put all on the

issue of a bill of rights which his advocates still recommend, and upon which I say nothing but that I do not understand it. I find Foster very useful to me, but more in finance than in politics, though he swears through thick and thin; to say truth I have seen lately only office people, all others are out of town.

"I return you all your papers lest you should not have copies of Numbers 1, 2, 3, and Lord Camden's. Number 3 is altered in the margin, but these are my *ultimatum*, and God send that those of France may not be more unreasonable. A clear proof that they do not look upon it as clearly over is, that Townshend's messenger brings me orders to way-lay a prize expected in Kinsale, which was taken coming from the Cape, and to cut off all communication with her crew, so as to prevent the news whether good or bad from being known."

*Nota Bene.*—"This dated on the 10th, and the messenger ordered to wait for the answer from Kinsale. I think you cannot mistake any part of your line as chalked out in the annexed letter. It is meant to operate as a threat through the medium of Townshend, to whom it will be shewn; and as a direction and authority for you if you should find that they are firm to their equivocal system, (possibly the only system which they will adhere to;) but much is left to your discretion, and all I mean is to convey my feelings, and to give you powers . . . Pray desire Townshend to let me know what is to be done with Lord Rawdon's corps. They are upon the Irish Establishment and I subside them, but every corps *incomplete* brings levy money at 5*l.* per man from England with them. This regiment has not a shilling of recruiting fund, and is 3,000*l.* in debt, and if they have not levy money never can be recruited. I have writ six letters upon this and have had no answer."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1783, January 17. [Dublin Castle.]—"Nothing new by this messenger except the mass of nonsense which is put together as statutes; as to the names you will see that they are not altered, and my directions from England were for 16 stalls of which the King and Prince take two. I hope they will not be altered, as I have, in consequence of the order to *confer with those for whom it is intended*, pledged myself for the names who have consented. I *sounded* Lord Hillsborough, who, with great civility, declined; and if Lord Courtown should, I would propose Lord Arran. I must have the three Esquires. I wish you to see Edmonson the herald (he lives in Warwick Street) and know from him if he will undertake banners, spurs, . . . and that he shall be paid, if he will come over and superintend our nonsense, besides the usual sum for the banners . . . and know from him what it is, and what he will expect from us, as our Ulster is not equal to it.

"D'Ivernois is very jealous for fear Townshend should write a civil letter wishing prosperity to the new Government of Geneva. Pray enquire about this. They are very unreasonable in their demands."  
—*Not signed.*

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1783, January 22, Wednesday. [Dublin Castle.]—"I have nothing to say but to express my anxiety for the detail of yesterday's business, although I think it possible that the explanation of the negotiation may have delayed it. As to the event, I am easy about it,

for there is only one contingency in which they will decline an explicit recognition, and that contingency is the doubt of their *weakness* if their negotiations shall have failed. But if they mean to keep their offices, they will acquiesce, though possibly with every mean and unworthy shuffle for an object which they know they cannot hold. No one here suspects the least equivocation, and it would be infinitely hazardous if any such idea prevailed; and you will easily believe how truly determined I am to resign, if I am trifled with; and perhaps even in this moment you may have saved me the trouble of deciding by the measure which I empowered you to adopt, and which I am confident you will use from the moment in which you are convinced of their *mauvaise foi*.

"Our Order is wonderfully popular. Lord Charlemont is *convinced* that his taking it has secured its success. The Duke of Leinster [is] in high good humour, and attends our councils. Flood very angry and desponding, but indefatigable by means of his cousin in searching the Admiralty Court in order to proceed upon it, when Parliament meets; but here we are prepared, as the declaration on our Bill that all suits at law must be tried in Ireland and according to the *laws thereof*, will make it necessary to bring in a bill to legalize the English Commission of the board of Admiralty, *soi disant* of England and Ireland; and this will settle the whole, for the Admiralty laws have long ago been re-enacted. But upon this do not drop an iota, as it may make Government hit a blot which they do not now see. I wish you to watch Lord Camden's language, for I fear that the Chancellor is playing false in his correspondence with him; but this may be surmise.

"I have sent an express to Government with a detail of the total evacuation of Charlestown, and the arrangement of the 197 sail of transports who have this garrison on board. The English troops are gone to *Santa Lucia*; and the Germans to New York and Halifax; the loyalists to England, Florida, Georgia, Jamaica, New York, and Halifax."

"A detachment of 30 deserters condemned for Africa or East Indies are sent to Chester; pray apprize Conway of it, and request that they may be particularly guarded and attended to. Such a reinforcement of recruits is not despicable, and it has a strong effect with our army."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1783, January 25. [Dublin Castle].—"The enclosed despatches, *videlicet*, Townshend's to me and my answer, will let you fully into my feelings. I protest that I have given the Bill the same attention and cool reflection as if it concerned the public situation, and private honour of any person the least connected with me; and in that temper, which you will see pervades my despatch to him, I do most solemnly protest against the equivocal and unworthy explanation respecting the right of legislation. The argument is shortly this; Ireland complains that England did not, by the repeal, give to her what she claimed; and that, the repeal being inadequate, *doubts had arisen*. England professes by the title [of?] a Bill to *remove* these doubts; and how? Does she ascertain (to use Townshend's word) the rights? Does she declare those doubts not founded in fact? No: she only declares that no body shall *question* those rights; and that they are not *questionable*; knowing that every one will question them, and ought to do so, if they are *questionable*. And if they were so under the former repeal, how



much more so *now* when they affectedly hesitate, knowing what would satisfy, and declining it ! You will see the caution under which I have offered an amendment. I have taken Mr. Townshend's official notification of their intentions respecting the legislature, and have recited them word for word, only altering the words *King, Lords, and Commons* into *His Majesty and the Parliament*, in consequence of Lord Shelburne's prior observations. But if any one still objects, be so good as to tell Mr. Townshend, in the plainest terms, that I have no writ to change them, and that he may with my full consent, take his own words ; but that (with the utmost wish for conciliation, with every sense of my own insufficiency, and of the consequences to both kingdoms if I were to quit Ireland upon this avowed ground,) I must stand for the necessity of this insertion ; which is not wanton, for the reason is unanswerable, nor partial to my own ideas, for the sentiment and words are those of the Cabinet ; and I am sure of the effect which will be produced by the clause as it now stands. I have submitted to what I ought not to have suffered, an unnecessary, dangerous, and unexplained delay upon a point where I feel my public and private honour pledged ; to my implied assent to an imposition upon England and upon Ireland, who are, by the motion for leave on the 21st, attended with your declaration prior to the recess, to imagine that the Bill was settled on the 21st, which is amended in Ireland on the 25th ; and, lastly, to a suppression of those feelings from motives of attachment to the two kingdoms, which alone could have determined me to remain here one hour after such treatment.

" You was perfectly right in giving me an opportunity of considering this Bill. It is a virtual recognition, and is [in] fact (if amended) all I meant by that word ; and therefore I do not hold it necessary to fight my particular form of words, which seemed to me best calculated to answer a purpose which is a *sine qua non*. But no consideration shall make me stay if they decline this amendment, which declares their intentions in their own words. I will not put upon you the unpleasant task of deciding for me ; but the messenger who brings me the information that my amendment is rejected, shall return with my resignation, upon the grounds which I have stated, and which, in that contingency, will never be cut from under me ; and these grounds must, for various reasons, be as notorious in both kingdoms as my resignation. I trust that you will, long before this, have truly spoken my sentiments upon the line which ought to be followed ; if not you will take the first vacant hour in Parliament for that purpose ; and if they are infatuated enough to proceed in their Bill, unamended, you will move my words as an amendment, *for, from them or adequate expressions I will not recede whatever be the consequences* ; and this in the spirit of cool deliberation, and not in the feelings of a mind deeply wounded from a sense of ill-treatment, which will shorten my stay, though it will not (from public motives only) immediately conclude it. Read this to Townshend, and tell him that in every thing of this sort I must except him, from whom I have uniformly met candid and honourable support ; but that I have been illtreated, that I feel it, and will resent it.

" If I were inclined to expostulate, I might add much upon this subject ; but I have done with those feelings, and my first object now will be to quit a situation never pleasing to me ; which I accepted against the opinion of every friend who thought me ill-used in the refusal of the only point I made ; and which is now unsafe and dishonourable to me, as I neither have the support or confidence necessary to carry through the government ; a truth most palpable in

their reception of the two public and private objects which I have stated necessary for the King's government here, I mean this Bill of recognition, and Lord Chief Baron Burgh's peerage. I only mention this to shew you my frame of mind. I accepted this truly cursed situation in hopes of receiving from the King a distinction honourable to myself; and from his Ministers effectual and decisive support and confidence, for objects necessary to government, and to my situation. In all this have I been duped, and disappointed: my personal pretensions are neglected; and those representations which proceed solely from the views of carrying on the government in the manner the most useful to the King's service, and in which I can consult no private feeling, are either delayed in a manner most inexcusable, as in the case of this Bill, or superciliously deferred, as in the case of Hussey Burgh's peerage, and in two or three other smaller instances. To all this I will not submit; and I only detail it now that you may see that I feel my situation, and that I mean to quit it from a sense of injury; and that if I do not remonstrate more forcibly, it is because I have taken my resolution.

"Every thing here is going on very quietly. I shall soon transmit the Bank Charter; but . . . I expect that the same wantonness of amendment will alter that likewise, though taken from that of England. In short . . . I am seriously dissatisfied with every thing, but with you; your conduct is indeed most pleasing to me."

11 p.m.—"The packet was aground and my messenger not sailed; I have therefore time to acknowledge yours of the 21st which I have this moment received . . . I could, as you see by this date, have recalled my despatch; but the more I have thought it over for the last six hours, the more I am convinced of the necessity of my amendment (trifling alterations always excepted) which for the reasons I gave is indispensable, and such as I fairly think (if they mean equally fairly) they will support. Of course, I have not time to thank Pitt for the facility he has given at your meeting by his personal attention to me, but you will do it for me.

"I have again for  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour thought over the question. I wish to concede because you state that inclination; but I feel it impracticable, and I hope the temper marked in my despatch will recommend the amendment."

"Pray put Lord Nugent in the chair of the Committee.

"I have just heard from Lord Clanricarde that he accepts with gratitude. I wish therefore, as the Order is now complete, that you would urge the King's approbation to prevent my being plagued here by Lords Altamont, Arran, Aldborough and others."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1783, January 27. Dublin Castle.—"The last twenty four hours have brought me your two messengers; both of them anxiously interesting to both kingdoms. I have every reason to be satisfied with your arguments and with your caution; and I am the more pleased because that the inclination to yield, which seems to appear from all ranks, will probably induce Administration to accede to my suggestion. All to whom I have shewn it are wonderfully pleased. The part of Mr. Fox's speech, which my brother states to have been intended for Flood, has been applied to me. The volunteers and garrison are to fire for the preliminaries [of peace?] and for this declaration to-morrow. Townshend should let me know whether I may not discontinue our levies of navy recruits.

"You will press the approbation of the Order, and I must wish the colour may not be altered, as the sky-blue so strongly differs from the Garter, and as it has been recommended by all those whom I have consulted, in consequence of the King's order. I perfectly agree with you in the proposition which your list of precedents tends to recommend. I wish you much to press that consideration, as soon as our great object is safely landed. You should press for an immediate communication of the commercial ideas which are to accompany the pacification. Adieu. Our beginning is auspicious; for this fortunate pacification will have done more to quiet Ireland than all the hours which we have so studiously given to it."

The SAME to the SAME.

1783, February 2. [Dublin Castle.]—"This morning brought me four mails from England with your post letter, and your private note by the messenger who brought me the preliminaries. You will see much matter in the despatches which I send open for your perusal, a great deal of which you must talk over with Lord Shelburne. I can add nothing to the subject of Parliament, for upon that I know you feel as I do, but do not let it be put off. As to our commerce it is hitherto *carte blanche*, for no one question has been asked upon the subject in any despatch, nor do they seem inclined to remember it. It would therefore be eligible for you, if any debate arises upon the subject of the idea of *new regulations*, to contend that, as far as concerns Ireland, they are *indispensible* both with Spain and Portugal. As to the army, I know not what to do; Burgoyne *has leave of absence*, and they leave me to settle their points with General Baugh, of whom you know enough. I wish I could have Cuninghame to help me, for he really is the best pen and ink man for the purpose; but I see no means; however, try the ground to see if any means exist, and state my situation to Townshend. Baugh, Lord Ross, Massey, and Gabbitt, and not one head between the four!

"As to Lady Ligonier, I can do nothing for her upon the present state of the pension list. Apropos, have you ever asked Pitt what is doing in England upon the subject of pensions? as I must wish to know their ideas, to endeavour to apply them to our red book. I enclose to you a note which you will deliver to Sir C. Thompson for Lord Shelburne, to be communicated to the King, upon the subject of poor Irvine; there are real difficulties in the state which I do not know how to parry.

"As to our settlement, I agree with you in wishing to defer it for very many reasons: the most obvious of which is that England ought to have a greater contingent than Ireland can *now* afford; but I have thrown out an idea respecting the army which, I think, may be worth attending to by England. Throw out to Lord Shelburne the advantage to Ireland and to the East India Company by allowing the Company to freight immediately from India to Ireland; the reasonable plea which we have of saving the extra freight; and the increased consumption to the Company; instead of holding out by the double freight a temptation to smugglers to bring in French India goods, which they can deliver cheaper owing to an useless freight which was the original ground of Irish claims; and this circumstance would tempt Ireland, in good humour, to establish by *law* that monopoly, (which at present is doubtful,) for the object of the increased revenue to her; and the consumption is every day increasing.

"I say nothing of Lord Keppell's resignation because I do not know the real reason, though I guess it; but if the Duke of Richmond has resisted for six days, I think he will stay. I do not like the peace, but I do not know how to combat it, from the necessity of some peace, particularly for Ireland; but I as little expect either kingdom to profit by putting Fox in Lord Shelburne's place; and I do not easily (notwithstanding the explanation) conceive how *all* the reflections upon *change of system and betraying great and respectable names* is applicable to any person but to myself. However, I ask no explanation, nor is any likely to convince me.

"All here *à l'ordinaire*; but incessant applications for the Order, which make me desire you to press Townshend for the approbation, or I shall lose as many friends as I gain; and this he should state to the King in strong terms as a reason for rapid decision. This blockhead of a Duke of Leinster is again teasing me about the vacancy of a Vice-Treasurer; for God's sake try to have it filled; for he always dwells upon it as an object *attainable* while it is vacant; and he thinks that the Duke of Richmond (who I know dissuades it) will support him. As to the Post Office Act, it is too extravagant, and I will send to you what has already passed in former negotiations; but, in the mean time, send to Mr. Todd to know why the letters sealed with my seal, and my name affixed to them by Mr. Bernard, are charged at the Office contrary to constant practice; and state to him that it must be kept upon its former footing, or that my private secretary must have that liberty for public service which every petty clerk in their office has; and you must not allow him to deny the fact, for I have inquired, and we are right in the claim from practice. . . . *Apropos* to my amendment, remember that no Bill ties up the liberty of *questioning* but the Bills touching the succession to the Crown, which all first *declare what is law* (a measure purposely avoided in this Bill) and, having done so, then declare that it shall not be questioned or questionable."

#### THE SAME to the SAME.

1783, February 5, 12 p.m. [Dublin Castle].—"I enclose to you a long official letter to Townshend upon the specific impediments to the trade of Ireland from the duties and impositions in Spain and Portugal. I have taken much pains, and think I can depend upon all the facts and calculations; and therefore you will press the consideration of them as circumstances indispensable to the equal commerce of Ireland. I have had much application upon the subject of the hop duty. I wrote officially upon that subject to Lord Shelburne, and have had no answer; pray see him and urge it to him as he has ample materials, and Lord North had actually *promised* to give way.

"We have heard from London as late as the 29th, but the wind blows a hurricane at south-west, and we have had no mail this day or yesterday. I eagerly look for it as it will be decisive to my situation. The constant fatigue I undergo bears hard upon my health: I have for these three days had a most unpleasant and painful visit of a strangury, which had manifested itself in some slight symptoms about a fortnight ago, and, on Monday night, drove me from the play in the utmost agony. This consideration would have made me wish you here to relieve me from part of what I go through, but I know how necessary you are in London, and submit. I am however still very unwell. I have writ to Townshend for leave to take off the beef embargo, which should be done immediately; and, as such, pray state it. You will probably have ex-

plained to Lord Shelburne that if the contents of my last despatch are complied with in the manner I recommended, *after the 2nd reading of our Bill*, there is a necessary corollary to it which you will understand by my naming *Colonel Tonson* to you; and upon that subject I must have an explicit assurance.

"Lord Donegal has writ for the Order and is refused. The Chancellor plays a singular game in that question, which he thinks I do not see through. Half Dublin is mad about the Order. The Chapter of St. Patrick are to build stalls, they being at liberty to make a pit, gallery, and boxes; and I have still hopes that the installation will take place on the 17th March, St. Patrick's day, and the investiture on the 4th; but the new knights shall have ample notice.

"The state of Spanish treaties is my own. I have travelled through all which I have stated and the chain is curious; and it is equally so that James 1st, amongst the Commissioners named to settle the first treaty, inserted the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. If you have *Almon's Treaties*, look at the words to which I refer."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1783, February 9. Dublin Castle. — "Your letter is amply satisfactory, and without entering into the detail of *was* and *is*, I fully and (I hope finally) ratify it. You judged rightly that my predilection to the words arose not from their intrinsic merit, but from the circumstance which alone recommended them; *videlicet* that they were the words of English Government, and, as such, could not be retracted. With this view, I professed my satisfaction 'that our ideas were the same,' and I am only uneasy now that this rests upon you alone, for I have not one word of official communication, which, considering all things, is surely extraordinary.

"I am making out for Lord Shelburne the state which he requires; but the work is in itself so novel, that I find much difficulty; and, to say truth, the war has prevented us from judging of the nature or extent of the Irish foreign trade except to the old markets of France, Spain, Portugal and the Streights. But I am clear that the benefits will rapidly increase. As to our fisheries, they are indeed most astonishing objects. I have called for the returns of vessels employed this year off the Rosses, and in Lough Swilly; they are imperfect as the season is not yet over, but there is every reason to imagine that the vessels above 20 and under 100 tons employed this year, amount to above 700; an increase most rapid from about 40 vessels since 1778; and this seems improvable both in herrings and cod to any extent. An idea was opened last year of exporting herrings to the West Indies in bulk; that is, packed in the hold of the ship instead of casks, (observe this saving.) They arrived safe from Limerick to Barbadoes, were sold at half the market price, and after paying the expenses, wages, and freight, netted a profit of 200*l.* upon a vessel of 60 tons. And, if they are encouraged to net immediately from the Rosses, they will make the voyage in three weeks. To this point we must pay every attention: no French, Dutch, or Danes have hitherto ever fished on that coast; and I must wish you to press on Lord Shelburne that a frigate and two cutters may always be stationed there, at the season in future, to protect and monopolize this object to the King's subjects. As to disbanded seamen they are really not wanted; for that whole coast swarms with *people*, *landsmen* employed in the fishery; so that I much doubt if they could settle to any useful purpose; more particularly as the general dearth of corn and meat makes

it eligible to send the crews and provisions round from the different small ports, where the vessels (which at other times are used as coasters, particularly for corn,) are fitted and owned. So much for fishery.

"As to commercial systems, I must know to what he points, and what the general ideas are for the American trade before I can state further; but your idea of the shores of a river is perfectly right; but to put us in humour with the river he must let us have our hops upon equal terms immediately, as this is matter of real complaint.

"What have you done or can do with Sir J. Lowther? I enclose to you Lord Clermont's answer which must be peremptory; for I can have no plea to give the Order to the last upon the Earls' bench, who has reached that dignity by an extraordinary exertion of royal favour in five years from the House of Commons; and who now holds one of the best offices. As to Lord Meath, he has almost always opposed, never has asked for the Order; and Lord Rective, with every incitement from his brother-in-law Rowley to oppose, has always supported, and has a borough, and is to have three sons in the House of Commons; pray therefore state this. The approbation is come over and is notified, or to be, to all the 14. Clements the jeweller is gone over, and undertakes to have the collars and badges done in time for the 17th March. I shall therefore fix the investiture for seven or eight days earlier, and all must attend except Prince Edward, to whom, in the King's name, a dispensation will be sent; for, by the statutes, the investiture must be in a chapter holden here. Ulster has plagued me so completely, and Edmondson makes so enormous a demand, that I have determined to leave it to this Ulster, particularly as I mean to shorten much of the installation, such as the communion offering; and I see no difficulty in the making the helmets and plates, and painting the banners here. You will therefore let Edmondson know that I am not at liberty to follow my inclination in bringing him here; and, as to his drawings, I have already had the former returned *approved*, and therefore cannot alter them. Three Earls' eldest sons to be the Sovereign's squires, and three Honourables to be squires to the Prince. Lord Muskerry has eagerly wished to be the Prince's proxy, and, if Townshend does not dissuade, I will write this *humble* request. I am glad Fox abuses it, and I hope he will laugh at it in the House of Commons, as it is universally popular with all ranks of people. This is the tub for the whale.

"We say very little on your peace, for, in truth, no one understands it; and I believe as long as we have the same trade security as England, we shall look little further; as every one is too happy to have a peace here upon any terms for reasons very obvious. I trust the Bill will satisfy, and trusting to that, I wish to see the elections over as soon as possible, because I am clear they will end more quietly now than hereafter. By *now* I mean after our Bill is safe; for our installation will fill the void till the 17th March, and on the 18th I would dissolve if all is safe, with the avowed purpose of meeting, or not, as it may be wanted. This period avoids the assizes and county meetings; and in the nonsense of the farce of the Order, which will be attended from all parts of Ireland, tests will be forgot, and no regular system formed to meet so sudden an event.

"You remember the difficulties of Lord Aylmer's case; the precedent is bad, and I think that I have parried it in an application, which I made ten days since, for the same allowance in trust for him, for her, and for five children, thereby avoiding the recommendation of the peers. As to Lovett's children, I wish to gain time, for I have these cases of

misery brought forward every moment. Of the Miss Keens I never heard till this moment. You know the concordatum list was formed and closed by the Duke of Portland, and I am not responsible for, nor can I rectify his omissions; and no second list is ever prepared till the session is nearly over; and upon this list I have not even thought. Pray therefore apprise Mr. Pitt of this answer.

"The emigration to America begins early; 170 people have applied in the first vessel advertised for Philadelphia, but no property amongst them. Tell Lord Shelburne that I am full of the idea, (which he must keep secret because of our University,) of founding a Genevois College for education, in pursuance of the idea which we discussed together. Many circumstances decide me to wish to place them in the South; and I think we have nearly fixed our spot (near Waterford.) I wished to remove them from the Northern republicans, and to place them where they might make an essential reform in the religion, industry, and manners of the South, who want it more. This you must dress in a wrote detail; but only mention the spot (which they eagerly press) to Lord Shelburne and to Townshend as a secret, which must be kept till the decision is finally prepared here to be submitted."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1783, February 11. Dublin Castle.—"The messenger, after having been kept three days at the Head, accompanied your last despatches (February 8th) by express, and the whole conveyed to me ample matter for reflection. No communication, except official, has passed between Townshend and me since mine of the 25th ultimo enclosing the amendment, till this hour, in which I have (certainly very temperately) acknowledged the Bill. The reason which I there state for not calling a meeting upon the Bill is really a reason of weight; for the opinion that the Ministry is lost is decisive here; and, in such circumstances, you, who know the style of such a meeting, will not wonder that even after receiving your last letter I decline it. And, in truth, I should gain very little by it; as you will see by the annexed list of persons to whom I shewed the Bill as I had amended it, or the Bill as it stands at present, (very little differing;) and I have not found one man who has doubted the effect which it would produce of quieting every apprehension and jealousy. The three, however, whom I have named in my despatch, naturally wished to have seen it take a different turn, but yielded to the great point of *quieting*, which they looked upon as certain. Grattan however wrote to Mornington upon the subject of Fitz-Patrick's language, and of his own opinions."

Lord Chancellor

Lord Annaly

Lord Chief Justice Paterson

Lord Chief Baron Burgh

Kelly

Yelverton

Carleton

Scott

Recorder

Archbishop of Dublin

Duke of Leinster

Lord Charlemont

Lord Tyrone

Lord Shannon

Provost [of Trinity College]

Mr. Ponsonby

Foster

Conolly

Grattan

"To all of these I have specifically explained the idea of confining the operation of the Bill to the establishment of the right of Ireland, giving no opinion upon the right or practice of the British Parliament heretofore.

"From this list there is (I think) little reason to doubt that the Bill will be well supported, if they play fair; and I can solve Mr. Perry's (Pery's) conduct only in one way. I set out by thinking him very insincere, and (from his former conduct) very indifferent to the mode of this declaration of Irish rights; but I know him to have two objects; the one to revenge himself on Lord Shelburne, whom he abuses without mercy for that admirable Limerick dispute; the second to keep well with the popular party connected with the Duke of Portland, whom he imagines this critical situation will bring forward either with Lord Shelburne, or Lord North. And you will observe that the only essential difference between his Bill and ours is the declaration of what is the right under the repeal; or, in a few words, the question between Grattan and Flood; so much for what I take to be the *ratio suasona* of his conduct, to which the jealousy of the *want of communication* has probably much contributed. You will therefore see him and, with every degree of civility, and expressions of perfect confidence, press him to enter into the detail of his objections to a Bill, which, you may say, has been approved by every one here as *satisfactory*; though some respectable individuals (and with an appearance of confidence you may name Grattan and Yelverton) have wished that it had better enabled them to fight their ground; a consideration which they immediately yielded to the difficulties which had arisen in England; and, after this explanation, I cannot conceive any reason which should operate to consult his (exclusive) feelings upon this subject. My own opinion is that he acts for and in concert with Grattan; and possibly the best mode of parrying his blow would be to say that *we* do not object to his bill; and that you will shew it to the Ministers (as one that we could approve); but that you have no hopes that it will be agreed to after what has already passed. This will at least exculpate us.

"As to the more important part of your despatch, it is stated in three lines. I believe that Lord Shelburne cannot stand alone. I know the King will not hear of Fox, and I think neither His Majesty nor Lord North will venture to reunite the old opposition by restoring all as they stood in March. The solution therefore is plain; that Lord North and his friends will have a share of *office*, and will have, either avowedly or not, a share of *government*. Upon these data I will argue, and I will tell you, that which you know, that I do not care one straw for the *beaux yeux* of any one of these three powers; and, secondly, that I will act that part which an honest man ought, I mean that of supporting a Government (of which without vanity I here form the pillar,) in whatever hands I find it, so long (and no longer) as I can do it with safety and honour to myself. I did not come here for the sake of Lord Shelburne, nor is it necessary for me to decorate his exit. And I own, little as I have reason to like my situation, that I do not hold myself justified to quit on any ground but that of want of support to those points which are essential to the government of this kingdom; and, whenever that support fails, (which probably will happen as soon as they dare to withdraw it,) I shall demand an immediate recall. But I cannot bring my mind to that old system of corruption on one hand, or of faction on the other, to which we owed the American war and all its circumstances, and to which we shall owe the total overthrow of our Constitution unless the property and weight of the nobility save it. Whatever therefore is the event, I will not join an Opposition while the form of law or government continue to leave me a free man; for as I do



not look for Utopia in the hands of Lord Shelburne or Lord North, still less do I look for it elsewhere; and upon these grounds I wish most truly to support an Administration who will make head against the frenzy of reform; for I must freely own that I fear more from that reform than from the power of the Crown, which this convulsion in the empire will have truly weakened: upon this foundation I build my future conduct. Office will have little weight, for, I protest, nothing short of personal ill-treatment would hinder me taking this part in Parliament if I were recalled to-morrow; and, whenever the arrangement is settled, I will certainly contribute every exertion to *support*, though I do not say that, in all contingencies of this coalition, I will *act under it*. These opinions I really believe are your's, for your object (like mine) is legal and real government; and I do not believe that the blessings of Mr. Fox's future administration will compensate with you the mischief which a successful popular opposition will bring forward. I trust to you for early information which in my situation is invaluable; and this information you have a right to ask for me from Lord Shelburne or Townshend: from the first as matter of propriety, from the second as matter of friendship.

"An official notification shall go tomorrow to Captain Loftus with a copy of a very humiliating letter from Sir G. Yonge, and an offer of restoration to his employment, which he will notify to me in form; and pray tell him how infinitely I am pleased with his very civil and partial expressions to me in the letter to you.

"I observe by the London papers that American ships have entered at the Custom House; pray enquire from Townshend what regulations they follow, and how they dispense with the Prohibitory Bill?

"I agree with you, from Lord Bellamont's language and pamphlet, that he will support; the objection which he makes, takes its rise clearly from a knowledge of the King's ideas, which to me were strong upon this point.

"The formal approbation of the statutes, and the actual notification of the Knights will, I think, put an end to much difficulty. As to the Primate, I can hardly write that I expected him here soon, as I wrote to him the other day, upon the presumption of a longer absence, about the residence of the clergy; but you may wait upon him to say that I did not officially offer till I knew whether he wished it, but that if he did, I would still contrive it. I fancy that I shall fix the investiture for Friday the 7th March."

*Postscript.*—"I mean by your offer to Pery to prevent him from saying that he offered a Bill which *we* undertook to refuse, *preferring* another; which, you know, is only the case inasmuch as the politics of the English Cabinet have interfered with our ideas. And this offer puts us fairer with Grattan." *Unsigned.*

W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1783, February 12. Downing Street.—"The consideration of the preliminaries in the House of Commons stands fixed for next Monday. You will not wonder at the anxious desire of Government to have the address of approbation brought forward with all the weight possible. On this ground allow me to say that, if your sentiments are as favourable as I flatter myself they are to the measure, your undertaking to be the mover will be doing a great favour to us all; may I not add, doing also a great service to the public, to which I am sure you will not be indifferent.

"An independent support is indeed of the utmost importance, on such a question and in these times; to my feelings most particularly so, when it comes from a quarter to which, on every account, I naturally wish to look up. I wish very much I could have had the pleasure of seeing you instead of writing; but I find you are not expected in town on any certain day, and Petersham is, I am afraid, out of my reach at present. My brother desires his affectionate compliments. We have been truly concerned for your anxiety. I hope you will be able to confirm the good accounts of amendment.

"The Spanish ratification is not yet arrived, but I dare say will come before Monday.

[W. W. GRENVILLE to W. PITT.]

1783, February 12. [Petersham.] — "I felt quite peevish upon receiving your letter upon my return from London, where I have been this morning upon business, as I should have been much better pleased to have had an opportunity of talking with you upon the subject before I determine to take so active a part in the business it alludes to. I certainly prefer such a peace to such a war, which was tending so directly to our utter ruin, and feel obliged to that Government who have, at any rate, put a stop to the progression of evil. I must confess, at the same time, that I consider the conditions of the peace, though I am willing to believe the best that could have been obtained without the cession of Gibraltar, and, if I understand them right, far better than we had reason to expect, yet under all these circumstances, still too humiliating to Great Britain to admit of very sanguine expressions of exultation. I lament the state of the country, whilst I am ready to thank those who, not having contributed to the calamities of it, have had the courage and the perseverance to put a stop to them, at the risk of so much popular clamour and dissatisfaction. With these sentiments you will see how impossible it is for me to stand forward as the mover of an address of approbation, without knowing in what terms that approbation is to be expressed; and, indeed, without asking a question or two in explanation of the articles themselves, which are necessary to form a judgment upon the propriety of them. If you will let me know by a line to night, by the general post, when I can, with the least inconvenience to you, have an hour's conversation with you upon the subject, I will come to town on purpose; and though, in general, I do not like to stand forth so conspicuous in public questions, which I had always rather follow than lead, I do assure you the very sincere pleasure I shall at all times find in assisting any wish of yours, will make me as desirous of undertaking the business as I should otherwise be of declining it." *Copy, unsigned.*

W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1783, February 12. Downing Street.—"I shall be most happy to see you at any day and hour you will be so good to name, and will take care to have no engagements in the way. The earliest moment that may suit you will be what I most wish. I can hardly hope that you will have the leisure for such an excursion so soon as tomorrow; but I shall be at your commands either then, or at any other time."

EARL TEMPLE to W. W. GRENVILLE [in London].

1783, February 16. Dublin Castle.—"I have this morning received your letter of the 11th . . . as I answer it by the post I shall,

say little more that what Mr. Todd is welcome to see. I do not imagine that the present form of government can last six days longer. The manufacture of another is to my understanding equally clear, though in *no* contingency perfectly palatable; and, upon more than one idea, utterly irreconcilable to any principle whatsoever. I have seen in your letter no reason to alter my opinion from what I stated in my last letter of what *will* be; notwithstanding part of your details and your whole conclusion militate against it. But of this I am sure, that no man or set of men shall keep me here an hour longer than I think consistent with my own honour; and that, acting as an independent man, it is not necessary for me to grace the situation of any Minister or  
Shelburne North

ex-Minister whatsoever. I as little like Lord R5m and 32w0m8, as I do  
North and Fox  
Fz2s5h6f2d9568.

"And yet one of these must succeed, and must ultimately govern, and form that system of government which the peace will give the means of supporting, and which the circumstances of the kingdom make indispensable. We must make up our minds not to that which we might wish, but to that which is inevitable, remembering always the distinction support and acting which I made in my last between 1.hbwxn 4 oazx8 1s71dac46. I trust that nothing will make a real change in Irish measures; for, if the Bill which I have now *specifically* shewn to very many, is altered, I know that my post is not tenable; and in one contingency I see that this may be the case; and if so, it will be a pleasant regale to whoever does me the honour to replace me. We are here very quiet, but in anxious expectation for some species of government in England; and not less so for fear of the consequences which a total change would bring on in our Irish Bill; but, as to every thing else, I think there is little doubt of our doing what we wish.

"Remind Townsend that there is such a thing as an army in Ireland, which would have mutinied if, upon *newspaper* evidence, I had not proclaimed the same terms of discharge to them as appeared to have been given in England; and which must be new modelled, and ought to follow the shape of the army in England, upon which he has told me nothing; though I have specifically pointed out the necessity of some immediate communication. You may say that Ireland may be brought to maintain her 15,040 men, and may possibly spare all above 10,000 effectives; but we must get rid of some of our horse and heavy dragoons, who are remounted in England at an expence, ruinous to us, of near 50*l*. a horse, and are wholly useless here.

"There are many points which I stated as wanting explanations in former despatches; upon which you are silent for reasons which in the present moment are obvious, but which must be answered when all is fixed. But, at present, I wish you would know, and send me word by the return of the mail, whether any American passports are sent over for British traders, as our merchants are informed this is the case; and they wish to run their ventures to America as soon as the British merchants; and therefore, if passports have been sent, a proportion must be forwarded to this kingdom.

"I have heard from Lord Northington, and have declined Lady Ligonier's pension.

"The Gazette writer, in announcing the illustrious Order of St. Patrick, has left out the *most*, which shocks our Irish; and is an omission, as the King has approved the title and statutes reciting it to be the *most*

illustrious ; enquire if this was a wilful alteration, as I shall announce it with the word *most*. Townshend writes word that many English and Irish peers *were* competitors. I understand the first to be *all but* excluded, and that this Order is for Irish government not for English jobs. General Conway has proposed to me a most abominable job ; namely, that I would let him sell his clerkship of the Hanaper to Captain Ormsby, which I have refused in civil but peremptory terms. *This is truly a Conway."*

The SAME to the SAME.

1783, February 20. Dublin Castle.—“ Your letter of the 15th has this morning reached me ; and as politics can have little temptations to either of us in their present state, you will not wonder at my taking the first lines of my letter to join with you in what I know you feel for the safety of our dear Hester.”

“ I have received the enclosed from Lord Shelburne. It is worth observing upon several accounts ; first it implies but does not assert the junction with Lord North, which he plainly does not dare to avow : next it softens towards the old Opposition to which (for that reason) he supposes me inclined ; and, lastly, after laying in his claim for my following him out of office by the hint he gives, he proceeds to give a very broad hint upon Irish pensions, in consequence of a general rule which I took care to quote, when I applied for Lord Aylmer's pension. I shall give no answer till after the event of Monday, or of the debate upon the peace is known here ; for in that debate we shall I think see daylight ; and, at all events, with some general assurances of readiness to help English government, I shall, in the present moment, absolutely negative any addition to the Irish pensions which are not decreased by death or expiration of terms, and are now higher than at any time, excepting after Lord Buckinghamshire's departure. And when I write to him upon this, I will enclose to him (through you) the state and explanation of them.

“ As to your Scotch proposal, I have, after some conversation, referred it to the Revenue Board to report the *pro* and *con* to the general idea ; which seems to me to be liable to much difficulty, to be directly in the teeth of our last act (*quoad* the drying ; ) and, in all contingency, the Bill giving the power to come within low water mark, and to erect stages to dry and to cure upon the *coast*, can originate only *here* and certainly not in England ; and you must eagerly and warmly (upon constitutional grounds) reprobate *that* idea. And, as to the general principle, you will see that from the origin of the herring fishery till the 18th of the present King, Ireland has not been directly or indirectly allowed to dry and cure upon coasts, (for as to fishing it is out [of] the question on both sides,) till the very rapid increase of the Irish fisheries, not from the shifting of the herrings, which were always off Donegal Bay, but from the attention and bounties paid to it, rivalled the Scotch ; and I must contend that it is more beneficial to the empire to favour this Irish monopoly, which God has given them, than to ruin effectually this only branch of Irish industry ; which must be the consequence of the extension of British bounty to Scotchmen claiming a property in the Irish coast, because of the extension of the Irish trade. And the real truth is that these very men used to get both bounties ; and if they once set up a claim of partnership with an Irish apparent partner, I do not see how that bounty which we gave last year can be confined (as was intended) to natives ; but if the Irish

Parliament will not grant them the use of the shore, (of which I see no chance,) no English act can do it, nor should it be tried.

"I still hold my wish about the dissolution as soon after the 18th as we can, for the very reasons which strike you; but I do not venture to hope for it till we are sure about our peerages; for, without them, you know I cannot go on. Every day gives me better hopes of what might be done, for I truly think that the bulk of Ireland will be quiet; and notwithstanding Perry's wickedness, for I will call it so, I will hope that he is the only dissatisfied man; and I think, between us, we have solved his conduct. You do not say one word about treaties of commerce; your reason is probably obvious; but Lord Shelburne must explain upon it. And you must enforce with him and Townshend the necessity of sending to us some of their passes, which they have advertised in the Gazette without communicating one word of it to me. I have written for them officially; and by the King's command, am preparing an establishment for the army; but am much in the dark till I learn the formation of the English corps, as I wish to form ours so as to exchange. I fancy there will be no difficulty here about keeping the same establishment of money, as before the war; Grattan and Company accede to it cagerly.

"Our ball was the fullest and most splendid ever seen, though not a Parliament winter; hardly a lady of quality absent; and on my part every thing was done as you will imagine. The enclosed which I have just cut from the *Dublin Evening [Post]* will shew you that my transparency has its effect. Our Order goes on very well, and the investiture is fixed for the 8th. I have writ to desire that the statutes may be returned to me signed, and that no dispensation may be given but to Prince Edward, to whom Lord Muskerry wishes to be proxy; and every one is mad about this nonsense, which I am tired to death of.

"Though I wish to see you here, yet I wish you not to bring the 3rd reading of our Bill, but to stay for its 2nd reading in the Lords; for I much suspect a trick, knowing the good-will from more than one . . . I have suspected *him* for some time and trust him accordingly; if you can detect him, I will not hesitate a moment."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1783, March 1. Dublin Castle.—"Six mails (judge my impatience) have arrived this morning, by which I have had three different letters from you; that which reasons upon the state of the coalition is the most important and to that I direct my answer; for the slip of information you enclosed under cover to Bernard dated the 24th, (which is the last date from you,) makes no alteration in my ideas. I have argued in my former letters upon the probable junction of Lord Shelburne and Lord North, and from various reasons I looked upon it as certain; and still think that it will be the ultimate arrangement, unless Lord North is strong enough to fight the game singly. However, in the present moment it is out of the question; and although you might have collected from my letters a disposition to such an arrangement, leaving always *ad referendum* the question of acting under it, yet the probable arrangement of Lord North and Mr. Fox, is of a very different complexion; and after having given to it every attention which the materials furnished by you can afford to me, and after having turned the possibility of it in my thoughts for the last seven days, I am prepared with my decision, and that decision is to resign as soon as the new Ministry composed of Mr. Fox and Lord North is notified to me; and this intention I mean to keep secret till the moment, though I shall

leave it to be understood in my answer to the Duke of Portland, which I will send to you when I have finished it tomorrow.

"I agree perfectly with you in the whole of your reasoning upon the motives public and private for such a resignation, particularly in the firm belief that such a vessel cannot hold together ; perhaps it will not even be launched ; but confident I am that, if the Duke of Portland really believes all which he would wish me to believe, he is as egregious a dupe as I should be if I acted upon such a certainty. It cannot be Lord North's intention to retire upon emolument, with an actual majority in favour of whichever party he supports ; and I should have a better opinion of his good faith, if he battled more eagerly for power in the early moments of the coalition. But, as things are now arranged, he means either now, or hereafter, to kick away these few additional steps to the ladder by which he mounts ; and, to speak sincerely, I protest to heaven I would sooner support Lord North first and sole minister, than such a coalition whose weakness is too palpable, as it does not seem to me to stand upon one inch of public ground ; and to revolt every feeling which can do honour to human nature ; and consequently, by attempting to court popularity as a necessary step, they will be led to concessions to popular frenzy of a nature very hazardous to the existence of our Constitution ; a dread which I seriously conceive, and which has occurred to me even in the question upon Lord Shelburne and Pitt ; and good God ! how much stronger in such a coalition ? Thinking therefore that such a junction cannot exist upon private grounds of good will, regard, and attachment, nor upon public grounds, (for what public ground which drove them from Lord Shelburne could drive them into the arms of Lord North,) I can give one reason only for their conduct, and to that I will be no party ; though I so truly see the consequence of my departure that there is not a man or men whom I would not strive to act with, if possible.

"But if these general principles are strong enough to decide me, think how much they are strengthened by a reflection upon the operation to be produced upon my situation by such a change. I am (by Tom's letter, and perhaps it may be implied in the Duke of Portland's letter) to have full and ample support : now apply this proposition. The Duke is to be in the Treasury ; Mr. Fox, certainly not blind to the extensive power and patronage of that department, will be the Home Secretary ; and consequently these two will be my two correspondents. From the earliest hour we saw the weakness of the Duke's system in Ireland ; we thought it necessary to break through it (for we bought our experience as you well remember,) and have successfully attended to a description whom he by every exertion depressed. This plan has been even hinted at in my correspondence ; and, by looking at great objects in our Irish treaty, and not confining ourselves to the narrow views of one party, we have gained a solid and real strength in Ireland, though certainly in the teeth of the party whom the Duke supported. And my firm opinion is, that we shall always find it necessary to look to the old court here, and not to those whom every gale will turn ; and that upon such a general disposition will depend my government in Ireland ; and that, consequently, it must be supported and enforced in England, or *actum est*. Now let me ask you, who will support such a plan ? Will the Duke of Portland, actually now in correspondence with Lord Charlemont and Yelverton ? Will Mr. Fox, himself corresponding with Mr. Grattan, and deploring the turn giving by our Irish bill, (not to speak of the pleasant private intercourse of the two Sheridans, which you may possibly trace in London as I do here.) Does this system hold out encouragement ? Can I have confidence enough to propose my plan ? Can I think that

they will accede to it; or, if they do, can I imagine that the whole *onus* will not be thrown upon me? And the only difference will be that Lord Ocharlemont and Grattan will state themselves as speaking the sense of the cabinet, instead of Lord Bellamont. My only alternative therefore (in case of such an arrangement) is to wait till there is sufficient strength to disgrace and to drive me from this situation, as a deserter from every set of men; or to resign now upon a ground fairly defensible, that such an arrangement does not hold out the prospect of a permanent and solid administration which is material to the interests of both kingdoms and peculiarly of this. My official despatches still are addressed as usual, nor shall I write to any human being till I determine to send my formal letter for recall. I need not say how much it pains me to see you return to your laborious Lincoln's Inn, which probably will be your system; but we must stand and fall together; though I fear that this together will exclude Tom [Grenville,] whose letter you will seal and send to him, taking care not to appear to have read it; but you will speak the same language from me as it conveys. I know not what to say about Jemmy [Grenville.] I know his situation is not pleasant, and it will be less so to be turned over according to your idea. I clearly wish that we should always be fortunate enough to act together, but I will not wish any one to make a sacrifice for me or my opinions. State therefore to Jemmy my eager and sincere wish that he will do that which his inclination and opinion suggests to him, and I shall be satisfied.

"Official notices have been sent some time to all the Knights for the investiture on the 8th, and the installation on the 17th; but, this moment, to my utter surprise, I receive a letter from Lord Antrim, in answer to one I sent recommending to him to think better of persisting to refuse to give up the Bath. In consequence of this refusal I write to know the King's pleasure; and, if he should think that by this refusal Lord Antrim *declines* St. Patrick, to recommend Lord Arran, whose borough influence is just strengthened by a marriage which gives him two more seats. But, as the time will not admit of delay, you must desire (whoever is minister) that an answer may be sent; and, in all events, I shall not invest Lord Antrim on the 8th, nor till the King's pleasure is known. All the robes are to be made here and will arrive in time, and a circular letter has been sent to all the Knights who are in England; but you may as well send them a line to apprise them of it, and to request that for their own sakes they will attend, as they will lose their precedence if they are absent. A letter of notification shall be sent to propose the Primate as the prelate; but you must enquire why the statutes, which ought to have been returned a month ago, never have been returned under the sign manual. I mean to send to you a badge and riband which you must present to the King in the cabinet for Prince Edward, together with a star; and this will give you an opportunity of talking a little Irish politics if *he* shall be so inclined; in which if you engage, you will be cautious as to what pledges me; though you need not be under difficulties for general opinions as to things in Ireland, and particularly recommend to him to think over a Parliament which my *successor* must meet in the spring." *Unsigned.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1783, March 2. [Dublin Castle.]—"No mail is arrived this day; and I have thought it best to send the enclosed letter to the Duke of

Portland. You will see the ground which I have taken; and every moment I see further difficulties to the practicability of obviating the real inconveniences which I stated to you yesterday as the certain consequences of my acquiescence. Thank God I am perfectly satisfied with myself, and I have nothing to hope, or fear, still less to regret, upon any account except of those who have pinned themselves upon my fortunes. You will shew the Duke's letter to my brother, if you wish it; to Jemmy, and to any one else who may misconceive it, (if it should be matter of conversation there;) for, here, I have not shewn it to a soul. You will observe that I am tender upon the coalition; but I truly feel every indignation at such a partition treaty.

"The mail is just come in by which the papers of the 25th are arrived, but, as no express or messenger is come from you, I conclude that nothing was settled on the 26th. All here are truly anxious; and, without vanity, I fancy that every inducement will be held out to me to remain. The county of Dublin meet on Tuesday, and the City on the next day, to address me to remain; and I have reason to think that this practice will be very general, and, at all events, will grace my exit. Adieu. I am truly contented with myself, and wish that you may feel the same indignation at this monopoly of government, if the compact exists to form a system; and at the profligacy of it, if it means only to betray."

"Whoever is Minister must send me an order to take off the Cork embargo, now laid upon beef to France, Spain, Holland, and America; and must send me the blank American and European passes; and this you must send about instantly, for it suspends all the trade of Ireland. The Genevois gravely proposed that Ireland should lend 100,000*l.* more, and are refused." *Not signed.*

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1783, March 7. Dublin Castle.—"The mail of Saturday the 1st is arrived with Mornington on board; but not one line from you. I collect however that Lord North was on Saturday evening with the King; and I have little doubt that long before this time the Ministry is formed; and, as soon as it is notified to me, my resolution is taken. I have had much conversation with your friend, and am glad to find him impressed with the same ideas with myself; but I begin from his conversation to fear for our Bill. If *that* is thrown out, I *neither* will nor can stay here longer than to make out a commission for Lord Deputy or Lord Justices; for I need not expatiate upon what you know will be the certain consequences of *such* a refusal. I mean to write one short despatch when they shall have notified their formation to me; to address them to my former despatches for a judgment upon this kingdom; and I shall tell them that you will be ready to attend them to hold out the necessity of pursuing *that* Bill; but, if they shall refuse this, I shall decline all further communication of opinions to them, as I cannot foresee any but the most fatal consequences. I send this by the post, but propose, as soon as your news arrives of any final settlement, to despatch the messenger, who will probably deliver his packet to you even before this reaches you. For fear however of accidents, I shall not direct this letter. Good God! what a scene has this last month opened? It has truly killed my ambition; and you will easily believe what (under such feelings) would have been my answer if the proposal had been made to which you alluded; though, as I hope salvation, I would have undertaken it, unequal as I am, if I could have



seen the means of saving the kingdom from this foul coalition for one month ; because, after that time, the popular indignation will do all I wish.

" The death of the Chancellor's fat Hewitt, and another arrangement enables me to give Bernard 400*l.* per annum ; this therefore is off my mind ; and if I could now provide for you, the brother of my affection, my task is done to my content. You will have seen a cloud of my addresses ; the rage is not short of infatuation ; that of the City is in a most singular style ; and the delivery of it with my answer will be long remembered as the most extraordinary scene to which the throne was ever witness. The County of Dublin address me to-morrow ; and the mob of Dublin on Monday. My answer is equivocal ; but *mon parti est pris* and only waits for the formal letter.

" All our preparations are ready, but the investiture is deferred till Tuesday ; the Archbishop of Dublin is outrageous about the Primate's prelacy."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1783, March 12. Dublin Castle.—" The packet which you will receive with this encloses the Prince's badge, which you will ask an audience from his Majesty in order to deliver ; and to acquaint him that his pleasure was obeyed in notifying yesterday, the day of the investiture, that the Prince was to be invested in London. You will likewise, after reading and sealing, deliver this manifesto to the King, containing my reasons for leaving Ireland. I had drawn them up some days since, but waited for the new Ministry in order to send my formal resignation. That was impossible from the constant delay, which every mail seemed still further to protract ; and there were many reasons which you will approve for not losing an hour. I trust that you will approve the tenor of the *memoire justificatif*, which presses most seriously and solemnly upon my feelings the impracticability (even if it were *tanti*) of going on with the probable Ministers ; and I protest that I see no reason for concealing that indignation which I so truly feel at this abominable coalition, which I reprobate in the strongest manner. But, as I really do not quarrel with the King, I wish to stand well with and to conciliate his goodwill, which I think I shall not lose by this letter.

" I have this moment received your's of the 6th by Captain Loftus, and am overjoyed that you feel as I do about resignation ; as to Lincoln's Inn do as you will, and my pride will be to see you independent. Shew my letter to the King to Jemmy, as his very kind conduct merits every return of confidence and affection ; and I trust you will both approve it. As to the mode of giving it, you must say *that in consequence of his Majesty's kind permission to you to have the honour of seeing him some time since, I have availed myself of that goodness to convey to him a detail interesting to Ireland and to myself, which I could not trust to the possible official communication of Fox ;* and this you may do after Sunday's drawing room, or Monday's levée, by informing the Lord of the Bedchamber that you are directed by me to ask an audience for delivering to his Majesty Prince Edward's badge.

" The addresses crowd upon me, and hitherto I give an equivocal answer ; but, as soon as the messenger returns, I shall speak out ; and as Lord Shelburne will know my intentions by the enclosed, it can be no secret 24 hours after you receive this. Luttrell, who attended an address this morning, told me that, if I went, I had not only dressed a

dish for my successor, but peppered it, and salted it. Bernard is most lucky, for, by Hewitt's death, he is Examiner of the Hearth money collection, at 300*l.* *per annum* clear. I wish I could destroy some Conway [or] Sackville who would make way for you, and I should not feel a regret."

"Jemmy may resign whenever he thinks best; but I think he should have an audience for it, and not be *tacked* as an appendage to Shelburne. Notify this to Pitt, and dwell much upon my assurances to you, that if *he* had taken the Treasury I would have remained.

"Best congratulations to Townshend."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1783. March 20. Dublin Castle.—"This day's mail has brought me your letter of the 15th, with the strange information of the difficulty which had that day arisen. It is plain that the King hoped to divide; but I think it equally certain that he must give way, and, at all events, I still shall continue firm to that system, and to that letter which you have so long since received. As to my letter to the Duke of Portland, you will recollect that when you received it you was master of the whole *carte du pays*; but when I wrote it, I knew that the Treasury was offered to Pitt, but not that he had refused it. I was prepared to have acted with him in this situation, and it required some difficulty to keep that line clear for myself, and yet to refuse the Duke of Portland; this naturally threw an appearance of irresolution, where none was meant; but, before this, my letter of resignation will have been received, and will have settled every doubt. I have thought if fair to apprise some few individuals of this event, and therefore it cannot remain a secret; and, if it is known to Mr. Fox, it will not be long a secret here, as Sheridan has spoken to Bernard about my letter to the Duke of Portland, and has offered him ten to one that I stay. So much for delicacy, and therefore it need no longer be a mystery.

"The enclosed despatch is in answer to one which was written some weeks since; and the subject has employed me completely at leisure hours. I think that the King will thank me for the numbers, (higher than in the last peace though the expence is the same;) and I have the comfort of knowing that it is really a useful arrangement; and, by the best information which I can collect, I do not apprehend any danger in carrying it through, and without much dissatisfaction. But all ideas of this sort must be for the amusement of my successor, for whose arrival I am truly anxious; for, in any contingency, after the total stop which this *interregnum* has given to my plans, such as the dissolution of Parliament, peerages, I should probably persist in my wish to quit; although I own that the assisting Pitt would hold out a strong temptation to me. The parade of our Knights is over, much to my satisfaction; but very much, I believe, to the satisfaction of all Ireland, who seem to have embarked eagerly in the idea. The volunteers offered *me* their services, which I accepted, to line a part of the streets, and the whole passed off very well. The addresses to me still continue in very strong terms; to which I still give very civil but very equivocal answers, and shall continue this language till the official answer relieves me.

"General Cuninghame has been wonderfully attentive to me; he has writ to me every night from Brookes's, and sometimes two or three letters in a night, according as the great orator of that society communicated the news of the day. You will see, (as I gave him hopes

of succeeding to Burgoyne,) that I think it but fair to apprise him of my intention to resign, or rather of my having actually done it; although he will probably have heard it before from the same very secret intelligence of the general circle at Brookes's.

"I much wish now that, (in any way which may occur to you,) every impatience may be marked for my recall, consistent with the King's service; and, as to Irish details, it is easy to say very little by choosing to suppose that the Duke of Portland and Fitz-Patrick must be so well informed; but, if they press, you will go into generals *so long as they do not attack our Legislature Bill*. Adieu. I write to Lord Nugent and to Bulkeley to let them know my measures, which you will mention to Neville and Fortescue and Sir W[atkin] W[illiams] W[ynn]; with some hints as to the votes of the latter, if you dare."

S. BERNARD and EARL TEMPLE to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1783, March 23. Phoenix Lodge [Dublin].—"I do not pretend to describe my feelings upon the receipt of your most kind letter of the 12th instant. . . But I must break off from this subject to obey your brother's commands by writing you a detail of what occurs to me as most striking in the situation of things here. The addresses go on with tolerable spirit: nine already presented, and others voted but not yet arrived at the capital. A very warm and affectionate one from the County of Galway, presented this day, seems to curse the consequences of the coalition when it concludes with this sentence; *We cannot without anxiety hear that some change is now meditated in His Majesty's Ministry in England, only because we fear it may lead to the departure of your Excellency which, whenever it may happen, we must feel with regret and meet with reluctance*. This regret upon the apprehension of this event is, I will assure you, so general that, exclusive of the addresses, it resounds from every quarter; and notwithstanding there are necessarily a few, Ponsonbyites and others, who do not feel it, yet, on account of the general disposition of the people, there is not one of them who dares avow their unfriendly sentiments. They merely content themselves with underhand attempts to check the ardour for addresses, by insinuating that unfair steps have been taken by the friends of Government to solicit them; though at a time when there never was so strict and honourable a delicacy observed on the subject, insomuch that not a single letter has been written on the subject, nor the copy of any one address seen before it was actually voted. Higgins has had variety of letters, some directly and others obliquely charging Government with these dealings; all of which he has refused to insert, specifying the subjects to the public and the reasons why he did not admit them, after the manner of that which I enclose. The money sent with these productions has been too great to come from any obscure, indifferent individuals; with one it appears that H[iggins] received 7, and with another 2 guineas, and so on; and from the person sent to receive this money, upon it's being returned, there is reason to refer them to the family of a Right Honourable Gentleman whom I need not have named, for you would know it to be Mr. Ponsonby. So much for the underhand dealings of one set of men.

"Now for the open dealings of another set, directly opposite to them. These are the persons who received injuries from and were consequently hated by the Duke of Portland; and now they are all horror and dismay least some minion of his Grace's should be sent over to restore the old junto. Cornet Brown called

on me yesterday upon the report which gained ground just then of your brother's intention ; *obstupuit, steteruntque comae*. He protested that notwithstanding his family had hitherto reserved their sentiments, yet they were in reality most strongly attached to Lord Temple's Government; that they and their neighbours in Mayo would evince it by the address which they were about to promote; which he was sure would equal in affection any that had been presented. At the same time they must be excused if it implied a censure, in case Lord Temple should abandon Ireland to the former party. He gave a whimsical reason why your brother should not go, which however I find others harp upon, namely, that it would be an acknowledgment of the power of the English Ministry over this country which no Irishman could admit. Such are the sentiments of two little parties of men, guided by petty selfish views.

"As for the general mass of the people, abstracted from party, their addresses will fully show their sentiments; from which, notwithstanding the almost extravagant warmth of some of them, not a single man, however from passions unfriendly disposed, dare express his dissent or disapprobation. The numbers that flocked to vote the address from Galway were so great, that they could not assemble at their usual place, but were obliged to meet in the church as at the famous Belfast meeting. I feel an anxious suspense to see what effects will first shew themselves upon your brother's resolution first getting abroad. At present all is mere surmise; and the very household continue to amuse themselves with speculating whether they are to lose their warm berths in the Castle. We shall have quitted this place at the very pinnacle of our glory; and shall leave a great many friends jealous of our honour and regardful of our memory; and who will not patiently suffer any slur to be thrown on the splendour of these six months of your brother's government, which I am confident are not to be paralleled."

"Bernard has been writing this while I have copied mine to the King. I send it open, and you have the former envelope in which you may put it, as I write at the park where I have not my wafer seal. I approve much of your general reasonings upon personifying my charges; and have therefore, in every instance, omitted names where a slur can be thrown: and I think have dressed it more to the taste of the day; though you will observe that I much discourage the idea of remaining here in *any contingency*, from a sense of the mischief which the last two months have brought forward; such as deranging our Parliamentary plan, and reducing me in the contingency of being obliged to meet the Parliament (which I suppose must be for commercial purposes unavoidable soon) to the choice of the old or new, without giving sufficient time for the electing a new, or canvassing an old House of Commons. Add to this that in some counties tests have been proposed, and that, in general, they are upon their guard very completely; and, if we are to meet, I have not had time to discuss with Ministry the Post Office Bill, and the Admiralty Court, both of which are indispensable, *cum multis aliis* commercial. So much for real difficulties which every hour increase; and I do not see the means of parrying.

"As to the King I look upon him as a prisoner, for, if they agree upon nothing else they will contrive to make something like a Government; and, if so, you will agree with me that the sooner I go the better; *bien entendu* that the King shall have every degree of time and facility; but I shall certainly declare myself to have *resigned, because I would not form part of that coalition; but that I keep my office at the King's request till the new Administration is settled*. In one case only can I have difficulty, and that is on the supposition that Pitt should still take the Treasury; to

which this cabal may *possibly* give him the means. But, even then, if I should determine to stay, I may vote such a change no real change, and therefore not calling upon me to retire; though I own I cannot wish for such a difficulty. Duke of Portland and Fox write over the daily *precis* of their negotiations; not very truly, but evidently with the intention of fighting a game here. All this will make it very difficult to remain, and I much wish you in your next interview to let the King see this strongly, for, once for all, I do not see how I am to have that confidence which he truly states as necessary, and which I cannot have in any case but where Pitt is at the head of the Treasury. Your anecdote, or rather the King's, upon Lord Bellamont, is truly absurd, but I suppose it will throw him again into opposition. You will see by my style of letter how little I have to add to what you will collect either from these few lines, or from that to the King; nor, in the present moment, can I venture to form a Ministry in my mind's eye, and then declare that I will act under it. All that you can do is to make every difficulty, and to take every thing *ad referendum*, excepting those opinions of mine which I have already stated to the King, upon which you may expatiate; but at all events, for God's sake, stay where you are till the whole takes some decided shape. This *entrée* at Buckingham House will give me great means; and you should remain where you are, as, in every contingency of a new Ministry, much communication must be made immediately to the King.

"Lord Shelburne has the Garter, Lord Thurlow a pension, Lord Grantham the same, Townshend a peerage, as marks of the King's satisfaction; would it be improper or impossible to state that I am returning (such as I am) without any feather? Write me word if anything can, or, by the appearance of things, ought to be done on this subject, not forgetting the Duke of Rutland. The Duke of Portland's state to his meeting agrees with the account which he wrote to Mr. Ponsonby, and which Sheridan wrote to his brother; and the whole style of the King's conversation to you is exactly of a piece with his language to me. . . You will dress up loyalty, attachment, and my determination to wait his time, and determination to oppose his new Government to his heart's content. I have chosen to state that Government in my letter as the certain event; and really still think so, and reason upon it; and you will observe to the King that I have no *datum* upon which I can conceive any other arrangement *possible*."

#### EARL TEMPLE to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1783, March 28. Dublin Castle.—"Your letter of the 24th is this moment arrived. I cordially agree with you in the wish that the King would have let them try their strength; but, good God! where is this to end? I have talked much with Mornington upon the state of things here, and you will know much from him of the conduct of George Ponsonby, who is by this time in London. I have stated to him the opinion I have upon that subject, and the jealousy upon the subject of Yelverton, who is, I know, very much swayed by the petulant gentleman whom I have above stated. All this would be truly unpleasant, as they have shewn their teeth upon the idea of my irrevocable resignation in consequence of the Duke of Portland's irrevocable appointment. That seems now out of the question, and yet I cannot comprehend the negative to the Duke of Portland without being sure of Pitt, (for I cannot conceive a substitute for him,) or without some ostensible line or reason. I do not reason upon the

Gowers from the language of M'Donald, who has frequently overrun himself and is a most incautious speaker, unless I draw from it a conclusion totally differing from every idea of an administration under Pitt; namely, a coalition of all the Gowers (under Thurlow,) of the Scotch, of the Jenkinson, the Ellis, and that description of King's friends, which, if supported by draughts from the three contending powers under the general wish for any administration rather than none, might slip into employment and leave Lord North to his new allies. This is the only solution to an idea for a moment of carrying on a Government independent of Pitt. Under all these circumstances my resignation is matter of real comfort to me; particularly as the letter to the King, which you will have received on Thursday the 27th (at latest,) will have thrown ample doubts upon my continuance in *any contingency*; and you will observe that this management of Ponsonby is the first blessed fruit of this *interregnum*.

"Every thing here is quiet, and I hope will remain so. The addresses crowd in thick upon me and hold the most flattering language; but nothing of this sort will tempt me for a moment to remain where I do not clearly see my way. My inclinations go warmly to support and to join with Pitt; and I wish that you would cement it as strongly as, with propriety, you can. Burgoyne hopes to be Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance in England; but does not open upon the idea of quitting this kingdom in either contingency. I have taken some pains to countenance gravely an idea that Lord Derby is to be my successor. It is believed, and Burgoyne gravely writes to dissuade him from it.

"I have, at the report of the Attorney and Solicitor General, pardoned and released Fitz-Gerald. Lord Altamont has this moment (*midnight*) writ to beg an audience for tomorrow, being just arrived from Mayo, I take it for granted frightened at the idea of such a pardon. This interview therefore will be truly amusing. The Provost (reminding me always of his claims to the seals of Chancellor) is vastly anxious of a report about Rigby's negotiation with Lord Lifford for the sale of Master of the Rolls to Baron Power; who is then to vacate the Usher of the Exchequer, valued at 900*l. per annum*, for Joseph Hewitt. Pray try if you can discover any idea of this in London."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1783, April 2, 11 pm. [Dublin Castle.]—"If I loved you before, I have more reason at this moment to feel your value in the very discreet and prudent use which you have made of your interviews with the King. I perfectly approve of all what you have said, or rather what you have not said: and, from variety of reasons, I think as you do that it was not meant as an offer, but as an indication of goodwill and of approbation. In the few lines which I have before written upon the subject, I had stated to you my absolute inability to undertake such a task without that support in the House of Commons which, it was clear, I could not expect; for, supposing that Pitt's judgement upon his means was as sound as I have reason to imagine it is,

*Si Pergama dextrâ  
defendi possent, istâ defensa fuissent;*

and without him, or Townshend, or Tom Pitt, I do not see the means of standing for an instant upon the stage against Lord North and Fox; and this upon the supposition that no other obstacles were in the way. But with the scene which you so forcibly and

so truly paint, I see little hopes of turning this golden opportunity (for what will not the kingdom owe to any one who will even venture to try to save her) to the purposes of fair and of honourable ambition.

"And if these difficulties strike me, will they not, have they not operated upon the mind of his Majesty? Can they have escaped him? and if not, what is his object? I see but one solution. Pitt has failed him; to Lord North he is implacable; he can look only to one object, and that is a coalition of all the King's friends under Lord Thurlow and the Bedfords. Such an arrangement would draw off many from Lord North; several who now act would remain; and upon the whole it would form nearly the *corps d'armée* which we defeated last year. There was a time when my ideas would have revolted at any contact with such men; but, looking upon the whole system to be totally changed by this unprincipled manœuvre of Fox and Lord North, I own that I should feel an eager wish to support any arrangement which would combat this combination. But you will easily believe that as to remaining in this employment under them, no consideration should tempt me short of those of battle, murder, and civil war, with which Lord Nugent has this night threatened me. And yet I do not think that the King has given up this idea; but that he hopes (if such a Ministry is in his contemplation) that I may be worked upon to continue in Ireland; and this may perhaps be the clue to much of what has passed, and what may hereafter come. Upon this apprehension, (although I truly trust to your discretion) I have ordered the packet to return as soon as I have finished this, to remind you how necessary it must be to fight off such an idea, which possibly may be pressed upon a ground which I am sensible I have given him in my letter, namely that of his protection, without any particular intercourse with his Ministers. That this must hereafter be the *bona fide* solution for the Lieutenant of Ireland I have no doubt; but, in the present moment, we are not quite ripe for it either in England, or in Ireland. If this then is the King's resource, I fear that we are gone indeed; as I hardly think he can form such an administration, so as to be permanent; and, if so, it must fall into the hands of those from whom I would wish to keep it; for I have no faith that Lord Shelburne can ever head an opposition, or restore himself to popular confidence or goodwill. After all, however, *that* is my least concern. My first object is to see the King and government saved if possible; my second is to preserve my own character; and my last object that of my own situation in any arrangement which can accomplish the first. Much more may be said upon this subject whenever the King's answer comes to me; but, in the present moment, I would not even wish you to take notice of any answer, further than, in very general terms, expressing my wish to be useful, but my want of necessary information, either upon the political (external) state of Great Britain, or particularly of the same political (internal) state; and above all the total defalcation of strength in the House of Commons; that these considerations press upon my mind, so as to leave it under great difficulties arising from my wishes and my fears. This language may be turned so as to sound well; but I hardly think that the offer (if it is such) will be repeated; for, from every consideration, how is it possible that government should be delayed to the 7th, the probable day for your receiving this? Adieu. I am eager to send away the messenger. I have written to Townshend, and I hope you as well as he will be content.

"There is a Fencible riot at Kilkenny, but I hope no great thing; at all events I have refused to move them, and have ordered 400 cavalry to

be ready to support them. Our army is all quiet, under orders which I issued promising the discharge at the proper time of all who are entitled."

The SAME to the SAME.

1783, April 4. [Dublin Castle.]—"I enclose to you two letters; that upon the Kilkenny riot states all I know about it, except that Butler has behaved very ill.

"The more I think upon the subject of your last letter and my answer, the more I am confirmed in my opinion that we have been right in our conjecture of what was intended by the detail which you sent to me. You will easily believe how anxiously I wait for further information; but, whatever you suffer in England, it is nothing compared to the scene which is still *in petto*, if the coalition carries all before it, which seems inevitable. The ferment against this new system is as strong as with you; and I have vanity enough to think my determination to quit is the *primum mobile* of that ferment. This day has brought to me a very strong address from the Dublin regiment commanded by the *Duke of Leinster*. I mention it only as a proof of the general disposition. Yelverton has complained to me that he has been neglected of late; and has *cried* because I told him that, meaning to quit, I have not dipped him in opinions or measures which may be reversed by my successor. I believe him satisfied; but Sheridan governs him whenever he wishes it, and I need not add what the result is. His great jealousy arose from a paragraph in the *Dublin Evening [Post]* that *Scott was gone to London to negotiate for the King's Bench*; and when I told him that the real object was to save his office, he seemed at ease. All else is well, but I wish for many reasons that it were over; as this *interregnum*, to use Lord Beauchamp's words, *unsettles men's allegiance*."

The SAME to the SAME.

1783, April 6. Dublin Castle.—"You will receive enclosed my answer to the King, which you probably will present to him without loss of time. You will consult Jemmy upon the mode, but I should think that, having lost the medium of Lord Sydney, you must write a note to the King to desire his permission to wait upon him. I most perfectly approve your caution with respect to the object which I pointed out to you, and which circumstances clearly do not allow in the present moment. But, as I own that I should wish to retire with some mark of the King's favour, particularly as these distinctions have been held out to all his confidential servants, I will propose not to distress him by an application for an advance in the peerage, for the Garter, or any distinction which may involve him with his new Ministers; but, as my abandonment of this situation may be and is much misrepresented, and as I wish to have a public testimonial of his favour, I will desire to have his permission to retain and wear that badge which I now wear, as an honourable distinction to me as having being allowed to found it under his orders; and *pressing for no further mark of his approbation, till circumstances may enable him to think of me for the mark of goodness, to which he was pleased to listen before I left England*. You will easily judge my true reason for this application, which is not officially made because I would not distress him, if he should think it improper. And in case he should comply, ask in what manner it would please him that I should apply for it.

"I begin to be exceedingly apprehensive upon the subject of our Irish Bill; because I am fully determined not to consent to any alteration of



it, and yet I think such a proposition highly probable. I wish you therefore, most strongly, to remain and watch that progress, without, however, exerting yourself to bring it forward; but merely confining yourself to representations while the alterations or rejection are depending, and to a strong and eager protest in the House of Commons, as soon as the measure is adopted. No notification of the new Ministry has yet arrived, and, therefore, I have not begun my correspondence, which will consist of little more than of a reference to my despatches for the state of Ireland, and to my letter of resignation for my future intentions. I have a pride in the present moment which I know you will share with me; and that is the taking the first and only opportunity of accomplishing the only provisions which the Duke of Portland pressed upon me; and in this pride at this moment I know you will truly join. The total and absolute failure of Mr. Tunnadine, Master in Chancery and Commissioner of Appeals, makes it necessary to dismiss him. These offices provide for Doyle and Coppinger, and give me a satisfaction which I need not express. All other considerations are indeed trifling; but I own I feel them strongly for some of my unfortunate household, out of which number, however, Sir Scrope Bernard and Dame Eleanor his wife are happily excepted.

"I have now little more to add, except my heartfelt satisfaction at the close of this scene; a close truly honourable to ourselves, and laying the sure foundations for that fair superstructure of public character and public life which for you I truly wish, and as truly wish not for myself. I have a most affectionate letter from Neville professing his readiness to share my situation. Thank him for it in terms as strong as I would have made use of, if I had time. I am in debt likewise to Fortescue for a letter, but they are both of them in my debt for the regard I bear to them. I am truly anxious to know my successor. Whoever he may be, his situation is not to be envied. Let him however find out that truth when it is too late for him to retract. But, at all events, lay in with the King my claim to be allowed to press my recall in the strongest terms, if a successor is not immediately appointed.

"Burgoyne has just sent to me the enclosed letters, which you will transmit. I have apprized him of Severn's death, and it is not necessary that I should know that Cuninghame is a candidate, particularly as what Lord Sydney states is true, that he really has no claim to it."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1783, April 16. Dublin Castle.—"I feel every indignation at the perusal of your letter conveying to me the detail of the public and private language of the Duke of Portland upon the Irish Bill. The despatch which I enclose to you will probably bring them to their senses; and, at all events, I wish you (as soon as you have sent it to Lord North) to apprise the Duke of Portland that you have transmitted a very interesting despatch from me, and that you are ready to receive the commands of the King's servants upon it. The text is very plain; and your preaching upon it will not leave it less explicit than I have tried to make it; and I think that I have parried what I cannot help thinking a very iniquitous design. My opinion is that the Duke of Portland did not mean to oppose, but meant not to pledge himself to approve; and that he means to state this as my measure to which he is no party, and afterwards to build up another structure of popularity for himself. If so, his plan has not succeeded; for I have rested the whole upon the contingency of his meaning to pursue the same system as I

have proposed, and evidently left for myself that solution of which I will avail myself if they attempt to play me foul hereafter.

"I have not had time to think over my line of conduct if they still refuse to pass the Bill, or send a successor. I would immediately name Lords Justices, but that the Duke of Portland would thank me for that solution which I rather think has been proposed to him from hence. If, therefore, nothing is done after such a refusal, I would wish you to consult Pitt, Jemmy Grenville, Lord Sidney, T. Pitt, or any one else in whom you have confidence, upon the propriety of stating this subject in the House of Commons, and moving for this last despatch which I have not marked secret, and which is therefore only a common Office letter. However, I think that they will pass it in consequence of this despatch; and possibly find fault with it afterwards; and in that contingency the blame will remain with them. Yelverton is gone to England probably upon the same errand with G. Ponsonby. The objection *that the Bill does not express the inherent right* is entirely new to me; but possibly that may be the ground in Ireland. But in England, considering how deeply Fox, Lord North, Lord Carlisle, Lord Stormont are pledged, I do not see how the *inherent right* is to be supported.

"Old Ponsonby has been with me, and I have charged him very directly with the *tracasserie* of his son, and in very round terms; to which he acceded, made many excuses, said that he could not manage him, and that he could not pretend to excuse him for the *impropriety* of his conduct. You will judge my pleasure, whilst the Duke of Portland is playing this unworthy game in England, in having provided for the only three requests which he made to me; namely a Majority for Allen, and preferment for Coppinger and Doyle, both of whom are provided for by Tunnadine, a Master in Chancery and Commissioner of Appeals, absconding in the public debt. I have not writ to the Duke, but leave him to find it out as he can from the correspondence which he keeps in Ireland. When G. Ponsonby returns I shall perhaps see him, and shall then determine upon my conduct towards him. Lord North wrote to Lees to press him to be his under Secretary, *as he would be particularly useful from his knowledge of Irish politics*; which Lees declined. Eden wrote to him to press it, and to me to notify his appointment to the Vice-Treasury; which I answered very civilly; and Lees having, *by Eden's order*, shown to me Lord North's letter, I observed that the same reasons would recommend Mr. Cook, to whose industry and knowledge I was glad to bear this testimony. I wish, for Cook's sake, that Lord North may be persuaded by Eden to take him. His Lordship wrote me a very civil private letter of offers of service, which I have answered; but I fancy that my public letter will undo all the merit which, I hear, I have in their eyes for *not pressing my recall*. No letter however, direct or indirect, has been received to urge me to stay, which you may take an opportunity of mentioning to the King without an audience. I perfectly approve your not mentioning the riband, as there was not an opportunity for it; and, after all, you will easily believe me not anxious about it.

"Cunninghame is come over, having, as he says, a positive promise from the Duke of Portland of the command; but a new competitor has started up in the person of the Earl of Drogheda, who, possibly, has acquired this Conway faculty of asking, as a part of his wife's dowry. I have told him the King's arrangement and my recommendation; but still he wishes his request may be submitted, which I shall do *accordingly*. I have directed a part of your household to be *reformée*, leaving only such as may be necessary; and have already suppressed

my Board of Green cloth and Fremantle's table, so that I hope to be in travelling order very shortly. If things take an angry turn in London, either of relieving me instantly, or laying me under the necessity to relieve myself, you will probably return here ; else I own that I wish you to remain where you are, as this new game of the Duke of Portland's opposition requires to be well watched.

"The game of addresses goes on, *really unsolicited*, and will end with every county in Ireland except one or two. Grattan's corps have addressed ; and I hear that the volunteers mean to line the streets at my departure. The Kilkenny business is all quietly settled."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1783, April 21. Dublin Castle.—"Your account of the debates is highly satisfactory, and confirms me in the opinion which I entertained of the imbecility and irresolution of the present Administration. I think that it now seems clear that the Bill will pass unaltered ; but I trust that it is understood as a measure adopted by the King's servants ; and, at all events, as by my calculation it cannot have finally passed till after the receipt of my last despatch, they will necessarily become saddled with it, if they persist in this line after that receipt. You will see by my letter to you how exactly your ideas on the 15th and mine, written to you upon the same day, agree as to the necessity of the appeal to the House of Commons, which will be made by you upon the grounds stated in my *public* despatch of resignation, dated March 12th ; and that of the 16th of this month, which may be called for as it is *no less public*. And at the same time you will observe, in case it is denied that the new Cabinet knew anything of my official resignation, that my peremptory intention to resign was actually known to persons now in high office on or about the 1st of March, (*vide* my letter to the Duke of Portland ; ) notwithstanding which, and notwithstanding the variety of matter of the most delicate nature which requires instant decision, no successor is appointed ; and at this moment, the 21st April, I have not had one syllable of communication except on common office business ; not even my resignation accepted, no apology, no request to stay, the Parliament prorogued to the 6th May, and no measures taken upon that head *and upon all that depends upon it*. You may state my offended spirit, and that nothing but regard to public quiet prevents me from resenting it by leaving to Lord Justices that odium, which I will not bear, of the suspicion of acting with such a Ministry ; but that I may be driven into it, as, from the situation of things in England, I have now been alone nine weeks without any assistance from England, in a government made by these circumstances *de facto* independent ; obliged to dispense with such laws as mitigate against trade, because I can give no assurances of meeting the Parliament. This, with the charges which you can add, will I think completely ruin and disgrace their Irish politics.

"As to courting popularity, I can declare upon my honour that neither directly or indirectly have I (or any one authorized by me) solicited any one address of the great number which have been presented ; namely from every county, 23, in Ireland where assizes have been held except *one* (Carlow) ; and from variety of cities and corps, and from the grand jury and county of Kilkenny during the riots, and during the alarm occasioned by the march of the troops. All this I wish may be stated if called for ; but I should think that if my successor is named (as perhaps he may) during the holidays, it may be matter of doubt

whether to bring forward this question and consult about it; but I should think that you are authorized to ask officially from the Duke of Portland or Lord North an answer, as soon as the House meets, whether a Lord Lieutenant is appointed. Every thing is at a stand except common business.

"I have seen G. Ponsonby since his return, and have made him hear many unpleasant things. He abused our Bill (which he said he had never read,) and I told him that the Duke of Portland had but the beginning of sorrows not only with his enemies but his *new friends*, if he endeavoured to alter it; and took the liberty to abuse his Grace's coalition very roundly. However, we parted, I dare say, equally pleased with each other. As to Fortescue, I certainly promised that he stood third upon my list for the Linen Board; but he will see at once that the appointments of Mr. Bourke and Mr. Ponsonby in the room of Lord Mayo and Lord Besborough, who both resigned on purpose, is no breach of my engagement; and, even if two should vacate by death, I must still fill them before I can gratify him. I enclose to you a pleasant letter from Lord Aldborough and my answer; pray find him out and transmit my letter to him."

The SAME to the SAME.

1783, April 24. Dublin Castle.—"I refer you to the enclosed for my feelings, much aggravated by every 24 hours delay. Let this, in all contingencies, be delivered whether my successor be named or not; and if our friends approve a House of Commons attack, which I truly hope, you will officially say that this is a *public* despatch, and therefore you may call for it."

The SAME to the SAME.

1783, April 29. Dublin Castle.—"I have by this night's mail received my recall, without one civil expression but an opinion of Lord North that it is not surprising that the King hears of my resignation with concern. I send you the copy of my answer, as I think it possible that you may be already upon your return to Ireland, and therefore I cannot venture to enclose it under cover to you as usual. You will see that I have urged most decisively the immediate journey of Lord Northington, which, from every reason, I will not suffer to be procrastinated; but by this messenger I have writ to Lord Northington in terms the most friendly, the most handsome, and the most expressive of every intention to give him every *personal* assistance; and to this line I mean to adhere. As you can now be of no further use in England I think that, for variety of reasons, you had better return; and desire Jemmy to remain constantly in town in case that any communication should be necessary; for which purpose you will leave him your cipher.

"All here is very quiet and very civil to me; the addresses have run through nearly the whole kingdom, and the volunteers have addressed me for leave to line the streets at my departure; but, at the same moment, I have not relaxed in any one instance of a determination to enforce the government while I remain in power. G. Ponsonby is indeed a very contemptible wretch; but he is paying very dearly in the papers for the amusement of abusing me, and threatens me with severe attacks some time hence when, possibly, the national purse may pay for it and not his own. If this should find you in London, you may apply to Lord Keppell to know when the yacht will be ready which is now repairing at

Plymouth ; for if she is not round in time, I shall deposit my discarded royalty in a packet boat. Under the uncertainty whether this may reach you, I cannot say all I wish ; but, if it should, you will understand that I now wish nothing may be urged in Parliament, but that your only attention may be given to enforce my firm resolution of relieving myself, if Lord Northington does not relieve me soon."

EARL TEMPLE to the LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF THE TREASURY.

1783, July 20. Stowe.—"While the Bill for the regulation of the Exchequer Offices depended in Parliament I declined taking any part in a matter so nearly interesting to me, either by application to Parliament or to your Lordships. But the Royal Assent having now been given to it, I will beg leave to trouble your Lordships for a few minutes upon the subject of the office which I have the honour of holding under the directions of the Board of Treasury.

"I need not remind your Lordships that I hold it from his Majesty's bounty as a testimony of his approbation of the services of one whose memory must be ever dear to me, and as the only reward for that zeal, activity, and integrity, to which he sacrificed every other consideration. This circumstance has stamped an additional value upon it, which it would not otherwise have had in my eyes ; and still less from the moment that I was placed in the situation of affluence with which Providence has blessed me.

"Various circumstances have directed the public attention to the subject of reform ; and this object is so highly congenial with every feeling which I shall ever retain for the public service, that I have not hesitated from the earliest moment of this investigation as to the part which it became me to take ; and with these ideas I declared in both Houses of Parliament my wish to facilitate a general system of reform by every sacrifice in my power. By the Bill now passed into a law, the sense of the public has been taken upon the propriety of the existence of those sinecures, as honourable rewards to those who have deserved well from their country : and the *quantum* has been settled, with every regard to the dignity and necessities of the State, by the regulation respecting the fees. In the same moment, the justice and equity of Parliament interfered, and with that rigid attention to private possessions which I trust will ever distinguish their proceedings, they declined (even for this great object) to shake that faith which is equally the security to every species of property. But whilst I acknowledge with gratitude and respect this principle, I must discharge those conscientious feelings which urge me to adopt that line which their sober judgment has pointed out ; and not to avail myself of that exception which secures to me profits embittered, in the moment of their increase, by the obvious consideration of the increasing distresses of the public. In doing this, I adopt the feelings of him to whose labours this office was given, from the full persuasion that his inflexible integrity, and rigid attention to the public service, would not have suffered him to receive emoluments, which, in the eye of the Legislature, were justified solely by the grant of them.

"With this view I shall direct my Deputy Teller, from and after the next quarter day, to verify upon oath, at the conclusion of each quarter, the net profits of the share of fees received from the offices of Teller, of first, and of second clerk ; and after the payments to me, to himself, and to the other clerks of those allowances which the Act directs, the surplus shall be carried to the credit of the public, and added to the Sinking Fund. This mode appears to me to be the



simplest for carrying my purpose into execution; but if any other occurs to your Lordships, I am ready to adopt it.

"I must intreat your Lordships' pardon for this long detail. I owed this explanation not only to his Majesty, from whose goodness I hold my office, but to the memory of my father, and to those conscientious feelings which alone have determined me to this measure; and have suggested the mode proposed as that which is the most certain, and I hope, the least ostentatious." *Copy.*

W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1783, July 22, Savile Street.—"Lord Thurlow has given me a very good dinner, but no sort of information. I suspect your computation has proved right, and that he has had no answer to his report of our last conversation. I think I shall hear from him before he takes his flight. If I do, you shall hear the result immediately."

EARL TEMPLE to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1783, July 31. Stowe.—"I have this moment received your letters, and one from Pitt. I do not send it to you as I have not time to copy it, but it contains, rather more in detail, that which you have stated to me concisely. I perfectly agree with you both that the object of Lord Thurlow was to endeavour to gain information rather than to hold any *authorized* language; and that which he did hold was peculiarly well adapted to the purpose of sounding Mr. Pitt, and of promoting what cannot be more a favourite point with the King than it is with him. I mean an explanation upon the subject of Parliamentary reform, both as far as it relates to the change in the representation, and to the reduction of the influence of the Crown. On the first point you know my opinions, and I have explained them clearly to Pitt, who only stipulated with me for this measure whenever there was a reasonable *occasion*; and, in his letter to me, he states this as his expression to Lord Thurlow; though it does not appear that his Lordship saw this distinction, which to me is very obvious, and I should think most important, as much of the King's dispositions must depend upon it; and the misfortune is that Pitt cannot explain this solution. As to the influence of the Crown, the reform is carried to unworthy *minutiæ*, and the great object is missed. You know my system in Ireland, and I would not engage in a plan contrary to it in England. So much for the things themselves; but I clearly agree with you both in the necessity of holding our line clearly and decisively against taking part in an Administration whose systematic principle is to replace in the hands of the Crown that mass of influence which has, in the last 18 months, been taken from it; and upon this head we cannot be too cautious or too explicit.

"Now as to Lord Thurlow's conversation, I think that the explanation is obvious. He wishes most eagerly to be restored; he knows that standing *per se*, or at least with Lords Gower and Weymouth, he is desperate; Lord North and the old system are not now able to resume him and their old creed: what remains but that which I am persuaded he is labouring to bring about, but upon his ideas if he can so carry it. For this purpose he holds off any explanation upon his own opinion or those of his friends; and I am much deceived if, in the course of the negotiation (if it proceeds,) some attempt is not made to make a favourable explanation of these contested points a *sine qua non* with

these gentlemen. For all these reasons I am clear that we should speak that which we feel, an indifference to office except upon our own ideas : and draw not only the offer but the intreaty from the King, who (I will continue to think) is in earnest in his intentions; but from his own wishes, and from Lord Thurlow's suggestions, cannot be indifferent to the trial how far concessions may be gained from us. But, at the same time that this ground is cleared, and the language of indifference held out, care should be taken to state the reasons why the offer should *now* be made, if any such measure be seriously intended; and if, after such an overture, Lord Thurlow runs abroad or avoids explanation, I think *that* a certain mark to guide us; and shall lay by all political considerations with my London clothes till next winter; as I am persuaded that the greater part of this conversation originated in the closet. As Pitt dines with him on Tuesday (tomorrow,) I send up a servant with a letter to him, to state this last wish of mine, and my perfect acquiescence in all that has passed; and at the same time you will receive your notes which were returned to me from High Wycombe, to which place they are stated on the cover to have been missent. I have kept the cover to enquire further, but in the mean time your mind will be at ease."

*Postscript.*—"Bernard being returned from Oxford, I can send you copies of Pitt's letter and mine. The latter is, I think, explicit, and cautious as to the point which Lord Thurlow labours; namely of giving the King some *insight into a future Ministry*. If you think any part wants explanation you will give it; as I wish you to carry my letter to Pitt. The groom has directions to wait your orders. You may shew Pitt my letter to the Duke of Portland, as a communication in consequence of our conversation. Will this letter give Lord Thurlow much better hopes upon the subject he presses? And may it not be thrown out by Pitt in conversation, as I think that it may have a certain effect in undeceiving him?"

*Enclosure (1).* W. PITT to EARL TEMPLE.

1783, July 22. Saville Street.—"I found a note from Lord Thurlow on Friday, desiring to call upon me yesterday. I had a long conversation with him, of which it would be difficult to give a full detail, but from the leading part of it, your Lordship will easily judge of the result. Almost in the beginning of it he told me that he had been at the levée the day before, and (as he added in the course of the conversation) in the King's closet, having imagined (he said) from some words the King dropped at the levée that his Majesty wished to talk to him. He represented, however, their conversation to have been *quite general*, though he acknowledged it to have been very long; and said that by what he collected from it, the *King had not altered his sentiments with regard to his present Ministry*. He affected to treat it as if his audience had had no particular view, and had been, in a manner, casual. I am persuaded however from all the circumstances, and from some parts which he glanced at occasionally, that it was much more particular than he chose to state; and his having appointed me for Saturday, and then seen the King on Friday, confirms that opinion. In different parts of his conversation he expressed very strongly, as he has so often before, the necessity of a stable government; but, at the same time, threw out doubts whether objections to particular persons being brought forward, might not be in the way of it. He also dropped, in a passing way, and at separate times, that the King had no insight into the means of forming a government; that his directly turning out his Ministers was different from their resigning or being pressed in

Parliament; and that the King had *gone through the worst*, in the struggle which ended in bringing them in. Yet he said, when I hinted that they might succeed in their endeavours to reconcile the King to them, that the King could never forgive their conduct; and mentioned as an instance Mr. Fox's language in the House of Commons relative to the Prince of Wales's establishment, of which the King, he said, had expressed his resentment to him the day before. When I endeavoured to learn from him what part Lord Gower or Lord Weymouth would be disposed to take, he studiously declined particulars. His principal object seemed to turn the conversation on the subject of Parliamentary reform, and of the influence of the Crown, especially the latter. He went into a great deal of general speculation, but without much pledging his own opinion; and seeming to take every way of sounding whether any ground would be gained for the Crown on that article.

"Your Lordship will form your judgment on these particulars, though related so much more shortly than they passed. They struck me as a full proof that Lord Thurlow's object was to insinuate that a change was not so necessary to the King; and to endeavour to make it (if it should take place) rather our act than his; and on that ground to try whether terms might not be imposed that could not otherwise. This is so totally contrary to every idea we both entertain that I thought it necessary to take full care to counteract it. I stated in general that if the King's feelings did not point strongly to a change, it was not what we sought. But that if they did, and we could form a permanent system, consistent with our principles, and on public ground, we should not decline it. I reminded him how much I was personally pledged to Parliamentary reform on the principles I had publicly explained, which I should support on every seasonable occasion. I treated as out of the question any idea of measures being taken to extend influence, though such means as are fairly in the hands of Ministers would undoubtedly be to be exerted. And I said that I wished those with whom I might act, and the King (if he called upon me) to be fully apprized of the grounds on which I should necessarily proceed. He received all I said extremely well; and, though much of his discourse seemed to aim at instilling other ideas, he never directly objected to what I stated. He ended our interview with expressing an earnest wish that the King might get rid of the present Ministry, and seemed anxious to see me again, before he goes abroad, which he still talks of doing next week. I have fixed to dine with him on Tuesday, when I shall probably hear more on these subjects. My opinion at present is that, though he was sounding to see whether something might not be formed more on the foundation of the old politics of the Court, he will see that it is out of the question; but that such a Government may nevertheless be formed as will be justly much more acceptable to the King than the present. I think therefore what has passed will not tend to delay our having the offer, whenever things are ripe for it. I hope too that it has tended to put the business on such a ground as can alone make it advisable or honourable; and I flatter myself I shall have the happiness to find that it strikes your Lordship in the same manner." *Copy.*

*Enclosure (2). EARL TEMPLE to W. PITT, LONDON.*

1783, July 21 [31?]. Stowe.—"Nothing can be more clear than the whole of your detail of the conversation with Lord Thurlow, and your conclusions drawn from it. He has spoken much of this from himself, as the whole tenor of his language is perfectly congenial with his feelings; but the great outline was clearly drawn in the closet on



Friday. The King I have no doubt is in earnest ; so is his Lordship ; but they both wish to try that which is perfectly natural, namely how far concessions may be gained from us upon points which press hard upon that general system, under which they formerly governed. To the Parliamentary Reform you are pledged, *whenever there is a reasonable prospect of success*, and from that you cannot recede with the fair fame which I ever wish to you. As to the other reform, the great objects have been missed, and some parts have not done credit to the Reformers ; and possibly (with the best intentions) the experiment is hazardous, if carried at once to its utmost extent. But, whatever we may think upon time or mode I am most clearly and decisively of opinion that we cannot be too explicit in our refusal to engage in government upon the avowed or implied system of replacing in the hands of the Crown that influence which has been already taken from it ; excepting in any instance (if such there be) where an improper new arrangement may make a change necessary, not for influence but for the proper administration of each department ; and even this last exception should be kept out of sight in order that no superstructure may be built by Lord Thurlow upon it. The idea of the change originating in an offer or in an eagerness from us cannot be allowed ; nor do I see the necessity of it, as I think it clear that the King is in earnest, and than [that ?] he is not more anxious than Lord Thurlow. What then is his object ? Not to continue his present ministry ; not to patch one with Lord North and the old Government, who cannot now undertake it even with Lord Thurlow and Lord Gower ; not to depend solely upon Lord Gower. What then is his alternative ? The very arrangement which he now has in view, but which he will endeavour to bring as near as possible to his ideas ; and a strong proof of it is the affected mystery with which Lord Thurlow held back the opinions of Lord Gower and Lord Weymouth, which to me, upon a former occasion, he quoted at every moment, and particularly entered into the specification of the kind of office for Lord Gower ; and, ridiculous as the reason may appear, it seems to me that he now keeps that same name back for fear of pledging his Lordship too far in a business, which he probably *now* thinks nearer than it was when he first spoke.

“ However, be all this as it may, our line cannot admit of a moment’s doubt ; and you have seized it precisely, as I knew you would, with clearness and with credit by holding out an inclination to *accept*, in proper circumstances, any offer from His Majesty, but by disavowing any impatience ; which just invests the ground upon which we can best stand. One thing only I wish to be stated if you approve it, and, if you have any delicacy as to yourself, it may be stated as my language to you, namely the very essential difference between an offer made now with the means of strengthening ourselves, or hereafter, in a moment of distress to His Majesty, and of equal difficulty to those upon whom he calls ; increased likewise by the inference which individuals will draw from the countenance given to the present Ministry, even of one hour, from the moment in which he can dismiss them. This may be urged totally distinct from any idea of impatience, and I think that (upon the supposition that your conversation will be repeated) we owe it to the King not to conceal what makes so capital a part of our creed, and particularly in a moment when the inclination to change is palpable ; although it is wished to transfer the first movements from the King, from whom they really proceed, to us who are in fact his only resource.

“ As to the observations drawn from Lord Thurlow’s account of the King’s language, I admit them to be strong ; but if his Lordship had

not stated them I would have trusted human nature, and peculiarly that of His Majesty, for the continuance of his feelings upon the subject of his present Ministers. I would not therefore, in conversation with Lord Thurlow, admit of any merit from this perseverance as partial or flattering to us; and still less would I give to Lord Thurlow any clue by which His Majesty is *to have an insight into a future Ministry*. If this is to be a negotiation, let it be avowed; and in whatever manner it is conveyed, the answer in generals may return by the same channel. But the particulars can be settled only personally with the King; and you sufficiently remember what passed between Lord Shelburne and Lord Rockingham, in March 1782 not to be very cautious upon anything which may give that light which must be the *consequence* and not the *cause* of a negotiation. And if, after all this explanation, Lord Thurlow runs away to Spa, or declines engaging further, I must think that the King's line is marked, and that he will get through the summer, and leave the change to be forced in Parliament; a system you will not think very likely to prevail in his mind.

"Under all these circumstances, all that we can do is *voir venir*; taking every means to undeceive the King as to any idea of our changing our system for that which, as an individual, has no charms for me further than as I am acting with you. My groom who carries this letter, has orders to wait for your answer, which will probably be very short; as I cannot think that Lord Thurlow will open further till he sees clearly that he cannot succeed in the game which he is now playing."

W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1783, August 23. Barton Pynsent.—"I found your letter on arriving here last Monday from Brighthelmstone. The news it contained, which was then grown pretty old, had surprised me as much as it did you. I own I do not much like the breaking into our quarters, even in this one instance, though I flatter myself the means can hardly be found to do it in others. The story of Windham's resignation, as I heard it at Brighthelmstone, supposed him to have got into some scrape in Borough transactions which made him afraid to shew his face in the House of Commons. It did not come from the best authority, but the letter I recollect hearing of at Stowe made me think it not improbable. I have heard no news since I saw you. The delay of the definitive treaty grows almost unaccountable. Perhaps the Ministers chose not to have that obstacle out of the way, while there remain *forty days* before the meeting of Parliament; which is a reason however that will not operate much longer.

"I have pretty near determined to employ the remainder of the present interval in a short excursion on the other side the water, if I hear nothing within this week or ten days to prevent me. I shall go from here, Monday sennight, to Bankes's, and in a day or two afterwards to town. If any thing should be likely to bring you there about that time, I wish we might contrive to meet; not that I have any thing particular worth communicating; but if it could be without any trouble to you, I should be very glad to know what you think of the state of things, before I set out. I shall certainly not be absent above six weeks. My brother had a letter, last post, from Lord Temple, who mentions having written to me, but from my moving about, I have not yet received it. I hope I shall today. If you should have any

occasion to write, be so good to direct to me at Bankes's, Kington Hall, Wimbourn, Dorsetshire."

W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1783, September 8. London.—"I came to town last night, having been detained some days longer than I intended by waiting for my fellow travellers. I am extremely sorry to find that I have just missed you, and I have so little time to spare that I cannot repair my loss by beating up your quarters, which I should attempt if possible. At the same time I know of nothing that is pressing, and I shall certainly return in good time before Parliament meets. The definitive treaty I see is come, and *Mr. Hartley himself* brings over that with America. I have learnt no particulars relative to either. What I wish much to know is whether the latter contains any articles relative to commerce. If not, I conclude this is but a pretext to recall him, in truth, from despairing of success.

"If anything occurs that you think worth the trouble of writing, I shall be happy to hear from you while I am absent. I shall leave town Wednesday after the levée. A letter sent to Hayes will always be forwarded to me."

W. PITT to THOMAS PITT [afterwards Lord Camelford].

[1783,] September 9.—"I timed my visit to Petersham yesterday most unfortunately just as you were in town. I wished much to have the pleasure of seeing you before I set out upon a short tour, in which I intend to employ a few of the vacant weeks before the meeting of Parliament. The time of year and all circumstances make it, I think, very clear that there can be no inconvenience now in being absent for a little while, and I have a mind to fill up the interval in seeing and hearing a little of what is to be seen and heard in France. I shall leave town tomorrow after the levée, and propose returning in about six weeks; which will, I imagine, be at least a fortnight before the meeting of Parliament. We shall then be to learn what *Mr. Hartley himself* and his employers have gained by their rapid negotiations, and to judge a little more in all respects, than it is possible to do at present, of the general complexion of things."

W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1783, September 10. London.—"I saw Mr. Bernard yesterday morning, who brought me your letter. I learn also from him that Lord Thurlow is not expected in Ormond Street. This circumstance, together with the time of year, and the general situation of things, will send me abroad in the full conviction that nothing can take place before the meeting of Parliament. I agree with you in thinking that Ministry will hardly have found means to strengthen themselves beyond what we have seen, if the King continues to refuse peerages, on which, I think, almost everything depends. I learn nothing yet of the particulars of the treaties. If the inconvenience, and expence arising from the delay, has produced no advantage, it will tell ill at the opening of the session; and if nothing is done in the commercial treaty, still worse. The steps taken to remedy official abuses without the aid of Parliament, and to bring forward the arrear of public accounts, furnish another subject which will probably not be much more to their credit. I foresee nothing else at present that is likely to present itself, but we shall have

opportunities to talk of these things, before the time comes. I shall probably return about the 20th of October. In the mean time, I shall be happy to hear from you, if anything falls in your way. I will trouble you with a letter from the other side of the water, to apprise you of my direction. Having an idle horse and servant, I prefer employing them, to trusting the post, though I think I have written nothing that would be news to any body.

"I have just made my bow at St. James's. The King enquired as to the time of my return in a manner which I thought rather significant, and I named about six weeks. Nothing else particular passed.

"I am just setting out."

THE EARL OF MORNINGTON TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1783, September 15. Merrion Square.—"I cannot express how strongly I feel the kindness of your letter, which I met upon my landing here yesterday morning; the friendship which you never fail to shew for me on every occasion, must always be one of the chief comforts of my life; and I shall value it equally whether it proves useful to me, in the acceptance of the world, or not.

"There are so few people in town, that I have not been able to collect as much information as I could have wished before I wrote to you; but such intelligence as I have been able to get I send you. The Government affect to rest themselves upon the Duke of Portland's friends; Yelverton is certainly premier, but, what you will think strange, John Lees is under this Portland Cabinet to be restored at the Post office; and yesterday I had the entertainment of seeing him in close conference with the premier aforesaid. The general opinion seems to be that the Parliament is not very well secured by Government; several powerful individuals are dissatisfied, amongst others Lord Clifden, Gardiner most furious, and Burgh angry; Fitzgibbon, I believe, rather well inclined. Grattan has been with me several times; he wishes well to Administration, but means to *pledge them to a set of measures*; his idea is that they should produce their system before the meeting, and then throw *themselves on the independent gentlemen of the country for support*. He seems to expect a potent opposition; he says that no means have been used to influence Parliament and that, therefore, Lord N[orthington] if he intends to stand, must either be *very upright or beyond example corrupt*. The Duke of Leinster supports, and is, I hear, much pleased with the appointment of Pelham, who (he says) comes out of his *family shop*. Lord Hillsborough has, I hear, ten members in Parliament, and is expected to be with Government. Clifden is not stout-hearted enough to oppose; he will growl, but he dares not bite.

"We are all very much occupied by the Dungannon resolutions upon the subject of Parliamentary reform; I am appointed a delegate for the Convention on the 9th of October; you know my sentiments, which however I intend to reserve for Parliament, and, in the mean while, to decline all delegation whatever: Grattan is against the whole business. Government say they will take no part in it either way; but, in my opinion, they will be highly criminal if they do not make a stand somewhere; for, to say the truth, matters are going too far, and if these conventions are not to be checked the power of Parliament is at an end. Conceive a convention appointed not only to reform Parliament, but to take the whole state of the nation into consideration, and digest a system of measures for the session, to be forced upon Parliament by the sword, and upon the Crown by a six months' money bill! This madness will operate for Government here, as the American war did for Lord North; they have caused, or at

least given room for these disturbances by their negligence, and by the delay of Parliament, and now many honest men will be afraid to censure them, under the apprehension of weakening their hands, which certainly ought to have strength in such a crisis. Under these circumstances, I doubt whether it will be prudent to make any stir on the first day; but I cannot decide till I have seen more of men and situations. I hear that Lord N[orthington] means to ask indemnity for the proclamation of the summer; if he does, the proper time for all observations on the proclamation will be during the passage of that Bill thro' the House. If not, I will move a Bill; and thus I am certain of an opportunity for the delivery of my sentiments, and perhaps a better one than the address; what do you think? I have not yet been able to get much more light on the subject of American trade; but I mean to see Hartly, as soon as I can go out, for I have not yet told you that I have been very ill, with a pain in my breast, ever since I landed.

"People are wonderfully alarmed at the Dungannon resolutions; the Chancellor is frightened out of his wits—for my own part, I am resolved to be stout. I have seen N[orthington]; such a hustled head I never saw, yet so polite that I really pitied and felt sincerely for his situation. The general cry is, *weak government, Lord Temple's firmness wanting*; in short exactly what we foresaw. Burgh is upon circuit, and to be at Trim on the 30th, when I mean to settle about the Bill; people here have no high opinion of Windham's abilities, particularly in business; the new peers are, I understand, indeed I know in some instances, more angry at the manner in which their honours have been granted to them, than pleased with being lords. Tonson was forced to bring in two members; Mr. Hutchinson is very ill; and Prancer is now alarmed lest she should die before him, and leave him with a young lordling Prancer to support.

"I have written down everything I have heard without any method; if you have any particular questions to put, I will answer them immediately, and in the meanwhile, will send any news that I hear. I am told the Geneva business does not proceed as rapidly as might be wished.

"We are told that Thurlow, the Bedfords, and the Duke of Richmond have joined the coalition; is it so?"

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1783, September 20. [Dublin.]—"In my last letter I forgot to ask you if L. an46p846 should not be in town on the first day, whether you would choose to have the business deferred till he comes, or shall I put it in other hands? My opinion is for the first day at all events. I have mentioned my intention to several friends both of yours and N[orthington]. The former approve highly; the latter hope that no reflection on the present men will either be expressed or implied. I have said certainly not, but have dared them to oppose; as I am persuaded their opposition would be fruitless. I hear to-day that Longfield of the county of Cork, who is an opponent of Lord Shannon, and now supports Lord Kingsborough against him, has got five members besides himself in Parliament, and means to oppose furiously. Lord Shannon will, I hear, lose the county of Cork. I go to the country to-morrow to recruit after my illness, which is now pretty well over; pray write soon."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1783, September 28. Dangan Castle.—"The enclosed letter will, I doubt not, be very pleasing to both you and your brother, although it



is unfortunate that we cannot have the sentiments declared by this gentleman in Parliament, which are so strongly expressed in the letter. I have now resolved to have the business moved by old Rowley, and I think Hartley, the member for the City, would be a respectable and perhaps the most proper seconder. I have determined, in my own mind, that the motion should be made the first day; and I shall therefore take my measures for the purpose before I hear from you upon the subject.

"I have no intelligence to communicate to you, for I have been at this place ever since my last letter. I am not at all well; ever since I landed, I have had a pain in my side which has given me some alarm. My physician sent me here for moderate exercise and good air, and I certainly am rather better; but out of spirits, and most wretchedly nervous.

"I saw Cooke before I left Dublin; he says he cannot dispose of your fine service of china, and wants to know if he is to send them to you. I had no private conversation with him. Pray send me Pitt's two pamphlets on Parliamentary Reform. I have read Locke, and am quite of your opinion that he has been misapplied on that subject. Pray write to me soon. I need not tell you that I have and shall be most cautious of letting any person imagine that n. tdry 8657t6 acdpg d3 8l6 8lucag."

*Endorsed*: "Inclosing letter from Mr. Brownlow to Lord Mornington."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1783, October 8. Dublin.—"You were doubtless very much shocked at the death of Burgh; it has been felt as it ought to be by all ranks of people in this country. The bustle in the law by this vacancy and Lill's is astonishing. Fitzgibbon is, I believe, in contemplation for some office in the change. Yelverton chief Baron—but nothing I hear is to be altered till Christmas, as Yelverton cannot be *spared from the House of Commons*. The report is now, and pretty strong, that the Ministry are attempting to widen their basis, and that proposals have been made to Scott, Foster, and even to Flood; the second mentioned has, I know, been consulted at the Castle upon the subject of finance.

"The intelligence I am now to communicate will surprise you, but I have every reason to believe it to be true. Lord Hillsborough is to be the Minister of the House of Lords, and is coming to Dublin (where he has taken a house for the winter) on Sunday next, to attend the Council on the Speech. This arrangement the Lord Lieutenant and Secretary publicly declare, and therefore I am apt to think there must be something in it. Think of the tinsel premier, acting great man, under an insufficient Lord Lieutenant appointed by the Duke of Portland; and this after all his complaints of Lord North and his contempt of Northington. Pray try to discover what Flood is doing in England; he sailed the 29th of September. Is he negotiating with you? or ministry? or both? He has not attended any of the meetings and delegates, and has completely shirked the question of Parliamentary Reform. Charlemont is reviewing at Cork, though a delegate for a grand assembly which meets tomorrow. Grattan does not attend, but they have not delivered any opinion. The enclosed letters will best describe my conduct, which I trust you will approve; the last shows how justly we agreed that the plain direct line of conduct is always the safest for a public man.

October 9. "Just now I hear that Fitzgibbon says he is to be Attorney General. This morning Pelham sent to beg to see me, and accordingly I went; he talked highly of the importance of my opinion, and of

his *private regard* for me and *friendship* (founded on our meeting at Weltzes,) of his sincere wish that no public transaction should interfere, and of the necessity of supporting Government in these times; wished to know my sentiments in general, and more especially on the subject of Parliamentary Reform. I said that, with every private regard for him and every wish to maintain the most friendly intercourse, I would candidly declare that I considered the administration of Ireland as a subordinate part of a system which *I detested, abhorred, and abominated*; that I thought the Coalition stood upon the ruins of some of the best political characters in England; and that it had destroyed all confidence in public men; that, for my part, I never would give my confidence to the child of such a parent; that, in short, my confidence was reposed in another place. With respect to the Parliamentary Reform, I repeated parts of the letter which I enclosed to you; and concluded with saying that, although I should certainly look suspiciously upon the present Government, I was ready to give them credit wherever they might deserve it, and should certainly never depreciate any measure of theirs in the eyes of the people which appeared to me to be calculated for the public good.—And so we parted with mutual professions of regard.

“Fairford is to move the address.

“Pray is not William Williams the name on the list of supernumerary gaugers which I was to fill up.”

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1783, November 23. [Dublin.]—“I return you many thanks for your early account of the first day; the letters which I have written to Lord Temple I have intended for your perusal as well as his; and as they were naturally upon the same subjects on which I should have written to you, I thought I might as well save myself the trouble of expressing the same things in different language.

“Since my last letter some pretty singular events have happened. On Monday a very numerous mob came down to the Parliament house and filled all the avenues and passages, crying out, *Protecting duties, and that they were all starving*. They remained about the House near three hours without attempting any violence, and were at length dispersed by the *entreaty* of the Lord Mayor. They uttered strong threats against Foster and Grattan, and some of them pursued the carriage of the chaplain of the Commons, who is John Foster’s brother, mistaking it from the liveries; and when they discovered their mistake, they said it was fortunate for Foster, for had he been in the coach they would have put him to death. They suppose him to be an enemy to protecting duties. This mob was collected in a very singular manner. The common crier of one of the parishes in the Liberty went about, a few days before they assembled, with his bell, and gave public notice that every man who appeared in College Green at two o’clock on Monday, would receive a pair of shoes and stockings, as Parliament were resolved to relieve the distresses of the manufacturers, at least as far as to give them covering for their naked feet. This fellow is now in Newgate, and says that the paper from which he cried this notice was given him by a well-dressed gentleman whom he never saw before, and has not seen since. After this appearance on Monday, there were reports about town that the mob in the Liberty were disciplining themselves, and there seemed to be great reason to apprehend that something of violence was in agitation amongst them; and on Thursday night at 8 o’clock, about fifty men, some of them

armed with swords, assembled about Grattan's house, and remained there for two hours, threatening his life openly. He had dined out and did not return until they had dispersed. On Friday there was a council at the Castle, when the Lord Mayor was severely handled for his inactivity, and a proclamation was issued upon the subject of the riots; and since that council a horse *patrole* has paraded every night from Grattan's house to Foster's. In the meanwhile reports run about town that the mob are meditating some great blow, and the general expectation is that a scene of dreadful confusion must soon be exhibited. The Castle is, I hear, shattered to pieces by the alarming stroke; the protecting duties are to be moved to-morrow; the Convention is still sitting in debate upon the resolution of their sub-committee which I sent to Lord Temple.

"One cause of these mobs is said to be this—the manufacturers are chiefly Roman Catholics; the question of their elective rights has been brought forward by the wisdom of our Parliamentary reformers; and it now is evident that the Convention have no thought of extending the right of voting to Roman Catholics; the manufacturers have conceived an idea that Government have thwarted them in the Convention; and thus you see the whole Roman Catholic body is engaged in the cause of their elective rights. This is said to be one cause of their discontent; and added to the protecting duties, and a jealousy which they have conceived of Captain Brooke, who has received from Parliament a loan of 40,000*l.*, it forms a pretty formidable ground for commotion.

"I intended about this time, when the money Bills are expected every day in the House of Lords, to have made an attack upon the economy of these pretty Ministers; but I doubt whether in the present crisis anything of the nature of opposition would be either decent or effectual. It is a serious moment, and I believe the time is not far distant when all men of property must unite to save their possessions and the Constitution. The horror of our situation is much aggravated by the imbecility of the Castle, and the total want of confidence which all men, even those who give hourly support, openly avow in either the spirit, or the ability, or the diligence of Government. Yesterday in the House of Commons, an addition of 4,000*l.* was moved to the Lord Lieutenant's salary by a wild and fantastic opposition man. Yelverton then acted a most ludicrous part; he first declared Lord N[orthington]'s utter disapprobation of the scheme, and then he, with the whole Castle squadron, after much coquetry voted for it, and carried it. Sr. John Blaquiére then moved an addition of 2,000*l.* to the Secretary's salary; during which motion Pelham, who had been present in the former part of the night, kept out of the way; and yet we were assured by Sir John that the motion was made, as he said, without any sort of *preconcertation*. This also was carried; and to-day the Viceroy and the Secretary are prodigiously shocked at the mismanagement of their Minister Yelverton, who suffered such a scheme to pass.

"Tell Lord Temple that no prosecution was ever commenced against the Lowtherstown Volunteers. With regard to my health, about which you enquire so kindly, it is much better. I mean to come to London before Christmas, in short as soon as business is over here. I hope you will be in town. Burgoyne and Luttrell were this day sent for by express; they set out tonight to vote upon the East India questions.

"I find more reason every hour for self-applause upon the subject of Parliamentary reform. Those who have taken a different part are now embarrassed beyond imagination. They find their characters of no consideration in the Convention which, like death, levels all distinctions; their attempts to moderate are hooted out; and if they mention their



duty, or respect towards Parliament, they are scouted. The resolutions are disapproved of generally even by the friends to reform. One man, Ogle, high in confidence with this Government, and who looked to the Chair in your time, actually told me that he wished to God he had taken the part I have ; and that if he had seen my letter before he had pledged himself, he would have done as I did. He has literally been cried down in the Convention, where Simon Newport talks nonsense with the utmost applause."

The SAME to the SAME.

1783, November 30. Dublin.—"Last night Flood, seconded by Brownlow, moved for leave to bring in a Bill for the more equal representation of the people in Parliament. This bill was evidently the offspring of the national convention, and brought in in consequence of a resolution of that assembly appointing Flood and Brownlow to the business. In the morning a meeting was held at the Castle (to which I went) for the purpose of fixing how this motion should be treated ; and it was agreed to refuse leave for the introduction of the Bill, upon the ground of its originating in an armed assembly, which was sitting in the metropolis to overawe Parliament ; and after the leave had been refused, it was determined to move a resolution, *that it was now indispensably necessary to declare that this House would not suffer any encroachments upon its privileges* ; and to follow it with an address to the King, to assure him of our perfect satisfaction in the present Constitution, and of our determined resolution to maintain it inviolate. These measures were all carried, 157 to 77. I supported them, and my brother seconded the address which was moved by Conolly. I believe you will approve my conduct ; the measures are strong, but certainly necessary ; whether the weakness of the present Government be not one cause of this necessity is another question. The address comes from the Commons to the Lords for their concurrence tomorrow. Yelverton spoke very stoutly, and so did Daly and Fitzgibbon ; Grattan and Forbes voted against Government, and also Ogle ; and Lord Carysfort, their minister in the House of Lords, spoke against the measures at the meeting.

"I had intended this week to have brought on a motion upon the subject of public economy, upon which point they are very vulnerable, but I really am afraid of stirring in these times ; pray let me know your sentiments upon this head, and also Lord Temple's as soon as possible. Do you not think silence the most dignified conduct, untill the storm has passed over our heads, or burst upon us ? If you think so, I will come to England as soon as I can.

"Neither Grattan, Forbes, or Ogle were at the meeting. Lord Hillsborough was there, and spoke in a very manly and spirited tone. I like your speech on the East India Bill extremely."

The SAME to the SAME.

1784, March 16. Merrion Square.—"I am quite ashamed to reflect that you have written three letters to me from the busy scene in which you are engaged, and that I have not sent you one line from this land of peace and inactivity : the truth is that I have been very ill, as usual after the sea, so ill, as to keep my bed ; and immediately after my recovery, I had so many foolish people to see, and so many foolish things to do, that I have never been able to sit down to write to you, or to anybody else.

"I must begin with returning my most warm thanks to Lord Temple and to you for the justice which you have done to my feelings, with regard to Lord Camelford's seat. It would have been painful indeed to me to have felt myself an inefficient vote in so critical a moment; my object always will be the success of those to whom I wish well, in preference to my personal interest; and I rest perfectly contented with Lord Temple's kind intentions towards me, in the event of a dissolution. I say nothing upon the subject of our victory; you must know my sensations upon that point.

"We have found in this country a very general disposition to support, which, I believe, has been much increased by the equal attention which Government has shewn to people of all parties, and the decisive terms in which we have disclaimed all English affections and resentments, and everything that resembled either a Portland or a Pitt faction. The great duke thought fit on the first day to give a negative to the address to the Lord Lieutenant, which was a mere whipt syllabub compliment, and not introduced, as the papers do me the honour to say, with a warm and eloquent eulogium, but merely with one short sentence, stating the necessity of paying every mark of respect to his Majesty's appointment. His Grace has however since expressed a strong inclination to support, and is completely caught by the prospect of signing P. after his name, for the hope of which object, I believe, he will sacrifice the Post Office. Lord Hillsborough is in very good humour—so are Lord Clifden and the Archbishop—the Ponsonbys held off at first, but are now coming round; all other interests of importance were conciliated by the public declaration which the Lord Lieutenant made at his landing, of his intention to stand upon the support of the ancient and established friends of English Government in this country. Grattan is civil, and Charlemont a warm friend; by the by all sort of intercourse has ceased between these two. The great object will be to conclude the session as soon as possible, and this seems to meet the wishes of the Parliament in general; a good deal of diligence has advanced the business so far, that we have great hopes of being able to prorogue early in May. Government are very stout upon the Reform and the Protecting Duties, and have given much satisfaction on those subjects to people in general; the former measure will be disposed of in the course of this week, the latter soon after. Flood has made a wretched figure since his return, and has met with a most mortifying reception in the House; he attempted to speak in his usual manner five or six times on the same question, and was cried down by the clamour of the whole House, and at length reproved by the Speaker. An universal disposition to repress his insolence was evident, and I trust will produce a good effect. He has had no private communication with Government.

"In the House of Lords we are entirely occupied by our causes; I wish our decisions may turn out to the credit of the country, but!—Lord Annaly is dying, Scott will most certainly succeed him. On my own part I have every reason to be satisfied with Government. You shall hear more from me soon. I cannot write to you upon particular points, without using the means with which you have furnished me, of disguise, and I have not time now to use them. Adieu. Tell Lady Temple that Dublin says *Lady Catherine is to be married to Pitt*; and tell my Lord that the Lord Lieutenant keeps St. Patrick's day by a grand dinner to the Knights, and a fancy ball; we were to have gone to church but it is overflowed."

## The EARL OF MORNINGTON to [EARL TEMPLE].

1784, April 10. Dublin.—“My friend William has acquainted me with the very flattering and delicate attention which you have been pleased to pay to my feelings and wishes, as well in refusing the offer of a seat in Parliament for me, at the moment when it could not be accepted without injury to those whose success was my first object ; as in securing a seat for me upon the dissolution, under so reputable a patronage as the Duke of Northumberland’s, and without giving me the trouble of personal attendance at the election. I assure you that I am not insensible to those repeated marks of kindness and of friendship ; and when I say that I feel them, I hope you know enough of me to believe that I shall omit no exertion to prove my gratitude towards you, and my zeal for the cause in which you are engaged.

“I wrote a general account to Grenville of the success of the Duke of Rutland’s Government in this country. I have little to add to that account, as I do not think a letter the best conveyance for details of personal arrangement, and these would be the principal matters that I should touch upon, if I were to enter into a more particular state of Irish affairs. My letter to Grenville was written immediately after the question of Parliamentary reform had been disposed of : since that, the Post-Office Bill, after having passed the Commons with little debate or impediment, met with a most potent opposition in the Lords ; the Bill is most certainly liable to many objections ; as how should it not be, when it was drawn by Yelverton with the approbation of Northington ? But these objections may be removed in the next session, as the Bill will expire on the 25th of March ; and it was thought inexpedient, after it had passed the Commons, to suffer it to be altered by the Lords ; for as it is a money bill, the Commons must have thrown it out and brought in a new one ; thus the whole subject would have been opened again, and perhaps the session protracted by the discussion ; and I believe you will easily see the necessity of giving every dispatch to business, and of bringing the session to a speedy conclusion in the present circumstances. Lord Carysfort stood at the head to the opposition of this bill, though the child of his old master ; they made out a division of 17, amongst whom were some names that would surprise you. I enclose a list ; Cashel is a firm friend, and fought a good fight for us ; and the Chancellor was more decided than I have ever seen him, a circumstance which I attribute partly to his natural affection for a very bad measure, and partly to his apprehensions upon the subject of his own situation, where his incapacity (to say nothing worse) is become a public grievance ; insomuch that I am persuaded he must be removed, at all events, before the next session.

“The next great measure was the rejection of Luke Gardiner’s protecting duties ; this was done in a most complete manner, he divided but 37. The consequence has been a volley of high treason in the papers, the execution of Foster in effigy, and at last, a mob at the House of Commons threatening death and destruction to all the active members. The House have taken up these matters with proper spirit, and have been firmly supported by Government ; the seditious newspapers have been censured by the House, and the Lord Lieutenant addressed to prosecute the printers, publishers . and to offer rewards for the discovery of those concerned in the riot. Proclamations have been issued accordingly ; patrols of horse parade every night, and every precaution is taken to check every disposition to break the peace. A committee of the House of Commons has been appointed to examine

into the conduct of the magistracy of Dublin, who are suspected of being accessory in some degree to the riot. There is at present an appearance of quiet, although there are reports of further intentions on the part of the starving *malefactorers* (as they call themselves) to attack the Parliament House.

"In the meanwhile the business of the session is at an end in the House of Commons, or at least will be so on Monday or Tuesday; and in the Lords, it will be finished, I hope, about the Saturday following. We shall then adjourn till the return of our Bills, which we hope our friends in London will not delay.

"It has been impossible to attempt any commercial adjustment; indeed even the most hot-headed patriots have acknowledged the futility of any such endeavours this session. Upon the whole Government has navigated through the business with great ease; there has been no opposition that could deserve that name, excepting that in the House of Lords to the Post Office Bill, which would not have been so great, if the early remonstrances of some friends of your Lordship's had been attended to, and a little more severe discipline observed; but this will be more strictly adhered to in future.

"As to the Judicature, I shall give my opinion of the exercise of it (in which I have never once interfered) when I have the pleasure of seeing you. I cannot help sometimes, when I am witness to our mode of proceeding in this most important part of our duty, repeating those verses of Horace;

*Non est aptus equis Ithacæ locus—  
Atride, magis apta tibi tua dona relinquam.*

"You will see in the papers a great outcry against a certain Bill which has been brought into Parliament by Foster, and which has been represented as an attack upon the liberty of the press. The history of the Bill is shortly this; the printers of newspapers, in this town, have got into a practice of putting false names to their papers; by which fraud, if any libel appears in their papers, there is either no person forthcoming to be answerable for it, or merely a printer's devil in the place of the principal. You can easily conceive the danger of this sort of masked battery; and, if you have read any of our newspapers lately, you have seen that the evil exists not merely in speculation. The Bill was originally intended to meet this evil alone, by enacting that every printer should be obliged to give in his name to the Commissioners of Stamps before he published any newspaper, together with the names of all sharers in the paper; and this upon affidavit, which should be conclusive evidence of the matters contained in it, against the printers and sharers, in all actions commenced against them for libels. By this and some other regulations, it was intended to make every printer an ostensible man, responsible for what he published, and forthcoming to justice when called upon; as far as this principle goes, I believe you will agree with me that the Bill does not infringe one atom upon the liberty of the press; but other matters have been tacked to it by those who framed it; and it was put together hastily, and without that sort of communication and consideration which ought to attend a measure so important and so delicate. I, amongst others, did not see the Bill 'till after it was moved; a treatment which I neither deserve nor will submit to; and I am therefore resolved either to force an alteration in it before it comes to the Lords, or oppose it with the utmost exertion of my capacity when it comes. The Bill is printed at length in our papers; the objectionable parts will strike your *constitutional* feelings in a moment

without my pointing at them; and the misfortune is, that even if these objectionable parts should be altered, Government will get no credit by it, as the printed Bill will rise up in judgement against them, and it will naturally enough be said, that they attempted to invade the liberty of the press, but had not courage or strength to go through with their project. This is another consequence of hurry, and want of discipline; for I have reason to know that Orde himself had not read the bill 'till after it was moved, printed, and all the mischief done; however be is, I hope, disposed to alter it.

"I have not been able to make myself master of the Genevese business so thoroughly as I could wish. However, I think it right to give you even the trivial information which I have collected upon that subject, and to enclose to you some papers which will give you some insight into the present state of the settlement. I will enclose the papers in a separate cover with such remarks as I can make to illustrate them. There have been some warm disputes at the Board of Genevese Commissioners; Lord Tyrone has constantly attended and taken much pains in the business; which attendance *he has desired me to inform you*, has been owing solely to his regard and respect for your Lordship, and that no other consideration should have induced him to undergo so much fatigue and anxiety. *Nota Bene*. The emigrants when settled will have a considerable interest in the county of Waterford. Cuffe's salary has occasioned some contest as I understand; he receives three pounds a day, as he says, by your Lordship's promise. *A propos*, the last named gentleman is much out of humour, because he is not a *confidential Minister*.

"With regard to my own personal objects, on which subject I believe your partiality may induce you to be anxious, although the Duke and Mr. Orde are extremely civil to me, the former particularly so, I do not believe that they are disposed to make those arrangements which your Lordship's experience of this country pointed out to you as important to the King's service here. I will speak fairly, I doubt Orde's sincerity in this and other matters; and I am not the only person who entertains such doubts. Ponsonby, I believe, is to have the Post Office, but I speak only on report, which indeed is the only authority that I can obtain on points of this nature. Scott actually is Chief Justice. I wish your Lordship could give some assistance to poor Delvin, who is literally starving, and who, I fear, will not be considered soon, unless there is some powerful interposition in his behalf.

"I was just going to close my letter, when I heard a piece of intelligence from the Castle, equally curious and alarming: three fellows have been taken in arms this evening who had received bribes from an association in the Liberty to *assassinate* the Attorney General, Foster, Parnel, Mason, Langrishe, and several other of the most active members on the part of Government. The fellows have given information of the names of their associates and employers, amongst whom is one of the master manufacturers, whose name I forget; a guard has been sent to apprehend these, but they have fled, and every precaution is now exerted to prevent their escape from the kingdom, and to bring them to justice. This is a most civilized and free country! I have received an account of my election for Bereaiston from the Duke of N[orthumberland,] to whom I had written some time ago, as well as to Pitt, at W. Grenville's desire. I am ready to cross the sea whenever I receive a summons."

THE EARL OF MORNINGTON TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1784, April 21. Dublin—"The letter which I wrote last to Lord Temple containing an account of some informations that had reached



me with regard to certain designs against the lives of individuals, may possibly have created some alarm in his mind and yours upon the subject of Ireland in general, and even with respect to the personal safety of your friends here. I therefore follow that letter with a more accurate account by the first opportunity. Three fellows have sworn the most full examinations against one Andrews, a man who resided in the Liberty, to this effect; that he offered them a bribe of 100 guineas to assassinate Foster, Parnel, Mason, O'Brien, Langrishe, the Attorney General or any of the majority against the protecting duties: that he also gave them arms of various sorts to effect this purpose, recommending the bayonet as a weapon *which made no noise and could not miss fire*. Andrews has been taken up and is in Newgate; examinations have been lodged against others who are not yet caught. I am inclined to believe that some very serious discoveries may be made before this business is brought to a conclusion. I have reason to think that certain popish priests are concerned, as well in this affair, as in the seditious paragraphs with which the papers have teemed.

"Lord Temple has, I suppose, shown you my letter in which I express some alarm with regard to the Bill for securing the liberty of the press. It has passed with alterations conformable to my objections, and I believe, produced by them. I fairly declared to the Lord Lieutenant that I would oppose the Bill if it was not amended to my mind. Two printers have been taken up; one is now in Newgate, the other, *Bingley* of famous memory, was released by the House of Commons in consideration of his being only an inferior clerk in one of the treasonable printing offices, and not a principal. Our business is now, I think, quite at an end; and just at this moment when he can do nothing, his Grace of Leinster has declared himself to be in decided opposition. The cause he assigns is that Mr. Ogilvie is not appointed to succeed to Foster's office; but more of this when we meet, which I hope will be early in the next month. I hope to get away about the 10th.

"I say nothing about Buckinghamshire election, for I conclude your success to be certain. How complete the defeat has been throughout the whole country! A letter has been received here from Eden, which I saw, wherein he confesses that *they are a beaten party*, and expresses no other hope of their revival but what he grounds upon the probability of the *imprudent use* which Pitt may make of his great power and his obsequious Parliament."

EARL TEMPLE to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1784, July 3. Stowe.—"I take the first opportunity of answering your question, although I have not all the materials here. *English* coal, that is the Whitehaven, Scotch, and Welsh, all nearly alike in price, were liable to a small duty; but I do not exactly recollect it, and levied chiefly as a *harbour duty*. In 1782 Mr. Foster proposed an additional duty of one shilling per ton for the Custom house, which, as you may remember, was then stated as a *protecting* duty to operate in favour of Irish coal; the effect was to raise the price of English beyond that shilling, and the Irish coal remained in the mine. I always found much fraud in this business. You informed me from Lord Lonsdale that he had never varied the price, which was, as I think, under 4s. per ton at the wharf; and the average price in Dublin was 18s., never lower than 16s., duty included. This was in time of war, and perhaps it may now be a little lower; but I remember that I was convinced (though I forgot my data) that it would be always as high as 16s. The Irish coal are of three sorts; from Newry, to which place

they are brought by a canal now out of order, and loaded at a pier now tumbling because repaired by Parliament; from county of Kilkenny where they are, from their hardness, very dear upon the spot, but they have the convenience of water carriage to Waterford; and whenever the new canal joins the river Barrow, which will probably be the case this year or next, they have the same carriage to Dublin. The third sort is from Mounterkenny in the county of Leitrim; these are a late discovery, and bid fair in my apprehension to supply great part of Ireland; their communication with Lough Erne and with the Shannon will send them even to Limerick, and as high as the county Fermanagh. They have hitherto been brought to Dublin only as samples, but it seemed to me that they only wanted the common Irish want of capital to be worked to advantage.

"I have detailed all this for Pitt's information, the objection having struck me the day after you left me; and, upon the whole, my opinion is that the duty of 3s. per chaldron will clearly give a decided preference to the Newry and Mounterkenny coal at Dublin, and to the Kilkenny coal at Waterford and Cork, the price of English coal being the same in those harbours, (by the barrack contracts,) as in Dublin. But whatever be the price of Irish coal, the consumption of English will clearly by this advance be laid aside in favour of bog, which, except in some few parts of the kingdom, has always rivalled our coal in price so nearly, that, till I changed the system, the barrack contracts for fuel always took turf except in Dublin; and the saving by English coal at Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Kingsale, Limerick, and Galway, is only an object from the great quantity consumed by the troops. To the general consumption, therefore, of Ireland you will see that the proposed duty must operate as a prohibition of English coal. Now this prohibition is, in the mind of Ireland capable of two acceptations; she may consider it as a protecting duty; or she may (and certainly will) look upon it as an oppressive tax upon them, liable to every objection of the famous tea duty of America, and particularly severe upon the labouring poor of Dublin, at this moment ripe to revolt upon such a signal; and leading from their clamour and from the violence of the newspapers the factions in the provinces of Ireland. As to its effect in England, I see clearly every objection which we discussed together; many more have struck me, but, upon these heads, Pitt may get better information than I can give him. As to the exported coal to France, Holland, and elsewhere, it is surely a proper subject of taxation.

"The more I think over the brick and tile tax the more I think it objectionable from its great partiality; and I think the candle duty should be attended with one on wax and spermaceti, either raw or manufactured. As Pitt may be driven from some of these taxes, you may suggest to him a duty on the export of horses, which cannot be large; and a new regulation on franking and the Post Office, which may accompany this new Bill of Orde's. My idea is that the frank shall be dated as *now* in Ireland, and that the odd halfpenny should be charged upon the intermediate ten miles' postage of letters. Add to these the consideration of a yearly ten pounds (or more) licence upon Attornies; a tax certainly very popular, as it agrees with vulgar prejudices, and falling upon property only."

"I have writ to Pitt to communicate my Irish alarms. I have had four different letters all full of apprehensions, which, to say truth, have infected me; and, in all events, I think it highly necessary to alarm Government. The worst symptom is the eagerness with which money

is called in, and remitted to England by the merchants of Ireland; a fact which is stated as certain. The preparations of cannon, powder, and ball, go on as usual; and the fashion of wearing French cockades is not confined to Handy Pemberton."

The SAME to the SAME.

1784, July 20. Stowe.—"As I write by a safe hand, I again repeat that I am hourly more anxious about Ireland; and that, from different accounts, I do believe that the Government is not safe. The *ton* evidently is to decry all ideas of danger, but I own I am much alarmed. I hope to see you for two days and we will talk this further."

S. BERNARD to W. W. GRENVILLE, in London.

1784, July 22. Stowe.—Transmitting news of a domestic character.

EARL TEMPLE to W. W. GRENVILLE [in London].

1784, September [1-7]. Gosfield.—"I am sorry that L. Ws. resolution has diminished your hopes of success. The Government of Jamaica stands as follows; 7,000*l.* currency per annum, equal to 5,000*l.* sterling, as salary from the island paid without any deduction; fees from various offices and persons due to him as Chancellor, Judge of the Prerogative Court, for probates and marriage licences; and as Governor, for certificates, passes, militia commissions, province commissions; about 1,500*l.* currency or 1,000*l.* sterling per annum; a house at Spanish Town, and another in the country, built, repaired, and furnished by the island. Governor Dalling in time of war, keeping a constant table for all the army and fleet, frequently declared that his income barely maintained him; but Governor Campbell with the same demands, but underdoing it, said, that he saved half his appointments. In time of peace, it is imagined that a Governor may *most handsomely* save 2,000*l.* sterling per annum. This is all that I can get, except a loose idea that, *very lately*, the island have added another 1,000*l.* currency; but this is doubtful. I think from this account that—may take it.

"As to Ireland Bernard will have told you what I fear; my apprehensions are more gloomy, for I again repeat that I do not see the exertions of Government in any one proceeding; and I tremble for the meeting of Parliament under all these circumstances of indecision as to points which are to be supported or abandoned. In truth, the storm has thickened to such a degree that I much doubt whether it might not be more advisable to face all the inconveniences of a change, rather than to risk the consequences of continuing this ruinous system. But, in all contingencies, I feel my credit too much concerned to trust it to the support of that which I must consider worse than no government. It is clear that Ireland will be the subject of opposition clamour in the course of next sessions; the language of Lord Northington is very high upon this subject, and probably that of the Duke of Portland will make it impossible for me to remain silent. My situation is different from that of any other man, and you know the little temptation held out to me to fight the battles of Government at the expence of the line which I should naturally take, unless the conduct of Government in that kingdom should materially vary from that which I conceive must soon bring the situation to a crisis; for which, I see plainly, neither Mr. Pitt nor the Duke of Rutland are prepared, and which I cannot help thinking inevitable. I may be the Cassandra of this story; but again



I lift up my voice to say, that possibly the game may not be irrecoverable; but, unless some well digested system of commerce be prepared for both Parliaments to redeem the promise from the throne of Ireland; unless some well-connected system of union be formed to meet in Parliament, and in the nation at large, these frenzies of innovation; unless Government there shall have secured that respect, solidity, and strength which *confidence alone* can create; I do not see the hopes of salvation.

"You say that our opinions of the two parties chiefly concerned are the same. Ask yourself then if you can expect from them these requisites; and if I have exaggerated the picture in requiring (amongst many others) these principal data. In these considerations, I solemnly protest that my own individual objects do not bias my mind. I feel as I ought what is passed. Perhaps there are late circumstances which hourly remind me of the return which I have experienced, and of the little disposition *now existing* to conciliate my affection. But, as I rejected from public considerations that very honourable and noble offer which you made me, and which will ever bind me to you, the same reasons will operate upon me to make me support where I can, and decline attendance (as you know I have done) upon points where I am not satisfied. But upon Ireland I have no alternative I must take my part; and that part must be guided by the opinions which I have stated above, and which certainly occur to me in their full force from the little communication which I hold with Ministry, and from the little share which I can give, or admit of confidence, while I continue to think myself illused. So much then for this subject, upon which I have thought much, and upon which I could say much more than a letter will permit. You know that much of these opinions was conceived and communicated to Mr. Pitt some months since. I have not found that the Irish Government has gained ground in any point; and in many it has notoriously given way. In a question of this sort public estimation is every thing; and if I hear from various quarters that, in the last week of August, the Duke of Rutland was generally deemed less strong and more distressed than in April last, or even in July; if it is notorious that the licentious and rebellious violences have hourly increased; it will require some ingenuity on the part of Mr. Orde, or the correspondents with England, to convince me *that things certainly wear a more favourable aspect.*"

The EARL OF MORNINGTON to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1784, September 2. Dublin.—"I landed on Monday about three in the morning, after a cursed sick passage, and finding that our meeting was fixed for Wednesday the 1st, I set out for the country immediately. By a variety of manœuvres I fixed old Rowley with me, and I brought 29 people of my own into the field. Lord Bective exerted himself very handsomely. I enclose our resolutions and address, which I hope you will approve. Had I arrived a few days sooner our victory might have been more splendid; and had I not been present, our defeat would have been signal indeed. Old Rowley would have given in to every sort of nonsense, and even my own people would have wavered; upon such trivial circumstances do matters of this importance depend in this country. We had a debate of at least four hours, in which I was forced to labour like a horse. However, I had one great satisfaction; the mighty Napper Tandy was present, and I abused him in the most unlimited manner, to the infinite pleasure of the whole meeting; for though we differed on the point of Reform, there was not the least

disposition to violence excepting in him; and even he disavowed a most material part of the plan of the Aggregate, denying absolutely that they had petitioned the King not to call a new Parliament after the dissolution of the present, until the Congress should have determined the mode in which it should be called. This he and the whole meeting knew to be a lie at the time he told it, and it had a great effect.

"Send these papers to Pitt and then to Lord Temple. I have presented my address, and submitted it to the Duke whether it might not be eligible to circulate it about the country for more signatures; this would however delay the arrival of it in England, which is an object; he is to decide to night. I will write more at large in a few days. The country is infinitely more quiet than I could possibly have imagined; you will see by the papers that there is a strong stand against the spirit of the Dublin people.

"Rowley moved the 1st amendment to the Resolution respecting the Reform."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1784, September 5. Dublin.—"As far as my observation has gone, the situation of this country is much less alarming than I imagined it to be before I left London. There is undoubtedly a very strong spirit throughout the whole kingdom in favour of a Parliamentary Reform, but it is accompanied by as strong an alarm upon the subject of the Roman Catholics' pretensions to a right of suffrage, and by a total disapprobation of the violence which has appeared in Dublin; added to these circumstances, no specific mode of Reform has anywhere been recommended; on the contrary, even the Aggregate have declared their inability to suggest any plan equal to the object. In Dublin there is at this moment every appearance of quiet; I hear that the firing of the soldiers, though most certainly a gross breach of discipline, and of law, in the manner it was done, has been of great service, and very much intimidated the mob. There is still, in my opinion, great reason to suspect French interposition; one very strong circumstance I must mention, a great number of French crowns, of the coinage of 1784, has been received at the Custom House, in payment of duties from inhabitants of Dublin; their date shows that they cannot have come from America, which might at first have appeared probable.

"The election of delegates to the Congress has failed in so many counties, that I am apt to imagine the whole of the scheme will end in smoke. Much might be done in this part of the business among the gentlemen of property, if the Government had any activity, or if any man in the country could repose one atom of confidence in their ability, or integrity; but here, I am sorry to say, the prospect is gloomy indeed; for it is not possible to describe the utter contempt and abhorrence into which the characters both of the Lord Lieutenant and of Orde are fallen, with every description of persons whatever. I do not hear of any disposition to disturbance among the Papists, notwithstanding the attempts to raise their expectations upon the Reform; a very principal Papist who came over in the packet with me, said, that those of his persuasion would take no part either way in this contest between the Government and the people; and added, we have always gained something in the end by such contests. I do not believe that the ground which Pitt seemed disposed to take against the Reform here, and which was opposed merely to the manner in which that object has been pursued by some violent people, will be satisfactory to the persons who form the strength of English

government here; their general opinion seems to be, that all English government will become utterly impracticable, from the moment that any alteration is admitted in the representation of the people.

"With respect to my personal situation, which I have postponed as the last object that I would trouble you with, I have no reason to think that there is the least real intention to serve me, though much profession and fine speeches; indeed I leave it to you to judge whether I do not stand worse than ever in this respect, and whether a most base and silly attempt has not been made to deceive me. The Duke, on the day I landed, opened the subject to me with a vast profusion of good wishes; he then informed me that the Commissioner's place had been offered to the Provost as a preliminary to the arrangement, who had declined accepting it under that notion. I then asked if any hint had been given to the Provost that the office of Master of the Rolls was to be opened to him? The Duke answered that no such specific proposition had been made to the Provost; and, after some hesitation, gave me to understand that the purchase of the Mastership of the Rolls might create such a clamour, as in these times no Government could stand; that he trusted I would consider their situation, and, in short, that he was afraid to take the only step which can possibly leave an opening for my entrance into office.

"Thus you see they thought to deceive me into a belief that they were opening a treaty with the Provost, through the Commissioner's place, at a time when they had absolutely given up the main hinge on which the whole arrangement must turn, and when they knew that the Provost must refuse the Commissioner's place, offered to him under such circumstances. I leave you to make your own comment upon this complication of treachery and folly; I shall only say for myself, that this conversation passed between the Duke and me at 5 o'clock on Monday, and at 7 I went into the country, and took the part which I have already stated to you, at Trim."

EARL TEMPLE to W. W. GRENVILLE [in London].

[1784, September 9 or 10. Stowe.]—"As the enclosed is interesting to a man whom I wish to serve, I wish you to mention it to Mr. Pitt. This very thing was in negotiation in March last, when I stopped it by an application stating what you know, Captain Loftus's history and services. You may now add the probable ill consequences of disgusting the Loftus interest, if they should make a point of it, by preferring Lieutenant-Colonel Manners under all these circumstances. You may remember Sir W. Howe gave him his Lieutenantcy in the Guards as a compensation for eleven wounds when a cornet in the 17th Dragoons."

"I like Ireland less and less every day. You have received my long letter; I will therefore only add that Stephen Fremantle's accounts are equally alarming, and that I sincerely hope the Duke of Rutland has better proofs against his prisoner for high treason than the letter; as I am confident no verdict will be found upon that evidence unsupported, and I need not say how dangerous an acquittal would be. But, if he has any other proofs, I like at least this appearance of vigour." *Without date or signature.*

The EARL OF MORNINGTON to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1784, September 10. Dublin.—"In my last letter I gave you such a state of the temper of persons of property in this country as must, I imagine, have been very satisfactory to you. I now write in order to

communicate to you a circumstance, which must give you some concern, though I do not believe it will surprise you. From a very accurate observation and extensive enquiry I can take upon me to pronounce, that this temper has not been in any degree whatever improved by Government, nor is there to be found anywhere the smallest trace of a system on the part of Government to extend these happy dispositions, or to call them forth to public notice. In the County of Meath no measures whatever had been taken; Foster attended without any concert with them, so did Lord Bective, and had I not by mere accident arrived, the whole tenor of the Resolutions there would have been different; and yet it is evident from the event, that the smallest exertion on the part of Government would have produced the best effects. In Louth (which is another county that has spoken out) nothing was done under any plan of theirs. In Kilkenny, Ponsonby declares that the whole was mere accident. In short, wherever any measures towards the restoration of tranquility have been taken, they have proceeded from the alarm of persons of property, unassisted by any exertion whatever on the part of Government. This circumstance, although it adds great weight to those symptoms of a disposition to good order which have already appeared, is, I am persuaded, the cause of silence in many parts of the country, now ready to speak; and has been the cause of defeat in others, where, by the smallest degree of activity, a victory might have been gained, or at least a respectable stand made. The County of Kildare, solely under the influence of the Duke of Leinster (who, you know, though an enemy, is to be touched through particular channels,) has not spoken a word; nor has Waterford. In Galway, represented by French a government man, and Daly Muster-Master-General, the most violent measures have been carried with not above 3 dissentient voices; it is not to be supposed that these gentlemen could not have made a stand, when you recollect they have not been elected a twelvemonth. In Carlow, represented by Burton a connection of Ponsonby's, an expectant, and to whom the world says a place has actually been promised, delegates have been elected without any stand whatever. This is most provoking, and may prove very fatal; the time for the meetings will elapse in three or four weeks, and in that time I think a most material change might be made in the appearance of things in this country. There is scarcely a single county where union might not be procured upon such points as the condemnation of the Aggregate, and the declaration of an affectionate regard for Great Britain, and of a respect for the laws and Legislature. On the point of reform, division might be procured in many places, and silence in others. I speak this not at random, but after a great deal of enquiry, and after an experience not very deceitful in the County of Meath, which has always been reckoned one of the most apt to concur in the cry of the day. I cannot discover that Government have done more than merely circulated a few copies of Jenyns's pamphlet on reform, and of some of our moderate resolutions, which the newspapers had already done better. This is rather extraordinary, *for, if I recollect, Pitt told me that Orde had said he was exerting himself to make a stand in the counties.*

"With regard to the final adjustment of the trade, I have reason to believe that little if anything has been done towards that most important object. This I can tell you, from the best authority, *that Foster has not been consulted, nor has he prepared any materials whatever on the subject*, though he is ready to do so if seriously called on. He actually told me that Orde had done no more than talked of the final

adjustment in general terms, wishing to converse more at large with him at some better time, and (as Foster expressed it) *seeming to avoid the point, as a man who gives you a general invitation to dinner, meaning that you should never accept it.* This circumstance I tell you in confidence, as Foster would not wish to have his name mentioned. I cannot find that any person of consequence is in their confidence, nor what the devil they are doing; though it is not difficult to see, and I believe this country and England will soon severely feel, what they are leaving undone.

"As to myself, I have no intercourse whatever with them. I have almost quarrelled personally with Orde about the delay of the transmittal of the Meath address, which was detained several days upon pretence of a doubt relative to the propriety of procuring more signatures; though I had stated the whole matter to Orde himself the day after the address was presented, and he declared that he thought it best to send it as it stood; and three days after (in which space a hundred names might have been got) he makes a clerk write to me to say that he thought certain alterations ought to be made in the form of signing before the address was transmitted. This proof at once of negligence, folly, and insolence I treated as it deserved; and when I saw the Duke of Rutland upon it, he thought fit to enter again upon my own situation with regard to office; and as he stated nothing but what I have mentioned to you already, I thought it was high time for me to give him my sense of the whole transaction, which I did in the plainest terms; and finished by declaring that, until reparation was made to me, I would neither hear from Government, nor utter to them, one syllable upon public measures. We parted very good private friends, but I sincerely believe that there is not the most remote intention of providing for my situation. I cannot give this conduct a name equal to its merits; I own it has made me heartily sick of political connections.

"I am now at the most beautiful place I ever saw in my life, which I have taken for three months, in the County of Wicklow, about seven miles from Dublin; from the windows of a very pretty twodling summer-house, in which I am now writing, in a much finer day than any I have seen in England this year, I have a beautiful view of the sea, and of a fine valley *extremely well wooded* (a fact I assure you) and bounded by most romantic rocky mountains. I bathe in the sea every day—*his me consolor.* I wish to God you were here, and I dare say you thank God you are not.

"I wish you would send this letter, or any part of it that you think fit, to Lord Temple, with my most affectionate compliments. I have nothing to say to him but what I have said here; my next letter shall be to him."

WILLIAM LOFTUS to W. W. GRENVILLE, LONDON.

1784, September 25. Richmond Hill, Surrey.—Conveying thanks for the efforts of Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville to secure his military promotion.

The EARL OF MORNINGTON to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1784, October 3. Dublin.—"Your very kind letter affords me fresh proofs of that sincere friendship which I have always found in every part of your conduct towards me. Since I wrote to you, Orde, upon hearing the language which I had held to the Duke, has made a direct offer to the Provost of the place of Commissioner for his son and of the Mastership of the Rolls for himself. The Provost has absolutely

refused to resign on these terms; and so I am left on the pavement. You will, I believe, agree with me that this long delayed effort towards a treaty with the Provost is by no means an acquittance of the faith of Government as pledged to me. Mr. Pitt's promise was that I should be brought into office as soon as the Government of Ireland had assumed a settled shape: under such an engagement I conceive that the door of the Post-Office should not have been shut, until my situation had been ascertained. The Provost's terms ought to have been known half a year ago; nor can I forgive a delay which puts me entirely in his power, and at the mercy of his moderation. The consequence is that all my views are totally defeated; I am now to rely on accidents and contingencies; while those who have acted a less honourable and more cautious part may laugh at my foolish credulity, which has induced me to expose my character and my interests for men without faith and without gratitude. I am persuaded you will think it no defence to say that the Post-Office arrangement, as it now stands, was a necessary part of the first settlement of Government here, and that they could not have existed a moment if it had been otherwise framed. How is this defence to be reconciled with the Lord Lieutenant's declaration to me, repeated a few days ago, that had he known the Post-Office to be an object of mine, he would certainly have given it to me? He could not, as a man of honour, have made such a declaration if it had been true that the very existence of his Government required the placing of that Office in the hands which now hold it; and if it was at his option to dispose where he pleased, why did he throw away that option before my situation was in any way secured? Thus, in my opinion, the faith of Government has been broken with me, not only dishonourably but weakly and foolishly; and now I am to be contented with an assurance that it is matter of serious concern to the Lord Lieutenant, with the most anxious and sincere disposition, to find himself without the power of serving me.

"To day a friend of the Duke's has been with me, who told me that he heard that a Vice-Treasurer's office would soon be opened by the resignation of Lord Walsingham; and advised me to urge the Duke to press Mr. Pitt to fulfil his engagements towards me by appointing me to that office. After the confidential communication which you made to me with regard to this very point, and the train of arrangements by which it was to be attended, you may easily believe that I would not take such a step without applying to you for your directions on the subject. Perhaps the whole proposal may be a refined project of policy on the part of Government here, by which they hope to deliver themselves from the burden of my claims. Pray let me hear as soon as possible your opinion of this business. It has also been proposed to me to ask some reversion, but this I have not thought a right step to take.

"Upon the whole I shall do all in my power to give strength to the hands of Government at all events; I am more convinced every day that not only the peace of this country, but also the peace and eventually the existence of the empire depend upon the government of Ireland. Notwithstanding the appearances of loyalty, of affection for Great Britain, and of a disposition to good order which have been displayed by some of the persons of property and of rank amongst us, there is in the minds of the middling and lower orders of the people, and most particularly of the Papists, a spirit of a nature entirely opposite to all these, and which must be eradicated before any thing permanent can be done for this country. The language of the Papists is insolent to the last degree; they are in possession of several of the newspapers, and

I need not tell you what powerful engines the newspapers are in this foolish nation. The Papists talk openly of their determination never to rest quiet till they have obtained a share of power in the legislature; and the resolutions of some of the counties have given them new vigour. Pitt's letter has been of service, but there is a great cry for reform throughout the whole country; and though it is not directed to any specific mode, you and I who dread any step towards reform, must consider it as an alarming circumstance. I believe there will be no Congress of delegates.

"I do not recollect that I have anything more to say; I shall write to Lord Temple by the next post. Very fortunately, almost at the same instant that I heard of his danger, I heard of his recovery, from one of the messengers whom I went to in order to enquire after him. Pray let me hear from you soon, and give me your advice upon the whole of my situation. You know that there is none which I value so highly. I am bored to death with Ireland, and a very little encouragement would, I believe, induced me to bid a long farewell to it.

"You have not said a word of our proceedings at Trim; do you approve of them? does Pitt? or does he neither know nor care what they were?"

EARL TEMPLE to W. W. GRENVILLE [in London].

1784, October 3. [Stowe.]—"The conversation which you have had with Mr. Pitt is satisfactory to me in all points but one, and that depends so much on the wording that perhaps it may be settled without a second reference to the King. The answer upon the subject of the Garter is, *that no one was so proper for it; but that the circumstances of his own family might be such, as not to allow the promise of the next to come from him.* There is an obscurity in this; if it is meant that possibly he may give it to one of his family you know my answer is most obvious; and all that I had a right to propose myself for was for the next which was to be given *to a subject.* But this may easily be explained; and perhaps it is already so understood; but I wish that the transaction may be clear. I write to Mr. Pitt by this post to answer a general letter of affection which I received on Wednesday, and ought to have answered on Thursday; but after it was written I was too late for the post. I shall not however enter into particulars, but refer him to you; and in the contingency of the Garter being clearly promised as above stated, and the official letter being sent as promised, I shall, with great satisfaction, accept the Marquisate, though the value is a little sunk by the accession of Lord T[ownshend] to the number. Pray tell Pitt that I will come to town as soon as is absolutely necessary, but that I wish to be excused till that is the case; as I really recover strength very slowly, and cannot stand or walk long without much fatigue.

"*For yourself* I am most happy in your resolution, the particulars of which I will not (as it is at an end) trust to Mr. Todd. I am however clear that you are right, and am much mistaken if at the end of the five years you do not think as you do now. What you tell me of the *precipitation* is indeed very alarming. I see every mischief, and no one advantage to be gained; for as that *Magnus Apollo* will still shine in particular quarters, much delicacy was to be wished; and if the rival planet in that sphere be intended for the Lord of the ascendant, I see nothing which can please. Adieu. I think I rival Partridge in the obscurity of my observations on these heavenly bodies."



## W. W. GRENVILLE to EARL TEMPLE, at Stowe.

1784, [October 7 or 8,] London.—“I have had a conversation with Pitt on the subject of the letter which I have received from you. I wish I could give you as full an explanation upon it as I had hoped; but I find that the King is unwilling to pledge himself on that head, although his expression is that no one is so proper. As far as Pitt's engagement can supply this deficiency, he has authorized me to say that he *certainly shall consider himself bound to you in such an event, and that he has no doubt of its succeeding*, although he cannot say more, as he would have wished.

“Pitt feels as you do on the subject of Lord T[ownshend], and is strongly inclined to take what steps he can to prevent it. The particular situation of his family—his own situation—and the particular *line* of this transaction are all points of which he thinks advantage may be made.

“I write this in the greatest haste, being more than chin deep in our India despatches which we have received, and are to return by Saturday seven-night, with opinions on *all* the great points of discussion.”

“You will observe that the official letter, as promised, will contain *more than you asked* on that head.”

*Endorsed*: “Inclosure in Lord Temple's letter of 10th of October 1784, being letter from me.”

## EARL TEMPLE to W. W. GRENVILLE, London.

1784, October 10. Stowe.—“The explanation of the King's ambiguous declaration has not much edified me, for reasons very obvious; and I am so sick of all this, that I have in the course of these last days hardly held the same intention for an hour together. One reason alone decides me to suffer the business to proceed, which I will mention to you when we meet; but I understand you fully authorized for the specific declaration which I have scored; and I further understand Pitt to be satisfied, that if the *future pledge* is refused to me, at least there is none existing to any other person. In this state of the business I feel much obliged to his kind and eager zeal to gratify my wishes. I should not have annexed the second object to the first, but from the pride which it is natural to feel in accepting what I had once refused. Subject therefore to the one question stated above, I wish you to accept for me, and to close this tiresome business. It may be put *en train* whenever (from the attending difficulties) it pleases Mr. Pitt best.”

## The SAME to the SAME.

1784, October 17. Stowe.—Relating mainly to his being raised to the rank of Marquis.

## HENRY DUNDAS to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1784, October 27.—“As you are anxious to know the subject of the Representation, I send you the copy of minutes transmitted to me from the India House. I do not think they can be very formidable; indeed, acting upon the principles we are doing, nothing can be so if we have fair play, but that I plainly see we are not to have. We are appointed to control the civil and military affairs of India; at the head of the first will remain Mr. Hastings. That you may depend upon. What



is *still* worse, at the head of the second will be General Sloper, of whom to say nothing is, I believe, to say the best that can be said. Join to this a determined faction in the India House operating against us; and to conclude, all the most obstinate part of His Majesty's Ministers respectively countenancing the heads of faction both at home and in India. Under all those circumstances it is Don Quixotism with a witness to attempt what we are attempting. I wish you in some other situation, where your talents and integrity may do some good to the public. I wish myself again at the Bar, where, if I can do no good to the public, I will at least escape the disgrace which, if I remain where I now am, I am positive awaits me."

W. W. GRENVILLE to HENRY DUNDAS.

1784, October 27. Whitehall.—"I am much obliged to you for your communication of the minutes, which I most thoroughly agree with you in thinking can afford us very little ground for apprehension.

"As to the rest, the circumstances are certainly in many respects unfavourable. But with a good cause, with upright intentions, and in the pursuit of ends honourable to ourselves and useful to the public by plain and direct roads, *nil desperandum*." *Copy*.

The EARL OF MORNINGTON to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1784, November 7. Ballyfinn [Queen's County].—"I have received both your letters, and am much obliged to you for the warmth with which you express your sense of what you call my kindness and delicacy, but which, in fact, was no more than common honesty. According to your advice I applied to the Duke, and he received my application with great seeming zeal to serve me; but it has ended in the enclosed letter, which I think very cold, and a most inadequate state of my claims on Government, which stand (if they have any footing at all) on their own faith and promise. I must however request you to forward this recommendation, such as it is, by your influence, and shall write to Lord Temple for the same purpose.

"I am glad you have returned to Latin and Greek; I hope when I come to London to be able to form some plan with you in that way which may be pleasant and serviceable to both of us. I am grown an early riser, which gives me a great deal of time for reading. I have long known and admired, and God knows, *felt* the two lines which you quote, *superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est*.

"You dont say a word about my quitting Ireland entirely, upon which point I asked your opinion; nor do you say why you wished me particularly to apply to the Duke, as I have done. I should tell you that the Duke wishes this transaction not to transpire, but I will enclose you both his letters."

*Enclosure* (1).

The DUKE OF RUTLAND to the EARL OF MORNINGTON.

[1784, October–November. Dublin Castle.]—"I have written to Mr. Pitt as you desired, a copy of which letter I now send you. I shall feel myself particularly gratified if this application should meet with success, as it would give me peculiar pleasure to be the instrument of your being placed in a situation which would so much the more closely connect you with the Government to which I am attached. How far,

any rules may be adopted in England against giving this particular office to any but an Englishman, I am not able to determine; but your Lordship will, I trust, permit me to hope that you will not mention this application, as, in the event of its being unsuccessful, should it get wind, it might be objected to me that I thought the measure of bringing these offices into the country a right one, but from want either of power or zeal, I was withheld from attempting it. In this case I apply only as a sincere well-wisher to your Lordship, to a person who, I am certain, is not less concerned for your interest."

*Enclosure (2).*

THE DUKE OF RUTLAND to W. PITT.

[1784, October-November. Dublin Castle.]—"Lord Mornington has suggested an idea, and he has desired me to state it to you, by which our mutual wishes to gratify [him] in his objects may be accomplished in their fullest extent.

"In the event of Lord Walsingham's appointment to India, which I understand is intended, a Vice-treasureship of Ireland will become vacant. Would it be inconsistent with any rule which may be laid down by Administration in England, to appoint him as the successor to that office? We both, I am convinced, feel anxious on every account to see Lord Mornington in a situation where he may be pledged as an avowed and responsible supporter of Government in both countries; and, if this arrangement could be made in his favour, all difficulties respecting him would be entirely removed. I confess I cannot help feeling particularly anxious to see his views gratified, both from the high opinion which, in common with others, I have formed of his talents and public merits, as well as from the sincere and unequivocal regard I personally bear him; and in both which views of the question I am persuaded you are not behind hand with me.

"I must therefore press this matter to your consideration as a circumstance which would tend materially to the ease of my administration, and which would add, I will venture to say, credit and force to government in England."

HENRY DUNDAS to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1784, November.—"The Representation will be with us to-morrow morning; in the meantime the politeness of the Secretary of the India House and Mr. Cabell's activity has brought me a copy to-night. There is nothing of any moment in it; I doubt if there is anything to which it will be proper to make a specific answer, unless in so far as it concerns the debts. As you have had so much consideration on that subject, I have sent the paper to you, and if you think it proper to enter into any further explanation upon it, something founded upon the paper of account prepared by you, showing the operation practically of our arrangement, will be the best return to make. Look at it in that view, and I see nothing to prevent us separating to-morrow night."

W. W. GRENVILLE to HENRY DUNDAS.

1784, December 4. Whitehall.—"Before you receive this letter you will have had from Russell the additional paragraphs which were sent up to us on Wednesday last from the India House; together with the

abstract of Major Brown's correspondence from Delhi, and our proceedings upon them. There was something so marked in the delay with respect to sending out our despatches, and its probable consequences are so serious from the speculations on the Nabob's debts to which it must give rise, that we thought it impossible not to observe upon it in our letter to the Directors.

"I think you will also agree with us in opinion that the complexion of Hastings's last letter is such as to call loudly for strict and positive instructions to prevent our being involved in any wild projects of restoring Shah Allum or his son to the power and authority of former Emperors; especially when you compare it with Brown's instructions and correspondence, to which I was a perfect stranger till the Directors brought them forward to our notice in their additional paragraphs.

"These, and the point relating to Colonel Nelson's rank, are the only matters of any importance in those paragraphs, or in our letters upon them. I flatter myself that what we have done in these instances is as consonant to your ideas as it appeared to us to be to that general system which we have so often talked over. I trust also that you will feel with us that the impropriety of making ourselves parties to any further delay rendered it impossible for us, much as we wished it, to avail ourselves of your sentiments and assistance on the particular subjects in question.

"You must allow me to add that I feel very anxious for your early return to town, as every day more and more convinces me that we have much to consider before we can send out our Bengal despatches; and, at the same time, that it is of the highest importance that they should be sent out before the meeting of Parliament; and that too in so complete a state as may enable us to reply with confidence to the many observations that we shall be to expect on the subject from all quarters."

*Copy.*

HENRY DUNDAS to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1784, December 9. Edinburgh.—"Since closing my letter to Mr. Pitt, in which I have said I did not mean to write separately to you, I observe that I have omitted to attend properly to the latter part of your letter, wherein you state the necessity of our Bengal despatches going out complete before the meeting of Parliament. I feel and have ever felt that sentiment in its fullest force; but you will recollect that the execution of it does not depend upon ourselves, for I must set with our hands across till the Court of Directors shall send us materials to operate upon. This has suggested to me to write to you these few lines to beg of you, either yourself, or through Mr. Pitt, to urge the Chairman, in the most earnest manner, to bring forward their ideas, particularly upon the intended reduction of their establishment; for, upon that point, we will be particularly pressed. Allow me to ask you another question; is our Office in any forwardness? If it is not, depend upon it, I speak from experience, it will be impossible for us to carry on our business. Let me beg of you to learn where the delay is, and do not let the culpable person have one moment's rest about it. You may rest assured I shall be up to town in full time to complete every thing before Parliament meets, if the Directors will only let the business out of their hands."

The EARL OF MORNINGTON to the MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

1784, Decmber 23. Dublin.—"I have this moment received your very kind letter, and although I have certainly expected to hear from you

with some degree of impatience, I have never for an instant lost that confidence which I have long reposed in the steadiness and activity of your friendship towards me. I was therefore satisfied that, though you were silent, you had not forgot me. I will follow your directions in every respect, and for that purpose will see the Duke of R[utland] to-morrow; I really believe he means fairly by me, and wishes me well; but there is duplicity in the *efficient* part of his Government, and by that I believe his letter to Pitt was dictated. However I trust I shall not be outmanœuvred.

"By the conclusion of your letter I imagine you do not expect me at the first day of the meeting in London. It was my intention to have attended you, but I am not certain that it will not be wiser to remain here until the point now in question is decided. I am very anxious to receive your instructions on this head, and if it is not too much trouble, would request you to write one line by the return of post; for, if you think I ought to be in England, my brother sets out in about a fortnight, and I could travel with him, which would be much pleasanter to me than going alone. I will implicitly observe your directions in this matter, and am perfectly ready either to remain here, or to cross the sea, as you please.

"There is every appearance of quiet here; but I perfectly agree with you that discontent remains behind, that reform is not buried, and that commercial settlement is not galloping ground. The Duke of Rutland has been dangerously ill, and recovers very slowly. This illness has been, from what I can discover, a fever, not occasioned by a drunken bout as he has said, but which had been coming on for near a month. Half the town believe him to be . . . and that therefore the Duchess remains in England. There is no news. The Duke of Leinster has declared publicly his intention of opposing; and has also declared that he is no enemy to a moderate reform of Parliament. I hear he has been persuaded that his borough interest would not be injured, and might possibly be increased by the plan of reform which Flood proposed last year. *À propos*, this Duke is utterly ruined, and reduced to raising money by annuities at 15 to 20 per cent.

"Now let me conclude with that which ought more properly to have been the preface of my letter, my sincere congratulations upon your new honor. I ought indeed to have been more early in this compliment; but I fear I am always a little remiss in matters of mere compliment, though I believe my feelings are not less acute than those of any person living when your welfare, your dignity, or your honor are concerned. I do not rejoice a little in the fall of old Blue and Gold. I hope if he dares to continue his usurpation of the title of Buckingham, you will send all your tradesmen in London with their bills to him, and cure his pride thro' his avarice. I will certainly deliver your message to my brother about the houses in Buckinghamshire. If anything should happen here worthy of your notice, you may depend on hearing from me. J. Fitzgibbon is gone to London; it is said that he wants to be Chief Justice and to hoist Scott into Chancery; but I hope you will give us a good English Chancellor.

"I beg my best compliments to Lady Buckingham. I need not say how much I wish that I could partake of your Christmas; nor how happy I should be to be employed in adding a new stanza to Nanny's apology. Old General Pomeroy desires me to offer you his sincere congratulations on your new title, with every expression of respect."

The EARL OF MORNINGTON to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1785, January 26. Dublin. "I must freely confess that I began to be a little uneasy at your silence, but your very kind letter, which Fitzgibbon brought me, has satisfied my mind completely upon the whole of the subject to which it relates. I cannot express to you how warmly I feel the constant and active exertion of your friendship in every part of this business. I also acknowledge the weight of those reasons which induced you to preserve so long a silence upon the grounds of your advice. I have received a very civil letter from Pitt, and have answered it. I have resolved to follow your opinion with regard to remaining in this country, and I am anxious for an opportunity of manifesting my disposition to stand forward in the great business of final adjustment. Since I wrote to Lord Buckingham the office of President of the Council has actually been offered to the Duke of Leinster, and he has refused it. I considered this offer as a direct breach of faith with me, as (at the time it was made) my situation had not been provided for in any degree. I stated this to Orde, who confessed that such a proposal had been made to the Duke, and endeavoured to distinguish away the perfidy of the transaction; he however concluded by giving me the strongest grounds of expectation *that the other object which I had in view* would be brought within the scope of Irish patronage soon, and added the Duke of Rutland's determination to give it to me when it came; he then entered into a long harangue to prove the sincerity of *his* good wishes, and those of the Government towards me, and wound up the whole by expressing his hope that I would not refuse to take the same part in the conduct of the business in the House of Lords this year, that I had done in the last session. I thought I acted right in closing with his proposal; the additional trouble is a matter of no moment to me, and the faith and honor of Government will now be doubly pledged to me. I hope you will take occasion to impress the nature of this conduct on Pitt's mind, and seize that advantage for me which it seems to afford.

"The Duke of Rutland mentioned to me today a circumstance relative to the object which I have in view, which might possibly render it incompatible with my holding my seat in England. You know that I took that seat more in compliance with your wishes, and those of Lord Buckingham, than in pursuit of any view of my own mind; and as I am ready to resign it for your convenience, whenever you please, so I should think myself blind indeed to my own interest, if I were not even anxious to resign it, if such a step could in any degree tend to forward the object in question. I do not know whether you will at first comprehend this part of my letter; as I mean to seal with wax and wafer I will explain it more fully. The Duke told me that he understood that Pitt had it in contemplation to revive the Board of Trade, and that he meant to give the Vice-Treasureships to Ireland, in order to leave the influence of the Crown in England at the level to which it was brought by Burke's Bill.

"I had written so far when I received Lord Buckingham's most friendly letter. I cannot describe the excess of my sentiments of gratitude towards him for the zealous part he has so generously acted by me. I feel also the strongest impression of Pitt's sincerity and real attachment to my interest; I propose to write to both either tomorrow or next day. You will see how Orde's duplicity has *grown and flourished, increasing daily in stature and craft* even since I wrote to Lord Buckingham. Can there be a more gross or impudent piece of

treachery than his last endeavour to feed me with the hope of the Vice-Treasurership, knowing, as he must have done, that the idea of giving it into Irish patronage was abandoned? Is it not strange also that the Duke of Rutland should be so deceived? They both actually went so far as to assure me that Pitt's letter, in which he states to me the impossibility of giving me the office, referred to it as a matter of *English* patronage, and did not in any degree interfere with the expectations which they wished to create in my mind, with regard to it as a matter of *Irish patronage*. Orde was of course cautious of giving me any direct and positive promise on the subject; but he said he *had every reason to believe* that the Vice-Treasurer's offices would come back to Ireland.

"The Session has opened most auspiciously for the strength of Government and the peace of the country. The second day in the House of Commons produced a most spirited debate on the general situation of Ireland, and on the disturbances in the summer, in which Flood was most completely borne down by Fitzgibbon, Daly, and Grattan; the last took a most manly and honourable part; the Opposition betrayed evident symptoms of disunion and weakness; upon the whole, a favourable ground has been laid for a lasting settlement of the country. In the Lords, nothing was said which could lead to any discussion of the important questions on the state of the country, and the friends of Government were quite silent.

"After this last trait of Orde's character, I fear I must withdraw my neck from any concern in the management of the Lords, in which I had accepted a part. I do not think I can venture my honour with such a fellow; but in no event will I shrink from the support of Government, or diminish, in any degree, the zeal of my exertions for the establishment of peace and order in the country. I have not yet fully determined with regard to continuing in the management of the Lords. I hope to be able to take my decision tomorrow; as yet, I have not had sufficient time to give this very delicate question that consideration which it requires. My situation is really very distressing between the candor, the honour, and the friendship of Pitt, and the falsehood and perfidy of Orde. I cannot give those proofs which I would wish of my sense of obligation to the former, without incurring the risk of that disgrace and dishonour which, I fear, might attend any confidential connection with the latter.

*"How happy could I be with either!"*

"I think I should not find much difficulty in dealing with either singly; it is easy to treat with a man of honour, and it is not very difficult to kick a scoundrel.

*"But when they thus plague me together!"*

W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1785, February 19. [London.]—"I have been endeavouring till this time to sleep off my hoarseness, tho' not with much success. I return your spy's proposals; I hope they will not be too late. It is impossible to engage with him for a year on the terms he asks, but I think it would be well worth while to try him for a month or two, and even to pay him during this time in that extravagant proportion, if he cannot be brought to make a better bargain. I shall be much obliged to you if you will give him general assurances [to] this purpose. After all, to close the business, he must probably condescend to talk with a Commissioner, either at the Treasury, or Lord Carmarthen's Office."

## THE EARL OF MORNINGTON TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1785, March 2. Dublin.—“I think the date of the note at the top of the page would give you a good idea of my punctuality, if my total neglect of a debt, due since the summer before last, had not long ago sufficiently impressed it upon your mind; if I am further in your debt let me know. We are all impatient to the last degree for some decision upon our commercial system. I wish you would write me your opinion, and some account of the general impression . . . The utmost pains have been taken as well to depreciate the value of the concessions, as to represent the impossibility of their success in England; and we hear numberless predictions of Mr. Pitt's downfall; but the artifice does not succeed, and if Pitt is to fall, he will find Ireland ready to support him.

“Fitzpatrick has told a dammed lie (if the papers be accurate) with respect to the conduct of the adjustment of Irish Constitution in the Duke of Portland's government. I think you have the Irish Debates of 1782; pray turn to them and observe the Lord Lieutenant's message to both Houses on the 16th of April, and also Mr. Secretary Fitzpatrick's speech on the 27th of May, as well as the whole turn of the business of both days.

“I find also (by the paper) that Lord North has said he sees *no occasion for any adjustment of commerce with Ireland*. Now it is a little comical that when his Lordship was Secretary of State, and Ireland within his department, the Attorney-General Yelverton, the Minister of the House of Commons, should have solemnly assured the House that *a final commercial adjustment was in contemplation of Government*, and should actually have deferred a committee, which was moved for an enquiry upon the subject of the Navigation Act, on that very ground that a full settlement was under consideration.

“Fox also declares *that in some cases the interests of the countries are exactly opposite*. Pray read the Duke of Portland's speech at the close of our session in 1782 with regard to this doctrine.

“Nothing can equal the universal indignation which has arisen against Fox, Lord North, and Eden: we were, as we imagined, upon the point of settling this country for ever; our Militia and the abolition of Volunteers likely to be carried triumphantly by the strength of the commercial system; and that these rascals should check our advances towards peace and security is not to be endured. Pray let me hear from you soon. I hope you will be able to read this letter.”

## J. BERESFORD TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

1785, March 7. Dublin.—“Had it answered any purpose I would not have delayed a moment to answer your letter, but I had no merit to claim from you on the business of the *Ganges*; her fate, with that of her officers, was determined some days before I had the pleasure of your letter.

“From the time that English Acts of Parliament became of no force in Ireland, there was no law to regulate the import of East India goods, except the general laws of importation, the single article of tea only excepted. The India ships, therefore, that came in did just what they pleased; and more especially, because it had been determined upon trial that our officers could not search the persons of such people as went on board; and a verdict was given, with 800*l.* damages, against an officer



who made the attempt upon a man who had gone on board a skeleton and came on shore a Falstaff; and although the officer had been shot through the body in the attempt by the plaintiff in the action, by which means alone he was prevented from making a seizure. The gentlemen of the county and the officers of the *Ganges*, seeing how things stood, worked away without mercy, and treated our officers very ill indeed. At length, we seized three chests of tea coming out of her, which forfeited ship and all tea on board. We ordered her to be seized, and determined to condemn her, which we did do. It never could have been our intention to affect the property either of the East India Company or of the ship owners, neither of whom could have been concerned in smuggling; but, on the contrary, were much interested to prevent it; neither did we intend to ruin the officers who had precedent to plead. We therefore made the best enquiry we could into the amount of the smuggling, and the duties of the goods which escaped, thinking that the amount of the duties would be a good direction to us as to the sum we should fine the officers. On the best information we could obtain, the goods ought to have paid duties to the amount of above 5,000*l.*; this we thought too high, and fined them but 2,000*l.* They are well off, and, I hope, think so. The effect has been salutary; for, last week, the London East Indiaman arrived at Cork, the captain of which has been up and reported his ship in distress; he has requested officers to be put on board, has given the strongest directions against smuggling, and keeps the boats off from his vessel as yet; so that I hope we have put an end to a great grievance.

"This is the history of the transaction; how it could be tortured into any political question between the two countries I cannot conceive. You know enough of me to be sure that I would not suffer such a thing to happen. No, the abuse demanded exertion; the law was clear; we seized the ship; and the parties, so soon as they saw how the matter stood, submitted, disclaimed, and threw themselves on our mercy, which they have experienced.

"Having said so much, I must add that as I am certain you would not desire me to do what I ought not, so I should find it very difficult not to do any thing which I could do at your desire.

"The present situation of this country is such that nothing except strange disappointment can prevent our once more reducing the country to order and good government. *A strange jealousy has arisen on your side, and a fear that we should not perform our part of the compact.* I will not enter into the subject farther than to say that no men ever were more in earnest, that we have granted 140,000*l.* a year, and that all that our public men wanted was an excuse for voting, *which your Cabinet have imagined to be a deep scheme for reformation and retrenchment.* *We are however nearly met now, and I trust we soon shall; but I hope your Ministers will not rashly attempt to go too far. You know our people are easily led, hard to be driven; Orde will be able to explain, and I have no doubt all will be right."*

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, in London.

1785, March 30. [Stowe].—Commenting upon Mr. Grenville's Bill for the regulation of Parliamentary Committees.

The EARL OF MORNINGTON to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1785,] April 1. Dublin.—"I am much obliged to you for your letter, which gave me great spirits on the subject of our arrangement. The



clamour, which you say had been so industriously solicited, seems to me to have increased considerably since I received your letter ; yet the Duke assures me that the Ministry have no apprehension of any failure. I entirely agree with you in regard to the necessity of giving to Great Britain the same security for the permanency of our contribution to the general expence which she gives to us for the permanency of our share in the trade of the Empire ; and I conceive that no difficulty can occur here to prevent a full and effectual acknowledgment of this principle. I speak this upon a knowledge of the sentiments of most of the leading men here, but I hope in God that no consideration will induce Pitt to accede to the alteration of the principle of any of the nine commercial resolutions ; any such alteration would produce infinite embarrassment here. I do not believe that any man of the smallest degree of importance in this country would consent to such a measure. The consequence must be the failure of the whole system, and, in my opinion, the total overthrow of all English Government in Ireland. What I have stated is a sufficient proof of the utter impossibility which Fox and Lord North would find to govern this country by an administration founded on the ruins of the commercial adjustment between the kingdoms. My firm belief is that no English Government could stand a month under such circumstances. Even the Ponsonbys have, in the most public manner, pledged themselves to oppose in such an event ; conceive then to what a situation this worthy couple, who stand mutually charged by each other with the loss of America, would reduce the poor remnants of the Empire ! Lord North was a long while maintained in power by the American war, and now he would ride back into power upon the Irish war.

*Sanguine placâstis ventos et virgine cæsâ,  
Cum primum Iliacas Danai venistis ad oras,  
Sanguine quærendi reditus animaque litandum.*

“ You wish me to come over, and to deliver a great harangue on the great day of this great question (Jacksonice). I confess I am afraid. I think I understand the question tolerably well as it applies to Ireland ; but its application to the complicated system of English revenue, and to the almost innumerable branches of manufacture in that country, is so involved in a detail which I have had no means of knowing, and perhaps have not industry to go through, that I feel myself totally unequal and unfit to enter into the question in England. I conceive that the whole debate must turn upon such a detail ; and a general argument upon union, harmony, strength, glory, and knitting together of remnants, would make but a miserable sound, and perhaps recall the last dying speech of orator Flood to the memory of the House. The 10th and 11th propositions might afford some ground for an argument disengaged from the detail ; but I own fairly that I dare not venture. However, I must beg of you, for my private curiosity, to send me all the documents which have been laid before Parliament in England on this subject ; if they should not be conveyable by post, any of the Irish messengers might take them ; or if you send them to my brother, he will see about their conveyance.

“ In addition to my fears, I have reasons to detain me here, arising from the situation of this country. Our Militia Bill has not yet been discussed in the House of Lords ; indeed the Bill is not yet brought into the Commons. I also feel that in the event (which I hope is very improbable) of Pitt’s consenting to any alteration of our propositions, I should be in the unpleasant state of being obliged to oppose him, and perhaps the whole House. I need not say how eagerly I pant for London, if it were not for my public fears.

I have also some reasons, arising from my private affairs, which would make it inconvenient for me to leave Ireland before May.

"I was just going to conclude my letter when I recollected that I was desired some days ago to state a matter to your consideration as *Pay-Master*, upon which I beg you to decide without any regard to me, for I have no wishes on the subject. The Ponsonbys have got the office of pay-master of the 3,000 men, which are sent from the Irish establishment to Great Britain, for Burton of Carlow; and they have applied to me to request that you would inform him (Burton) whether you can, consistently with the rules of your Office, agree to draw upon him for the pay of these forces every *quarter*, in the place of every *month*. As far as I can understand, he will make a profit of about 150*l.* a year by such a settlement; and the Ponsonbys say that, when Loftus had the office, the remittance to the English pay-office was made as they now wish it to be settled, *every quarter*. Let me have some answer for Burton; I do not care a damn what it may be.

"Pray give my love to Apsley and to all my friends. I wish to God I was with you, for here

I have no mate, nor brother in exile  
Nor has old custom made this life more sweet  
Than that of *painted pomp* —"

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE, London.

1785, April 10. [Stowe.]—"I have ventured one very urgent consideration to you in the margin of your Bill respecting the excused members. The other interests me less, but it should be well considered; and surely it would be prudent that even this Bill should be shewn to Lord Mansfield and Lord Loughborough, unless Pitt can shew it to Thurlow and engage his support. Perhaps it might have been as well to have met at once all the cases in dispute, costs, nominees and others, but the bill of fare for this sessions seems large enough. Your expedient for the decision of the right I own I like better than any which has occurred; that of the costs does not please me so much; but of this we may talk at leisure. Of your correspondent, who claims your acquaintance some years since, I know nothing. The owner of the remaining estate at Westbury is a parson, who plagues me for a living.

"We treated him [Mr. Minshall County Treasurer] with great civility, which brought on a conversation respecting the Buckinghamshire Committee. He complained bitterly of their decisions; under which Lord Verney is to go through the whole of his case before Mr. A[ubrey] is to answer. This, he says, is decisive; for that no property or subscription is equal to the expence; that he has advised his party to abandon it, but cannot prevail; but that in a few days it must be given up, for that the bills *which he has seen* amount to above 200*l.* per diem, of which the counsel have 35 guineas, *instead of pleading gratis*; and the witnesses now in town amount to 120. All this time Mr. A[ubrey] pays 20 guineas to his counsel and 2 guineas to two clerks; and in this ratio of proportion they are to proceed, (not knowing for certain the opinions of the Committee on each particular vote,) till the whole of the case is gone through. Upon the whole he thinks Mr. Aubrey is certain, but that Lord G. Cavendish will force the litigation as far as money can be collected for it. He added that on Thursday they had, *in all*, disqualified two votes at the expence of 700*l.*

"Thus far I had writ when Mr. Frogatt appeared to tell me that Mr. Law, counsel for Lord Verney, had accused me of withholding

evidence which was material to them. Frogatt will shew you the copy of my letter to him, and of the steps which I have directed him to take, if that gentleman refuses to state to the Committee his misinformation. Mr. Aubrey has desired me, through Frogatt, to give him information, and evidence about the Brocas votes in Buckingham. I have directed Frogatt to tell him that I expressly understood from Mr. Aubrey that he did not mean to object to them before I had mentioned any thing about them ; and that I could not give him any information upon which to found an objection ; but that if he called for any evidences or deeds, I should, in the same spirit of fairness, give them."

THE EARL OF MORNINGTON TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1785, May 20-31. Dublin.]—"I give you many thanks for your kind attention to the anxiety which I must naturally have felt upon the first divisions on our propositions. There is a very general discontent here with respect to Pitt's alterations (if the newspapers faithfully represent them,) which I hope and am willing to believe they do not. The outlines of the principal objections are these. That under the 3rd proposition as amended by Eden, and the 9th, we are bound to take East Indian goods through Great Britain only, and have no security against the imposition of any duties whatever that Great Britain may please to lay upon their passage ; by which means a great loss may arise to our revenue, or a great enhancement of the price of East Indian goods to the consumer in Ireland. The 3rd proposition is so loosely worded, and so confused by the amendments, that I can scarcely venture to pronounce whether this objection is founded or not. It struck me to be founded at the first reading ; but I do suppose it cannot be meant to impose such an unjust condition upon Ireland ; and therefore I conclude that your meaning is misunderstood, or not sufficiently expressed. An objection is also started against the exception of English beer from the Irish countervailing duty ; but I am told that this point has been mistaken, and is to be set right.

"It is not deemed perfect reciprocity to bind us against prohibitions, or new or additional duties on the export of some of our raw materials, whilst you are allowed to continue your prohibitions on your raw wool exported. But the most material exception has been taken against the words in the 18th proposition (the due collection thereof being secured by permanent provision;) if by *permanent provision* a perpetual revenue Bill be meant, the idea is utterly inadmissible; and I can affix no other meaning to the words. I hope in God that Pitt will seriously weigh this point, and that he has been well and sincerely advised of the opinion of the first people in the Irish Parliament upon the subject. I am persuaded that no power of Government could carry a perpetual revenue Bill ; and I am also decidedly of opinion that there is no necessity to press such a measure, and that the surplus is more safe without any such perpetual law.

"As to the 4th proposition on which Fox, as I hear, made such an outcry, as if it were an attack on the independence of the Irish Parliament, I do not find that has occasioned any alarm, but much must depend upon the wording of it. I hear it does not stand as we see it in the papers.

"Upon the whole, I fear there may be difficulties here ; Grattan, Daly, and the Speaker are not pleased ; the Ponsonby's, I am told, are up in arms ; and I cannot think that any man will be found to vote for a *perpetual Revenue Bill*, excepting the very dregs of the Houses.

"I am dying with impatience to get to England, but cannot go without the Duke of Rutland's leave. Pray warn Pitt of the situation here."

The MARQUIS of BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, London.

1785, July 10. [Stowe.]—Concerning his proxy in the House of Peers; and elections for the House of Commons.

The SAME to the SAME.

1785, July 17. [Stowe.]—"I have written very much at length to Lord Camelford upon the subject of my proxy. It was desired from me by Lord Sydney avowedly to contradict the reports occasioned by my absence, and it was given with a reservation as to the 4th proposition, which I see hourly stronger reasons for disliking; but, as the detail is too long, I refer you to my letter to Lord Camelford for them. As therefore my proxy was given not for my satisfaction, but for that of Government, I certainly can have no objection to having it suppressed; but as to the avoiding the giving it, there is no difficulty; unless the peer holding it chooses to stay in the House after the division, and battle it, as in the case of the Duke of Richmond; so that I am wholly indifferent about it.

"As to my absence, you know that it was not my original idea; for, till I was confined, I constantly attended with the materials in my pocket for attack or defence; and it was certainly my intention to have born my testimony to the necessity and wisdom of the measure. But I certainly should have found difficulties about the 4th proposition; and I see so clearly the consequences of the language held by Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan, that I own I am not sorry to be absent; as I could not have explained the reasons for my dissent, nor could I, with my present impressions, have agreed; and, as to the other considerations, I am indifferent about them.

"Pitt has sent me a messenger recommending a Mr. Thornton for Bridgwater, whom I support as Lord Poulett does not propose any one; but I much wish to know who is to be put up against him by Mr. Fox; be so good therefore as to enquire and let me know. I conclude there will be difficulties about the surveyor at Newport, but, at all events, get a letter from Rose or the Office, in order to send it to Pearson."

The SAME to the SAME.

1785, August [1-12]. Margate.—Concerning official patronage, and corsairs in the Mediterranean.

The SAME to the SAME.

1785, August 13. Margate.—"The note which you received was concerning the living of Padbury, now vacant, which I meant to solicit through you from the Chancellor; but, afterwards, I changed my mind and wrote to him; but have received no answer, as possibly he may have addressed it Stowe, or as possibly have forgot it. You know that it is only  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile from Buckingham, and therefore an object to me, as the Corporation have, for the three last vacancies, always (through our family) recommended to it. I shall wait a day or two; and, if I hear nothing, I shall write again to this pattern of all elegant and gentle manners.

"As to your clerkship I have repeatedly turned it in my mind with the view of making it useful to our joint object of election politics; and I cannot see any arrangement which would answer our views, and therefore I have abandoned it in this point of view. And I feel that I have no right to press any solicitation of a mere private nature upon you, as you possibly have claims upon your goodness and humanity which I should be sorry to break in upon. At the same time, I cannot help feeling much interested for a very respectable person of the name of Wood. He was for ten years an Ensign in the army, and served in America till the battle of Brandywine, when, upon finding a Lieutenant put into his regiment above him as senior ensign, he resigned his commission. Upon his return home he found his father considerably involved in debt, which affected only the life interest which he had in the small estate entailed upon this unfortunate man. He relieved him, by joining in the sale of part of it; and, having been intimately known to Captain Harris, he was recommended to me for a commission, and served till the regiment was broke, and behaved himself with singular propriety during that period. Since he lost that commission he has lived upon his savings; and has had the misery of being obliged to take his father out of prison at the expence of almost all the estate he was heir to; and, in a short time after, saw that father irrecoverably mad; in which state he continues, supported by the son who has now nothing left for him, or for a wife and two children. She is of Stoney Stratford, and well connected there. I have relieved them, but this complicated distress affects me as it will you. Mr. Wood is now 30 years old; he is a singular master of music; and speaks French, German, Spanish, and Italian, all which he has taught himself, but from none of which can he earn a piece of bread for his support.

"I have told my melancholy tale and must leave it to you, well knowing that, if you cannot make him happy, you will feel as much for him as I do. We are very pleasantly settled, far from the refined elegancies of Margate, but enjoying our air, exercise, and bathing to the fullest extent. Your bed room is reserved for you, and kept warm at present by Betty McKensie . . . I am impatient to hear that the *triumvirate* of which we talked is finally settled; but I conclude that obvious reasons will prevent the declaration of it till the event of the *hanging day*, as you call it in your last, is known."

THE EARL OF MORNINGTON TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1785, August 13. Dublin.—"Orde last night moved for leave to bring in the Bill. There was a very long debate, in which Grattan spoke a most eloquent, but the most inflammatory and mischievous speech I ever heard. At a quarter after eight this morning the House divided;

Ayes for leave to bring in the bill, 127

Noes " " 108

"This was a majority only of 19, and under circumstances which predict fatally to the measure. Ponsonby spoke for admitting the Bill, but expressly reserved his judgment upon its contents when it should be brought in. Ogle did the same. Sir L. O'Brien for admitting the Bill; but declared himself an enemy to the 4th proposition, and to its principle. Flood in violent opposition, but a most stupid speech; Pole spoke very strongly for the measure, Conolly furious against it. Daly was *absent*, so was Cuffe, and all Lord Loftus's members.

"Under all the circumstances I think the measure lost, and it is the opinion of everybody to whom I have spoken, of any understanding. The clamour in the country is said to be very high, but of this I cannot speak with any certainty. Many petitions have certainly been presented. Upon the whole, I think that it would be a work of phrensy to struggle with all the difficulties that now embarrass the measure; it must be abandoned,—how? is the question. Pray send this letter to Lord Buckingham with my best regards; remember to send me my parcel by the first messenger.

"Nothing yet in the Lords. Pery told me he thought the measure lost, though he declared to me yesterday that he approved it. Flood means to move on Monday a resolution declaratory against the fourth proposition; which I think will be carried."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, in London.

1785, August 18. [Margate.]—"Lost indeed! and how lost? by the folly or treachery of Mr. Orde, who has so repeatedly pledged himself for the only branch of knowledge necessary on such an occasion, that of his red book. It cannot be surprise; for how is it possible that, with six months notice, such a defection can have taken place as that of Daly, Cuffe, both placemen; the members of Lord Loftus mostly in office, and himself just created; of Ponsonby, for his members (all but one in office) are clearly lost upon the 4th proposition; of Ogle with a job just done for him. How can this be, and the Duke of Rutland and Mr. Orde innocent in the eyes of an impartial man? I repeat, it cannot be surprise; for my doubts staggered Mr. Pitt, and he was confirmed in his hopes of carrying the Bill through by the repeated declarations from Ireland. I would almost give my life that my prophecy had failed, for I look upon this as the most melancholy news which could have reached me. But it is perfectly useless to look back and rail at those who so well deserved it. Mr. Pitt must take his line immediately; yet what that is to be is indeed almost inexplicable. It is phrensy to persevere in the 4th proposition; *that* is now irrecoverable, for Mornington says truly that there is not a doubt but that Flood will carry his resolution. And it seems to me very doubtful how far other parts of the system which press upon Ireland will be carried, for I well know the temper of that country; and an angel from heaven shall never persuade me that there is steadiness and influence in that House to resist a popular clamour, raised against English measures (as the Bill will now be termed,) and against an Administration who have shewn themselves so criminally unequal to their situations as the Duke of Rutland and Mr. Orde. With these impressions it appears to me probable that the question for adjourning the measure, under the plea of giving time for considering the system, will be carried by Opposition; and it will probably have been carried before Mr. Pitt can hear further from Ireland.

"The next consideration is how far (if the measure can be carried there by proper precautions taken in the interval) it may not be wise to sacrifice the 4th proposition; and conclude the treaty, trusting to (what I should deem adequate security for the point contended for) the influence and power of England upon the Navigation laws when they occur in Ireland. However, upon all these points I have very little the means of forming an opinion, not having the material data, and I have written more to relieve my own mind than for any other purpose; but much time must elapse before I can relieve it from the indignation I feel against those

who have deceived us so grossly. I feel every thing most kindly and most truly for Pitt; and if he thinks that I am likely to assist him by conversing with him for  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour upon Ireland, I will come to town immediately; though I own I have little to offer to him but execrations against his deceivers, and the most cordial friendship to him. Perhaps the feelings of this moment may make me see the prospect more gloomily, but this desperate game may be driven so far as to lead to consequences of the most serious nature. Whatever they may be, public opinion and private friendship will always bind me a steady friend to his character and situation; but I verily think both are now at stake; and he must not be offended if I urge him to trust as little as possible to assurances in which he has so fatally bought his experience. I wish you therefore to communicate this to him, as I offer it upon a knowledge of Irish characters, as much as upon my opinion of the characters of the Duke of Rutland and Mr. Orde. My impatience to hear further the news of Ireland as fast as it arrives, and to know your sentiments at large upon this delicate business, has persuaded me to send a groom to you with this; and you will keep him till you think fit to order him back; which will probably be with the news of Flood's motion being carried, and with some explanation of Mr. Pitt's ideas as to measures which he will adopt.

"I do not ever remember to have felt the same agitation upon a public question; for even the struggles of February 1784 were not so serious either to the public, or to my private friendships and affections."

THE EARL OF MORNINGTON TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1785, August 20. [Dublin.]—"Since my last letter I have been convinced that the hasty abandonment of the Bill, which I condemned at the first appearance, was absolutely a measure of necessity. I suppose you will see Cooke, who will state the whole circumstantially to you, within these few days. Pery has declared his resolution to resign the Chair on the next day of meeting, and William Ponsonby has stepped forth to oppose Foster, the Government Speaker. Ponsonby is supported by the Duke of Leinster, Conolly, Lord Loftus, and of course by Lord Shannon; the contest will be hard, though Government talk confidently of success. Ponsonby's conduct requires no comment. Cooke will tell you what has passed between the Duke and me, and how I have acted. I am in wretched spirits and impatient to get away; the Duke has detained me, as he says the commercial system will probably be mentioned in the address at the end of the session, and he wishes me to stay for the discussion which may then arise. I cannot, in honour, leave him, but I think it will be imprudent to revive the discussion of the system in the present session. The clamour in the country has been very great, and has only been appeased by the dereliction of the Bill; the county members are in good humour with Government on account of their *handsome concession to the wishes of the people*, as it is called; but all the old ill blood will be in fresh motion if any attempt is made in the Address, to keep the propositions alive. You will no doubt observe how *fairly* Pery has acted in the business. I firmly believe he has made his bargain with Ponsonby's people for a Parliamentary provision, and means to overturn the Administration."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE, in London.

1785, August 25. [Margate.]—"Many thanks to you for your goodness to my poor (and literally poor) Mr. Wood, but I have not



informed him how much he is indebted to your humanity till I know from you Lord Mulgrave's acquiescence."

"My letters from Ireland (from friends of Government) are indeed most violent against the infatuation of Government there; and have, I own, given me very serious reflexions. I have enclosed one, under the seal of secrecy, to Mr. Pitt from Coote, in order that he may see what the language is of that country. It tallies with what I hear from Delvin, and from two other persons not in Parliament, that the lists of the minority were exact and public many days prior to the division. I am not cooled yet upon the scandalous negligence or treachery of those to whom the conduct of the business has been entrusted; nor can I conceive how they can again be trusted by Mr. Pitt, whom they have so cruelly injured, by Irish Opposition who are wild with exultation, or by Irish friends of Government whom they have pledged to unpopularity and have abandoned. What to advise I know not; but I fear that the essentials of the Bill are irrecoverably gone; and the language now in that country is for protecting duties, and for free trade to America, East Indies, and, in short, for every wild speculation short of the only speculations which may be useful. The experiment of waiting till the distress of Ireland obliges her to call for some new system, or for some part of the old, is, in many points of view, very hazardous; the abandoning her to her own inventions, and putting upon Government the task of negating those which are incompatible with prudence or justice, without proposing any which may relieve their real grievances, is likewise full of danger. When you have any opinion either of what will be done, or what ought to be done, I wish you could spare three days." *Seal of arms.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1785, September 1. Margate.—"Though I have twice written to Thurlow about the living of Padbury for Eyre, recommended by Buckingham, *I can get no answer!* What to do I know not.

"I find from Ireland that Ponsonby has declined. In truth, I never was very uneasy about that question, as I knew the difficulties which old Ponsonby found in his canvass for it in 1782. Mornington writes very despondently to me upon it; but I wrote about a week ago and gave him that opinion. All my letters from that country, and those to Lord Cunningham, who is here, speak in the strongest terms of the notoriety of the numbers for ten days before the division, and of the disunion of Government. I have enclosed one letter, under an injunction of secrecy as to the name, to Mr. Pitt. I think I owed it to him, particularly as I am most seriously uneasy for the credit and peace of the Ministers and the empire, committed to such glaring incapacity as that which we have seen. I own that reflection has not cooled me upon their subject; for, in all its parts, the business speaks the foulest mismanagement or treachery, and Mr. Pitt is mad if he trusts to them for a repetition of this game.

"I find from Devagnes that the Directors and you will have finished your despatches on Saturday; if so, I should hope that we might be able to see you here, where you will find the bathing good; and you will see as little as you please of a company composed of the most heterogeneous materials ever jumbled together."

W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1785, October 2. Brightelmstone.—"Devagnes has been so kind as to make me a visit here, and has left the articles of treaty with



Monsieur Renier, which I enclose. Each article has been separately approved, with the amendments, by the Court of Directors; but no question yet put upon the whole. Baring, I understand, was absent. I have told Devagnes that we shall probably be able to give our opinion in a week or ten days. It seems to me, on the first view, that the security is sufficient, as the Directors of the French Company are to be bound severally as well as jointly; and I see no objection to the arrangement. But I wish to hear what you think; and shall be glad also if you will take the trouble, when you have conversed with Baring, to send a messenger to Dundas for his opinion.

"I have desired Devagnes also to send you some papers relative to a scheme of a settlement on the Caffre Coast, to answer in some respects the purposes of the Cape, and to serve also as a receptacle for convicts; which I hope you will have time to look at. The produce of our taxes brings us, I think, within 2 or 300,000*l.* of the million surplus, at this moment; but there is a confusion of dates in the last account which, tho' it cannot be very material, makes me not speak with absolute certainty.

"I am just setting out to the West for about ten days; and if you write on any of the business I have mentioned, shall be glad to hear from you at Burton, till after Saturday's post."

W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1785, October 4. [Burton Pynsent].—"I received yesterday the extract of the General Letter from Bengal of 26th February; and the enclosure from Mr. Fraser. The information of the first (except what relates to the wants of Madras) seems to promise well; but I am inclined to follow Mr. McPherson's recommendation of not judging by what they intend to do. The despatches by the *Hinchinbroke* will be important, and I hope will arrive before your departure.

"The intimation from the Dutch East India Company, as communicated by Sir J. Harris, seems to me to deserve no sort of encouragement. As I understand it, it is only a scheme for giving into their hands, without any advantage in return, part of our own China trade to the amount of three ships; with the additional circumstance of our advancing a loan, in the mean time, on no stated security, and on a very doubtful credit. If it strikes you in the same manner, I think the opinion of the Board should be sent to Lord Carmarthen, that he may instruct Sir J. Harris to give no encouragement to a proposal of this nature, at least until it comes accompanied with such collateral advantage as may make it worth while to listen to it. He will, of course, at the same time repeat our general readiness to attend to any thing that can be suggested for the mutual benefit of both Companies. I shall leave this place on Sunday morning. If any thing occurs to you on this subject or that of the French proposal, be so good to send your letter to Downing Street, with directions to have it forwarded by a messenger.

"I conclude you will have seen Baring. Adieu. I wish you much edification from your tour."

The SAME to the SAME.

1785, October 6. Burton Pynsent.—"I have been very sorry to hear of your being so much out of order, which I had understood from Rose, since my former letters to you. When you are enough recovered to make it not troublesome to you, I hope you will still contrive to see

Baring, as it seems material that you should discuss the French business with him before it is determined upon. Even supposing the general plan as clear as Dundas thinks it (which I am much inclined to do) still the particular terms of the bargain should be canvassed minutely; and Baring seemed, when I saw him, to have some scruples about them. I have written to Lord Carmarthen on the Dutch business much as you seem to wish. The idea which had been thrown out to Sir J. Harris was certainly not a formal proposal and admits of no direct answer. I shall be sorry if I miss seeing you before you go, especially if there is any thing you are at all anxious to talk about. I shall be as near as Brighthelmston, if not actually in London, before the end of next week, and possibly you will not be set out.

"It now appears clearly that, allowing for the produce of this year's taxes, we are within about 200,000*l.* of the million. Dundas's letter is enclosed. You will probably have heard from Lord Mornington what passed in our conversation, which gave me very great satisfaction indeed."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE, at Whitehall.

1785, December 24. [Stowe.]—Recommending the appointment of Mr. Hepburn, of Chesham, as Surveyor.

W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1785, December 25. Holwood.—"I am very sorry to lose the pleasure of seeing you, tho' the credit of my place might be a good deal risked by trying its effects on a cold. I return Richardson's letter. I had heard some thing of such a proposal being in agitation some time since; and two days ago Baring mentioned it to me. He seemed very apprehensive it would be rejected, but we had not time to enter into the particulars. Unless there is some objection to the plan, which I can form no conception of, it seems impossible to suffer the Court of Directors to make difficulties; and *one way or other* I am convinced it may be carried. I can imagine that there may be some reason, or at least pretence, for not throwing all the ships the Company have at present, out of employ at once; but the utmost that can follow from this consideration, is to keep them, if they will accept of as low terms as those now proposed. And then it would be right to give Brough a preference in all new ships that may be taken up. It may be material to enquire whether Brough can, in fact, give sufficient security (as he alleges,) and whether the burden of the ships is suited to the voyages, or, if not, whether he will vary his proposal so as to make it so. This is all that occurs to me on this subject at present.

"I think there will be no use in my having the papers respecting the debts till we can go thro' them together. I hope you will be enough recovered to venture hither in a day or two. I rather believe there is no levée on Wednesday, in which case I wish not to be in town. Unless you are quite confined, you certainly need not fear visiting Addiscombe, as there is a thermometer in every room, which is never below 60 in any weather. I think it would be of use if you could see Baring."

THE SAME to the SAME.

1786, January. [London.]—"I have opened the enclosed since I returned your paper.

Lord M[acartney] having gone to Bengal leaves a chance that he may have received there the news of his appointment as Governor General."

## The SAME to the SAME.

1786, [January.—]—"By a letter just received, most of our fears for the Chair are dissipated. I even think the majority will be great. Daly is for Foster; Grattan the same, unless Ogle stands. The country gentlemen, most of them, well inclined; and some even of the Duke of Leinster's friends, and other Opposition members." *Seal of arms.*

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, in London.

1786, May 7. Bath.—"We have both begun the Bath waters. They agree vastly well with me, and have certainly, with the assistance of exercise, been already of use to me. Lee is here and recovers very fast; but George Fitz-Williams died yesterday morning at Bristol, an hour before the express came to his lodgings with news of his nephew's birth. You will hardly think me serious when I tell you that a match is offered to me for Dick, which in all its circumstances (. . . the lady is only 6 years old) bids fair to be the first in England. The girl is the only daughter to the Duke of Chandois, heiress to 7,000*l.* per annum from her mother, and to twice that estate from her father. This seems so ludicrous that nothing but the habit of telling you all I think makes me open it to you. She is a very handsome child, very strong, healthy and lively, and the lady mother has proposed it (but without calling for any answer) as the thing that would make her husband and her most extremely happy. Here then it must remain, with abundant civility on all parts, till the young couple can think a little for themselves. All this is told you in the greatest mystery, not to be repeated to any one, but to be kept in your eye.

"My Somerset copper goes on wonderfully, paying now its expences and promising most richly."

## The SAME to the SAME.

1786, May 12. Bath.—"I received your letter so late yesterday that I could not answer it by the return of the post, which I should earnestly have wished, for the sake of acknowledging your attention to me upon every point which you think may interest me, and for the sake of marking to you my uneasiness at the present state of this unpleasant business.

"I had seen in the newspapers the story to which you advert, and I had laughed at it with Lord Nugent and Lady Buckingham, from the conviction of the impossibility of it; but your account of the publicity of it, and of the degree of foundation (however misrepresented) for it, has left me in a very unpleasant state of mind upon it. You know that my first object was to enter into no competition, nor to be supposed to do it; and when the King's promise was given to me (which was afterwards broken in favour of the Landgrave of Hesse) you know how earnest I was to prevent the idea that the Garter was to be opened for me. With this view I proposed to Mr. Pitt that, as two Garters were now to be given to the royal family, the disposal of that which is vacant should be stopped till the whole measure took place; and in the mean time I have scrupulously prevented the circulation of any report of a promise to me. See now the state of this business. After having been *supposed* to be *sur les rangs* for this object, I am *supposed* to be put [by] for Lord Cornwallis, upon a *supposed* competition with him; and whenever the promotion is declared, I shall be to bear the odium of having for such

a bauble advised or compelled this innovation ; as it seems now generally believed that Lord Cornwallis has got that which is actually vacant.

“ With these impressions I am indeed very uneasy, and very undecided as to my acceptance of it even should the King agree to the immediate investiture. But, as to our former idea of delaying it to the rising of Parliament, I must explicitly declare that I will not then, under all these considerations, accept of that which I am persuaded must disgrace me. I fully acquit Mr. Pitt of having any share in, or being able to foresee this dilemma ; but I cannot help remarking that, after having been promised the first Garter unless Prince Edward interfered, I have found that engagement broken after a delay of three months ; and, after six weeks further, the matter is so *embrouillé* that it seems doubtful whether I can take it in any shape. For, you will observe, that even the immediate nomination of all the five does not obviate my difficulty ; for I can be useful either to the King's government or to Mr. Pitt only in proportion as I am treated with attentions or otherwise, unless I was to endeavour to create an importance by taking that sort of part which would disclaim all immediate connexion with them. This, you will easily conceive, does not meet my ideas ; and I only mention it to show my difficulties under all the circumstances, founded and unfounded, of this transaction. Do not believe me captious ; for I solemnly protest that, so far from believing or from having a jealousy about this story, I had amused myself with the *Morning Herald* accounts of my ill humour upon the subject of this Garter. But Lord Cornwallis's story, either from his indiscretion or from that of the King, is believed ; I am not at liberty to justify my situation by stating the original engagement to me ; and my acceptance of the Order, in the manner in which it is to be given, is the strongest confirmation of these reports ; whilst my refusal of it puts me, not only with the King and with Mr. Pitt, but with the public, in a more awkward situation. It is, however, upon the whole that to which I am more immediately inclined ; though I acknowledge that I shall be very severely mortified by it. In all events, you will be so good as to explain to Mr. Pitt the necessity of my knowing His Majesty's determination upon the proposal which you suggested should be immediately made, that I may not interfere with his arrangements if, upon full consideration of all the parts of this transaction, I should decline it. I shall, however, always be sensible to your attentions to me in this business, from the beginning of it, when you brought me the message which I told you then (most truly) I did not look for, to the present moment, in which you have so kindly endeavoured to facilitate what I fear I must submit to see pass me, from the unpleasant circumstances coupled with it ; not proceeding from my indiscretion or from any thing which I could either prevent or foresee. And this fatality seems more or less to have interfered in almost every object of my last two years.”

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1786, May 17. Bath.—“ You will not wonder at my impatience in seeing the post arrive this morning without any letter from you upon the very interesting subject upon which I wrote to you on Friday last. Your silence makes my situation more unpleasant, as I should imagine that the question to which I desired you to get an answer from Mr. Pitt, (and which in fact is almost forestalled in your conversation with him prior to your last letter to me) surely might have been answered within this time ; and you must be sensible how

much every day's delay adds to my unpleasant sensations in general, and to the particular difficulties of this business, which, I can assure you, so presses upon my mind from the various considerations affecting it, that I would willingly forego all wishes for this object, if I could, with honour, be clear of all the various conversations upon it. I trust then whatever the case may be, that you will not leave me longer in the dark.

"I learn here very little of what is going on. Young tells me that he imagines Hastings' business must end soon. How that is to be I cannot conceive, unless it is supposed that Burke will throw up the prosecution upon a negative being put upon the first article; a supposition for which there seems little ground, though the evidence (as printed) seems much in favour of Mr. Hastings.

"The prorogation of the Irish Parliament does not agree with what you told me of the intentions of Government respecting the French business; for I can hardly believe that it would be prudent to call them again in the summer, nor do I see how it is to be done if Orde is as ill as he is said to be. Lord Welles came from Ireland two days ago, and told me that he had seen Orde, who was hardly able to stir, and said he was going immediately to Spa for his complaint, which is an ulcerated liver case. By talking with him, and with Lord De Vesci and Mr. Monk, I find that the Irish are very jealous of the supposed very enormous profits which we make by our Portugal trade; and that there is much real dissatisfaction upon their restraint upon Portugal wines, as if it were a measure dictated by the intrigues of our merchants, and not by the pure motives which we know were the foundation for it. Might it not be eligible, for this and for other objects still more material which must occur to you, to institute an enquiry in council into the state of that trade, with the intention of making public that report of the duties on our woollens, linens, hardware, and leather, as compared with the same commodities from Germany, Spain, France, and Holland. In all these articles, and from all these countries (as well as my memory serves) the preference is against us; and surely it might be expedient that this fact should be stated in Parliament by communicating that report, whatever the final result of the consideration of it might be.

"I conclude that I am not mistaken in supposing that Mr. Pitt accepted Mr. Fox's clause to his sinking fund Bill for the sake of making it more difficult to divert any part of this fund hereafter, rather than for any real purpose to be answered by the powers given; for I must own that I see no one real advantage from it. As to the wine excise, there seems very little difficulty in it from the wine merchants here and at Bristol; except that they all hope that the duty on sweets will be very much raised; or else they say that the innkeepers will all do what is now done by the great inns at Marlborough, Reading, and Salthill, brew their own wine. Lord North, you know, lowered the duty on sweets when he raised that on wines; and, they say, unless the old duty is restored, and the three 5 per cents added to it, that this practice will be very prevalent indeed. I doubt not but that Mr. Pitt has very good information; but you would do well to mention this to him, I shall be very anxious, as probably you will, for the account of the 5 of June quarter; have you heard how it is likely to answer?

"I find great benefit from the waters, which I constantly drink. I feel myself much better, and shall proceed from hence westward; however I do not think of moving till after the King's birthday. My copper has hitherto paid its expences: and this morning a specimen has been brought to me from a vein extremely extensive, and six feet thick,



of an ore which is heavier than copper, and which we suspect to be iron and copper mixed. It is now in the crucible, and by tomorrow morning I shall possibly be considerably richer, if it turns out as we hope from its weight. The Bristol merchants have applied to me for the refusal of this copper, in order to obviate a monopoly attempted against them by the Cornish Metal Company."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1786, June.—"Smith, my 2nd clerk, is just dead. This, by the removes in the Office, vacates my junior; for which, by a very old and frequently pressed solicitation, Joseph Sealey of Buckingham is destined. But the aforesaid Joseph is clerk in the Surveyor-General's Office in Ireland at 70*l.* per annum; and I am pressed to get that vacancy for Edward Box, now an extra clerk in the Custom House at Dublin. I wish therefore you would, by letter or interview with Orde, arrange this. You will see (what I can promise) that no money transaction is in the case; and the ages are the same; and, ultimately, it will give to the Duke of Rutland Box's office, unless you can contrive to get the nomination for some of our very numerous claimants. But the first remove, [of] Box vice Sealey, I hope may certainly succeed.

"By the post I cannot state all that I feel for your very unpleasant situation, and I know too little of the real interior to hazard a judgment on such very ticklish business; but the appearances are upon every account more unpalatable than any which I have seen for a long time; and, consequently, such as would in my mind (upon this very superficial reasoning) urge most strongly the expediency of any step which would liberate you from these difficulties. I can say nothing more where I know so little; but, in truth, my reflections upon this, and upon the subject which we so often discussed respecting the advancement of one to whom you are more partial than I am, make me very anxiously uneasy. I think I see the most fatal, or certainly the most unpleasant consequences from this vote upon Mr. Hastings' impeachment; and the most revolting consequences from the last mentioned measure which I cannot help thinking not wholly unconnected with it; and against that appointment I must protest most solemnly whenever it comes, as objectionable upon more grounds than that of any person in the kingdom. To all this I know your answer, and I must lament it, because your acquiescence will much facilitate the measure. I would not write thus if I did not think it possible that little time might elapse, before it took place. However, it is probable that we may meet at no distant time, as Lord Bulkeley's arrival in England will bring me to Stowe by the 10th of July." *Seal of arms.*

W. W. GRENVILLE to THOMAS ORDE.

1786, July, [5 or 6. Whitehall.]—"As I thought it uncertain when I might have an opportunity of seeing you, I am induced to take this mode of troubling you with a request which Lord Buckingham, who is in the country, has written to desire me to mention to you.

"By the death of one of his clerks in the Exchequer Office, there is a vacancy to which he intends to name a young man (Joseph Sealey) whom he made, when he was in Ireland, a clerk in the Surveyor General's Office there, at 70*l.* per annum. This last appointment he is very desirous of obtaining in favour of another *protegé* of his, whose name is Edward Box, and who is now an extra clerk in the Custom

House in Dublin. If therefore this arrangement is not wholly inconsistent with the Duke of Rutland's engagements and your's, he trusts that you will have the goodness to forward it, especially as the vacancy is made by his promoting Seeley, and as Box's present office will, of course, fall to the disposal of Government."

THOMAS ORDE to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1786, July 8. Sudbury Green.—"I have received your letter upon the subject of some arrangements in small offices in Ireland by Lord Buckingham's promotion of Mr. Joseph Sealey. I cannot doubt of my Lord Lieutenant's readiness to gratify his Lordship, if no particular engagement, which I am not aware of, should prevent him from being able to do so. I trust that there will be no such impediment; and I have written to Mr. Hamilton to make the necessary arrangements in case the Duke should have no objection."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1786, July. Axminster.—"I write this on my road to Eastbury, to a very unpleasant and distressing scene. My steward Doggett has shot himself, and I have hitherto delayed my journey, as I could not in so short a space procure all the materials necessary for the examination of his accounts. However, they are now in my hands, and I have great hopes (after a very serious alarm even for thousands) that I shall not lose above 2 or 300*l.* at most. I suspect that he is under engagements for Lord Camelford's villain, Dagge. I shall quit Eastbury on Monday, and, after spending one day at Salisbury and the environs, I shall be at Oxford on Wednesday night the 12th, and at Aylesbury quarter sessions on Thursday the 13th, where I much wish you to be, as you have not paid your devoirs there for some time, and we can go to Stowe next day. I have a serious quarrel with you for not writing to me one word during a period as interesting as any I ever remember to my feelings as a public man, or, as a private man, feeling deeply for you."

The EARL OF MORNINGTON to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1786, July 30. Brighthelmston.—"I have just finished *Orme*, according to the copy which Mr. Stockdale thought fit to give me, but I shall be much disappointed if I do not find that I have another volume to read. In my copy the two sections of the second volume are bound separately, and at the end of the second section, *Orme* speaks of another volume; indeed the history would be imperfect without it, for the account of the affairs of Bengal has been brought very little lower than the battle of Plassey; but Mr. Stockdale has cut me short here. I hope to get the other volume soon; if he cannot find it (for the book is out of print) I must apply to you. I do not remember that I ever read any book which amused me so much. I wish to get some good account of the history of the Moguls. *Orme* mentions *Dow's translation of Feritsha*; if you have got it pray send it to me by the stage, together with *Bernier*, and *Frazer's history of Kouli Khan*. *Orme* mentions a history of Tamerlane which I never read. Any books that you send me I will carefully return. I wish also to get some general account of the European settlements in the East Indies; do you know any such books?

"Sea bathing agrees so well with me that I think of staying here another month. What think you of *son altesse*? Will his honesty get any money from Parliament? Pray has Apsley got the reversion of tellership? I hope he has, as well on his own account, as on Pitt's, to whom I think the grant does great credit.

"I see by the papers that Buller is dead, and I hear from pretty good authority that Lord Walsingham certainly goes to Spain. By these two circumstances I should suppose Pitt's arrangements must be much facilitated; if you have any intelligence on that subject I should be glad to receive it. I have not seen the new arrangement of the Board of Trade announced formally; I hope it will be done to your satisfaction. Pray let me hear from you the state of that business. I dined with Gerard Hamilton one day; he is gone to town, and there is nobody here whom I know to live with, though the place is very full."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, at Whitehall.

1786, August 4. Stowe.—"The news which I read in your letter before I had opened the newspapers shocked me beyond what I can express. Insanity is an answer to everything, and the newspapers' account is the last to be depended upon; but there seems a method in her madness, which seems to have had its object in personal resentment. The escape makes us shudder; God send to a very distant period the repetition of any alarm for his life.

"The Dutch politics are always inexplicable, but the history of the loss of the Prince of Orange's question, though supported by Amsterdam and Rotterdam, is more inexplicable than usual. Those which are nearer to us are I hope in a way to be settled; for I find that the arrangement for the Duchy of Lancaster is known. Buller's death is fortunate; and, if Mr. Pitt is not pressed in time, I understand that Aubrey will probably be equally obliging. He is now in Essex, and has not attended in our county, and seems to give it up. The Duke of Portland is very warm upon the election politics; every one was summoned to the meeting where about 70 (exactly 73) freeholders met. Their gentlemen were Duke of Portland, Lord G. Cavendish, Lake, Bullock, Lovett, Dashwood, Shepherd, Campbell, Blake of Fulmer, Burke (who let fly a sentence and then abruptly sat down), and some parsons. Lord Chesterfield was not there, and would not let Green attend. He was very civil to me, and we are to exchange visits in a week. He gave Pitt's health at the Assize dinner, and is most violently abused by all of that party. They are however very violent in their language of trying for two at the general election, and of trying it against you as well as Aubrey. This is new, but it is certain; and some of their toasts were pointed so as to leave no doubt; and disgusted some of their guests, particularly Redding of Hardwicke, who told Chaplin he would not attend again. I am endeavouring to gather further, but I doubt whether your *speculation* may not be more expensive from this disposition; and, at all events, do not dip yourself so as to make a re-election indispensable till we have talked further.

"I have had a long letter from Mr. Temple last week, who confirms from various circumstances this Spanish revolt to its utmost extent; and mentions a negotiation from Spain to Congress proposing a mutual guarantee and the remission of the loan due from America to Spain. Let me hear again from you, for I am anxious to know the new arrangements."



## The SAME to the SAME.

1786, August 13. Stowe.—“I shall certainly be in town for the levée on Friday; but as I shall really not have a dinner, nor a servant to prepare one, I wish that you would ask Pitt to give me one, or that you would give me one yourself. I should prefer the former if you could dine there likewise. I doubt much the address from Buckingham, as I see that London, Southwark, and Windsor, are as yet the only addressers. However, I shall have seen the Saturday gazette before it is necessary to decide, and possibly I may, in all contingencies, think it best to bring one up and decide upon the spot.

“I have received from Mornington a most affectionate letter upon his appointment, which has enabled me to answer him with much advice as to his future exertions, and with some advice as to the necessity of reconciling his *domestic life* to that public character which we both wish for him. I have pressed him most earnestly to make himself master upon the subject of the French treaty, and to put himself forward in it; for I am, for many reasons, most earnest that he should justify this appointment. My Irish accounts of these southern insurrections are very formidable. God grant that it may not end very seriously; but I have very grievous doubts upon the subject.

“Pray write to Neville to come up on Friday likewise, unless he has already been; for I think he should be there. Aubrey is worse since I wrote; he has so many fits that he has had an issue cut in his neck, and has had a slight paralytic stroke from it.”

## The SAME to the SAME.

1786, September 9. [Stowe].—“Your account of the silk-lace business seems very unpleasant; but I think, in all events, that a meeting of them (supposing them obstinate and conceited) is the worst thing that can happen. But as they differ from other trades in not being merchants of their commodities, it may be advisable to know what the silk-lace dealers in town say, and if (as possibly is unavoidable) the thing must go on, perhaps we may ride home upon them, by having them examined at the Privy Council. You remember Nourse was of a different opinion from them; but, in their present frame of mind, this hornet’s nest in the country must not be touched.

“Gott, young Salter, and company got drunk at Colnbrook and signed a requisition for a county meeting. I had seen Lord Chesterfield before, and he had agreed that it would be right neither to be first or last. At my return home, Chaplin sent me word of the call, but did not say who it came from. I apprized Lord Chesterfield of it and received this note from him this morning; which I have answered negativing his proposed committee; but proposing that I would write to Gott to leave the framing the address to me, and would settle it with him, if Sir J. Lovett and Lord Verney’s friends will leave it to him; as a committee will squabble about nonsense, and I do not like so near an union as that of a committee, which may raise jealousies. I propose to accept his idea of dining together, and, to avoid party inns, that we shall all dine in the County Hall; and that the toasts shall be fixed beforehand, and no freeholders brought in, consequently no difficulty about treating or not treating. When I have the answer you shall know it. The day fixed is Monday the 18th. Lord Chesterfield was very explicit as to his own wishes, and took it for granted that Lord Verney will succeed. I professed neutrality unless attacked, which he said

never would be ; and is very jealous of the Duke of Portland, with whom Lovett tells him he will not act beyond what is necessary to secure Lord Verney. They think Drake will stand, but have no reason for that opinion. All this agrees with what Lovett told Tompkins ; in the mean time Aubrey is rather better, but is not in the county, and perhaps (as I hope) will not even attend the meeting.

"I wish your Arch-Duke's answer was given, as it keeps me on the fidget about company, pray therefore get it as soon as you can. I am glad *it* comes so near to your ideas, when it came to be examined. The more I think about it the more I am confounded ; and I am no less astonished at the time taken by the negotiator to decide upon what I should have fancied he would have jumped at. Does he look to what I stated as your object ?"

*Enclosed.*

The EARL OF CHESTERFIELD to the MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

1786, September 8. Eythrope.—"I am much obliged to you for your letter, which Mr. Chaplin sent me this morning. I perfectly agree with your Lordship that next Wednesday would be too early a day for this county to meet for the purpose of addressing His Majesty, on the late occasion ; and I am the more pleased that you should have said so to Mr. Chaplin, as I was particularly engaged on that day to attend a meeting at Wing, for receiving the returns under the Donation Act ; and it would have been very inconvenient, of course, for me to have met your Lordship at Aylesbury on that day. Soon after you left me yesterday Sir J. Lovett came here, and upon my mentioning to him, this morning, that a requisition had been sent to the sheriff to call a county meeting to address His Majesty, he told me that he and the rest of Lord Verney's friends had resolved to write to the sheriff, to call a meeting for the same purpose ; but that he did not believe the present requisition came from them, as he conceived that, since the resolution had been formed, there had been scarcely time sufficient for such an application. Should that be the case, some third party have taken it up ; but, at all events, it appears to me very fortunate that, upon this occasion, there should be but one apparent opinion in the county.

"Sir J. Lovett mentioned a thing to me, in the which I agreed perfectly, but of which your Lordship will be the best judge. It is, that in order to testify to His Majesty how unanimous the county of Bucks are in this measure, some few persons of all parties should be, indiscriminately, upon the committee to frame the address. I should hope that, after that business is settled at Aylesbury, we may all dine together there, and that, in the moments of conviviality, a death blow may be given to that malevolent spirit of party abuse which is too prevalent in this county. I can assure your Lordship that I am much flattered with what you say respecting the road being open between Stowe and Eythrope ; and I hope very sincerely no impediments will ever be in the way of a friendly intercourse between the two houses, but those which will arise from the nature of the Bucks soil, and of the Bucks roads."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1786, September 10. [Stowe.]—"I forgot to write to you in my last upon the subject of the deer ; I do not understand from your note what size they are, and upon that must depend the mode of bringing

them. At present my idea is to send my park-keeper for them with the *chaise marine* covered, and a pair of horses; but as I cannot part with any of my servants till I know the day of the Arch-Duke's arrival, I fear that they must remain a week longer where they are. Be so good therefore as to send me their address, and to desire that orders may be left for their delivery to my keeper when he calls for them.

"I have heard nothing further from Eythrope upon the subject of the address; but I shall send over to him as soon as I have prepared it. In the mean time I have writ to Gott and wait for his answer. I do not like to summon people, and yet I think that we should be prepared always to maintain our superiority; I have therefore proposed to Bernard to come down with you. Aubrey (now Sir John) is gone to Cheltenham, on his last legs. Dorrington of Thame saw him as he slept one night at Dorton, and *says* (told Chaplin) that he is so far affected by the palsy as to make it certain that either his faculties or his life must fail him; and that, if he does not die, he must in the course of this winter be irrecoverably mad. This seems authentic, and the apothecary is in point of knowledge above par.

"Do not trust Carmarthen's writing to me, but send me one line the first moment you can."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1786, September 13, [Stowe].—"I am not too much flattered by the *politesse Autrichienne* of Reviczky's note. However I have sent to Oxford a note to Reviczky, stating the distance, offering beds, and tendering a collation or a dinner on any day that they will fix. We shall see what this produces; but, if they get there only this night, Thursday appears to me the earliest day on which they can come. I certainly wish you to be here whenever they arrive, but your business is much too important to take you from it except in cases of necessity; and you will agree that the county meeting called for Monday (and still at sixes and sevens from the strange unconsulted manner in which it was done) is one of those cases in which it is impossible for you to absent yourself. I earnestly wish you could come down some days before it, particularly as you will most probably meet Lord Chesterfield here, from whom you must (after my example) swallow a reasonable quantity of toads.

"I am happy if my advice, or if better sense do that with Mornington which ought to have been done long since. Pray remind him that he has not been at Stowe this year."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1786, September.—Stowe.—"The Arch-Duke has been here, and is departed more pleased, to all appearance, than any creature ever was. At Blenheim the D[uke] of M[arlborough] would not see him nor offer him a glass of wine; and though the rain kept him in the house, and waiting in the very room where the cloth was laid, for four hours, he sent him away without a morsel. All this was well contrasted with every thing that attention could do; but they did not sleep here (having refused the King's invitation for sleeping at Windsor,) but expressed the greatest regret at not being able to break their rule.

"There seems a hitch about our dinner in the county hall. I have acceded to it as a *proposal of Lord Chesterfield*, but Sir Jonathan cannot answer for all his party, and that stops it. I fancy therefore

that I shall direct, in the High Sheriff's name, a dinner for him and his friends at the *George* as usual. My address is returned with perfect approbation from Lord Chesterfield, and honoured with the approbation of Lovett and Seare; Lake and Burke are to attend; query as to the Duke of Portland. Lord G. Cavendish is at Newmarket. Lord Chesterfield was desired by me to move the address, but has declined it. I fancy therefore, if he persists, that Gott must do it; as it must not come from that party, who now say that they would have called the county if we did not. All this uncertainty makes it very unpleasant. I could therefore very seriously wish that you would come here on Sunday, as much should be settled, and no time can be lost. The meeting is called for eleven. I fancy that it will be very thinly attended; no one is to bring in any freeholders. Aubrey is said to be dead two days since at Cheltenham; but Lord Chesterfield promised to give me the earliest certain notice. In all events you may depend upon it that he is not expected to live many days.

"Pray do not forget Sunday; and, even if you return on Monday evening to London, let me see you here Sunday evening.

"I have had a very strange letter from Bernard, which I have answered very affectionately; but, *entre nous*, I am very much displeased.

"I have a very affectionate letter from Mornington, very explicit as to *the point* upon which I have writ, and full of assurances. He does not date; where is he? If in town, propose to him to call here in his way to Ireland." *Seal of arms.*

HENRY DUNDAS to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1786, September 27. Donira Lodge.—"Your messenger found me at my Highland lodge this forenoon, equally, I believe, to his surprise and mine; I not expecting to be accosted there by an Indian messenger, and he astonished at the sight of mountains, the height of which seemed completely to astonish him.

"I write my answer to the business of your letter without much hesitation, but not rashly, for I have thought over the subject an infinity of times, and I cannot view it in any light different from what I have ever done. Perhaps I may prize my opinion the more because I have, after so many repeated considerations of it, adhered to it, notwithstanding the doubts of several whose opinions, I declare, I value fully as much as my own. It would be idle to enter upon a discussion by letter of a subject we have so often talked of; but, whether I consider it in a commercial view as connected with the present state of the Company's affairs, or as connected with the general policy of the Empire, I think we would be inexcusable to omit the opportunity of making the experiment of forming such a connexion with a foreign nation in the commerce of the last. I am perfectly aware of the whole extent of the mischief or loss that may result from a breach of faith on their part; and without granting the jealousy to be well founded in all the extent generally supposed, I am willing, for argument's sake, to do so, and surely it can go nothing further than the difference of value of the goods actually delivered to them, and the deposit with which the transaction is to commence. Now what is such a loss to be put in competition with the chance which may result from such a connexion of the interest of a material part of the French merchants being closely interwoven with ours in India. The immediate advantages of such a circumstance are obvious, but we ought in all such material trans-

actions to look forward. Do not be jealous of me when I mention the chance of the dissolution of the monopoly of the East India Company. But you will agree with me there are events which may lead to such a dissolution; and I cannot help considering it as an important point to try, as early as a favourable opportunity offers, what chance there is, by transactions with foreign nations, to ensure a certainty of remitting our Indian revenues (which prudence will admit to be remitted,) but which we may, perhaps, not be able to remit through the commerce of our own subjects, whose capitals and navigation may be otherwise employed at the time we require such remittances, which, as you know, can only be made through the medium of commerce. I find the subject enlarging upon me in the discussion, and, therefore, I shall cut it short by referring you to our former conversations; and concluding with my opinion that, if the Resolutions should come to you as proposed by the Court of Directors, we may, by rejecting them, lose an opportunity we shall not so easily recover, of laying the foundation of a connexion which may be productive of the most beneficial consequences; and, in the worst event, can be productive only of a very trivial inconvenience.

"I have not the least ground to apprehend any thing either to delay your immediate setting out for the Continent, or to precipitate your return before the time you propose. I am satisfied of this both from the memorandums of the remaining business as collected by Mr. Cabell, and the conversations I have had both with the Chairman and the Secretaries of the India House. In fact, the important points we arranged before our separation have put the business in a train which enables you to make your excursion with perfect tranquility."

*Endorsed.*—Proposed agreement between the English and French Companies.

THE EARL OF MORNINGTON TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1786, September 30. Plas Newydd, Anglesea.—"I have been detained here for this whole week by a violent storm and westerly wind, which has continued with such fury that no packet has been able to sail since Sunday. Fortunately I have got into very good quarters at Lord Uxbridge's, who happened to be here, and excepting my impatience to get to Ireland, I cannot complain of my situation. I was very much shocked to read in the papers an account of the death of Lady H. Elliot, so told that I think it must be true. Pray let me know how Pitt is; I promised him to return in the middle of October; perhaps this misfortune might render my return at an earlier time desirable, though you may well conceive that the delay which I have already met with will be dreadfully prejudicial to the business which I have to do. I would readily sacrifice my convenience if I could hope to be of the least service to Pitt. Pray let me know as soon as you can when I ought to return. I dined to-day at Lord Bulkeley's public day; his place is very fine, but I do not like it so well as Lord Uxbridge's.

"No sign of a change of weather. On considering the effect which Lady Harriet's death must have had on Elliot and Pitt, that Graham also must wish to have leave of absence from London, and that Aubrey is dying, I do think I ought to return as soon as I can; and I have some doubts, if I do not get away to-morrow, whether it would be right to go to Ireland at all. Direct a letter to me at Holyhead with your opinion; if I should be detained a few days I shall receive it. Pray find out when the Treasury meets; for that time, I think, I ought certainly to be in London."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1786, October 1. [Stowe.]—"I very sincerely join in the satisfaction which you must feel in seeing the completion of this very important business. I waited impatiently for the post by which I expected a gazette or a note of the arrival, but I have been disappointed. I sincerely hope however that no unexpected *contretemps* has happened. Your doubts upon the thread lace have alarmed me extremely. I will say nothing upon it to you till I hear further from you, but my fears are of a very different nature from the fear of losing popularity, when I look to the numbers employed, and to the effects which a revolution in that trade may bring on upon the property of this county. For God's sake! let me hear from you as soon as you can upon it, that we may turn it fully over in our minds; but remember how deeply I am pledged to our manufactory by the importance of it to our land, which has suffered more by the increase of poor-rates than almost any county in England. I mention this to impress upon your mind the real importance of the question, and not its artificial value to us as electioneers for this county; but I will still flatter myself with hopes that if this new difficulty should strike at the root of our lace trade, some palliative may be found. I protest I would sacrifice our views in this county to the object of a good commercial treaty; and those considerations have but little weight in the feelings with which I write this. But, once more, let me know the extent of what you fear.

"Our Quarter Sessions are held on Thursday next. Could you not come down to dinner, and sleep at Missenden on your return the same night? I should at least have the means of seeing you upon it. If I have written with unnecessary alarms, you must ascribe it to the loose manner in which you have stated your fears.

"Do you go to Somerset? I am sorry you do not like the idea of an exchange of offices; it is surely very much too good for Thorpe."

THE EARL OF MORNINGTON TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1786, October 8. Dublin.—"I landed last night, and having already seen my agent, I am able to judge that I shall not be detained much beyond Sunday next. Burke came over in the packet with me, and his son, on a frolic to Ireland for ten days. I have some good things to tell you of him. Lord Buckingham was so good as to say that he would write to you to beg, on my part, that you would get Pitt to abandon the idea of bringing me in for Saltash. I tremble at the idea of the contest, and would rather be out of Parliament for some time than risk so heavy, and perhaps fruitless expence. I hope to be able to bring myself in, the next Parliament."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE, in London.

1786, October —. Stowe.—"Nothing can make me happier than your letter. The satisfaction which you must feel at the accomplishment of this great national object is indeed complete; and, if any thing could add to it, you have an additional comfort from reflecting that so much of it, and particularly of that regulation which materially affects us, is owing to your exertions. I will not write to Newport till I hear from you of the ratification, unless any one enquires from me the nature of that regulation; and I perfectly approve of your



taking credit (as soon as you are certain) with the principal manufacturers; but, in the state of mind in which you left those of High Wycombe and the neighbourhood, perhaps it may be as well to write to Mr. Mayor of High Wycombe, and request of him to communicate it to his brethren and those who live in the town.

"I enclose to you a letter which I had put under a cover for Pitt, but I do not choose to trouble him. You will therefore shew it him, as the fact it states calls in my mind for immediate attention. As the vessel is private property, and as they are in general very ill stored, the value cannot be great; and perhaps, if it is paid, we may hear no more of it, otherwise I should fear that we may get into a very critical difficulty with the only power in those parts who fairly acted a friend throughout the war. Of the remainder Pitt is the best judge; but I beg to add that, though I transmit the letter (which must not be officially used,) I have nothing to do with the request. If Pitt wishes to know the man's character, I can bear testimony to him as a man of great military knowledge, and a well informed writer upon that and other subjects; but I certainly do not send the letter for his job, but for Pitt's information.

"As to your offices, we have I am sure but one object, and that is to get clear of some of our engagements. If you could accommodate Hepburn by taking Aubrey's Marlow window-peeper into the Pay Office, and give the messenger's place to Thorpe of Oving (if he will take it,) you will liberate me from very old promises; and I think that they will have been (particularly the first) singularly well disposed. Aubrey is rather better, but very uncertain."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1786, October 26. Stowe.—"A singularly advantageous purchase has offered at Stoke Mandeville which I have sent Parrott to examine for you. It is stated as worth 110*l.* per annum; the bulk in *unenclosed land*; and the price asked is 2,500*l.*, from which you deduct 200*l.* worth of timber; and you have a clear rent of above 90*l.* as interest for 2,300*l.* All this sounds so well, that I have secured the refusal; but you must authorize me (if you think proper) to conclude, if Parrott's report should justify this statement of it, as the day limited for the public sale is the 4th of November. It is not near any of my property except Berton, but Parrott can easily manage it for you.

"My copper goes on prosperously, and your treaty will raise the value of it. Lord North has written doubts upon it to his Banbury wool-combers, but, in general, it is popular even there. The newspaper *précis* of it does not state any precaution upon the subject of the *droit D'Aubaine*; I suppose it has not been forgot. We have as usual no news here; but we do not understand the fall of the funds; pray therefore explain it.

"I open my letter to say that the whole Purefoy family have been with me to beg a baronetage for Jervoise, with limitation to Purefoy and his heirs male. Jervoise tells me that he has uniformly supported Mr. Pitt; that he means to bring his nephew into Parliament under *my protection*; and that he and his brother have 9,000*l.* per annum."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1786, October 27. Stowe.—"The enclosed is just brought to me. Parrott admits that he has charged the outside sum for the repairs,

and that it may cost less than he has stated, and allows that 100*l.* worth of timber will remain. You will therefore receive 98*l.* net for 2,500*l.*; and, your 180 acres being unenclosed, you will in that event make a further profit. You best know how it suits your purse, but the offer is more advantageous than any which you may hereafter meet. Let me have your answer if possible by the return of the post.

"Jervoise is at Purefoy's; and if Mr. Pitt can promise to do his job, I wish to inform him of it in the most gracious manner. I find that young Jervoise Purefoy is to start against Hussey for Sarum; and, in all events, is to be in Parliament as soon as he is of age; and is to swear allegiance to me; which I fancy the lad would do from inclination. The property is immense. Jervoise is at the head of a Pitt club in Wilts, to oppose the blue and buff interest.

"I can do nothing for Sir William Bowyer's Major."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1786, October 30. Stowe.—"I am sorry that you was obliged to send a messenger here, but your business pressed so much that I was obliged to hurry you. Parrott had fixed this day for holding my court for the Honor of Ewelme, the business of which is rather complicated; and therefore he could not go (as I had wished) to Aylesbury to fix with Chaplin relative to the periods of payment; and he has not as yet had any conversation, so as to guess at the wishes of the seller. But I have given him two commissions; the first, founded on the usual practice of the country, is to propose that you shall be to enter at Lady Day, April 5th, and shall on that day pay the whole; which gives you beyond the end of March, fixed by your letter, for payment. The 2nd is to propose (in case the seller is pressed for money and will convey as from Michaelmas last) that you shall pay 1,500*l.*, Astle's 1,000*l.* and your loose 500*l.*, as soon as the title is prepared; and the remaining 1,000*l.* at Lady Day, with interest at 4 per cent. These proposals he is to make to Chaplin tomorrow, and will write to you from thence by the post. I have again talked over the values. He is still positive that the repairs will not cost 100*l.*, exclusive of your own timber, and that when the timber has been thinned, there will remain near 100*l.* worth.

It will therefore stand thus

Purchase	2,500 <i>l.</i>
Repairs	100 <i>l.</i>
	<hr/>
	2,600 <i>l.</i>
Deduct timber remaining	100 <i>l.</i>
	<hr/>
	2,500 <i>l.</i>

and for this you are offered 110*l.*, and he is confident to get 115*l.*, from which you are to deduct something above 16*l.* for land tax; and you will have a clear interest of 99*l.* for your 2,500*l.*; as it is calculated that timber in its early stages pays 6 per cent. for standing, and therefore I put that article out of question. Add to this that your 180 acres in open land will enclose to great profit, particularly when the waste is added to it. This speculation however is uncertain, as it depends upon the consent of the other land owners; but, if they agree, it is supposed always that an enclosure, with a reasonable quantity of waste, pays 7 per cent. on the additional money vested upon it.

"I shall immediately study and abstract your volume; but, if I am to judge from the general opinion, your treaty will require little apology



or even explanation. You will of course give me the earliest notice of Spain or Portugal. As to Dalrymple's letter, you did just as I could wish; it was meant for Pitt's information if he had wanted it, and not for the job which I cannot care about. I am however most happy to hear that it will be adjusted, and I hope that, if Portugal is not to pay for the Algerine in *argent sonnante*, at least they will pay for it in the treaty with us.

"I will, as soon as I see Chaplin, enquire into the expense of a re-election; but, I again repeat, that I cannot see how your speculation is to answer to you. Some risk, however remote, there must always be in a county where the political enemy have a large strength, independent of provincial politics; and I do not see how the re-election can take place under 500*l.*, and possibly much more, independent of a contest. My brother's, in 1780, cost (in perfect harmony with Lord Verney, and in general at joint expense) 700*l.*, and I cannot think that you can state it lower. Add to this the deduction for your house, the expense of a new commission, partly paid here and partly in Ireland, and of your journey, and see how much you can gain at the end even of two years, before which time your other prospects must open. Let me state it as it strikes me.

Paymaster.				Vice-Treasurer.			
			£			£	s. d.
Salary	-	-	2,000	[Salary]	-	3,500	0 0 Irish.
House	-	-	300	Deduct	-	1,325	8 0
			<u>£2,300</u>			<u>£2,275</u>	<u>8 0?</u>
and large patronage.				And no patronage.			
				DEDUCT[IONS.]			
			£	Absentee tax, 4 shillings in		£	s. d.
				Pound		700	0 0
				Difference at par of English and			
				Irish money, on 2,800 <i>l.</i> , the re-			
				maining sum		175	8 0
				Election 700 <i>l.</i> , divided into two			
				years		350	0 0
				Journey and commission, 200 <i>l.</i> ,			
				divided as above		100	0 0
						<u>1,325</u>	<u>8 0</u>
Nota Bene.—These articles are in English money, but ought to be turned into Irish, which adds 37 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i>				Nota Bene.—I have supposed the money remitted to England at par, but the reverse is always the case.			
Add	-	-	<u>37 10 0</u>				

"This seems clear; and I do not upon this statement see the prudence of your change. However I may err, and, in all events, would wish to follow your ideas. I shall let Jervoise know that you will see Pitt upon this job for him; perhaps the favour may hang, but I would wish to know if it will be to be done, and the possible time, as my language must be guided by it to prepare him for disappointment, if necessary. I will write as you wish to Hepburn and Thorne; but I must know the values, which you have forgot to state. I had heard of Saunders's folly from Bernard, (as you have done,) but he denies it in the strongest terms. He was blackballed at Miles's, and therefore that part of it cannot be true. He is member of another gambling club, and cuts his name from it now (for he is town) at my request; and swears that he has not lost 500*l.* in the last 5 years."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1786, November 9. Stowe.—“I have seen Chaplin, and he agrees with me that 600*l.* is the very lowest sum which *it* is likely to cost; and very clear I am that, if so, you will probably think that this specific *it* is out of the question. However he will see you, and will tell you what *it* did cost. He tells me that it is possible that Mr. Briscoe may want 2,000*l.* sooner than Lady Day; to which I told him that you probably would agree to that, he paying interest; which was not objected to. I am every day more convinced of the goodness of your first purchase. May all your others answer equally?”

“The copper story is not new to me. I am one of the very few who refused to sign the monopoly association in Cornwall, and have directed my ores to be sold by auction, having always prophesied the certain necessity of admitting foreign copper, from the moment in which that monopoly could be carried into complete execution. With the same ideas both as to the probity and advantage of such a scheme, I have resisted their offers for my Somerset copper, which remains as yet purposely unsold, but bid for by many quarters: . Pray explain to me the fall of the stocks, for, surely, the demand for additional capital in consequence of the commercial treaty cannot have operated to this extent; and I see that the newspapers admit the idea of an accommodation in Holland. Be so good as to let me know how the customs and excises are likely to answer for this year; and whether your prophesies are fallen short; and, if so, whether you will borrow for the deficiency; for this has occurred to me as one solution for this extraordinary fall. As to the Baronetage, I should fancy that the letter will be fully sufficient. Pray, therefore, at any idle moment desire Pitt to write two words to you or me, to be shown to Jervoise, who has once or twice asked about it. Mr. Bullock will recover, but has been in danger.”

THE SAME to the SAME.

1786, November 20. Stowe.—“I have just got your commercial treaty, the articles of which are, to my great joy, much more comprehensible than I expected; and my accounts are that all manufacturers are run wild in speculations. Our wool has felt it already.

“I find from Parrott that there is a hitch about your purchase, from the demand of Mr. Bristol to receive his money at Christmas. However, let me hear from you again before you give him a negative, for I find it so very lucrative a bargain that I would endeavour, at any inconvenience, to help you. Parrott has now an offer for a further rise almost equal to the land tax; and, from the numbers ready to take it, I am sure that it is a most eligible purchase. I shall, I fancy, agree to take 25,000*l.* for my Welsh 900*l.* per annum; and this will enable me to pay off some of my 5 per cents. Upon this I shall decide tomorrow; and, if you want it, I will stipulate for some of it to be paid instantly to your use, as the money is in the bankers' hands. My dear wife goes on well, and has announced herself to all the family.

“Pray tell me how your quarter goes on, for I am very anxious for the credit of your report; though, by your account, it will not suffer materially. Young sends me word that this quarter is said upon change to be very productive.”

## The SAME to the SAME.

1786, November 26. Stowe.—“After waiting till now, I have an answer from Hepburn, who has been unsuccessful in his applications to Aubrey’s man for an exchange. I shall therefore once more return your clerk’s office to your choice, upon an idea which has struck me. Sir William Bowyer seems very earnest for his Major Moore, (whose letters I return) and professes so much interest for him that possibly it may be worth while to offer it to Sir William for one of the Major’s sons; as I really think it too good a thing for our Mr. Thorpe, or any of the common claimants. If, however, you think otherwise, I will write to Thorpe about it; but, in truth, I had in my mind destined to him the messenger’s place. But God forbid that I should interfere in any arrangement of humanity which your good heart suggests to you; and therefore, if you hold your purpose as to Hyde, Thorpe must wait for some other chance.

“Mr. Bullock is returned home, fully penetrated with my attentions. He has been most explicit as to the views of his party, which, he assures me, are limited to Lord Verney, and to *one* successor, who, he swears is at yet *nubibus*; but swears that the Duke of Portland and Lord G. Cavendish have disclaimed repeatedly any intention for Lord Titchfield, or any Cavendish or Bentinck. I have writ to Frogatt (who has at length settled the drawing up of my agreement with Mr. Pugh) to stipulate for 1,500*l.* or 2,000*l.* for you at Christmas, if you should want it, at 4 per cent. till Lady-day, when Thompson’s mortgage will be paid off. I have apprized Parrott of your wish to lay out that money in purchase; and as, by an arrangement made with Captain Dayrell, under which I have given him his house and estate, I have a balance coming to me, I shall be enabled to add something to your sum, which may enable us to make, in the Duke of Bedford’s phrase, *somewhat a better bargain* which we may divide afterwards; or, if a better opportunity offers for small purchases, we are equally prepared for them.

“The West India merchants expect (as Young tells me) very large cargoes in this next month, which will raise your customs; and, by the great cheapness of all grain, I find that all the brewers and distillers are at work beyond their usual line of employ. These circumstances will I hope raise your Christmas quarter, for I shall feel sensibly mortified at the failure (at least in appearance) of your speculations; being, in truth, almost as anxious for your political child, as for that which I trust is going on so prosperously, though with much trouble to my dear wife.”

## The SAME to the SAME.

1786, December 8. Stowe.—“I did not think it fair to let you stand any dispute with Lord Nugent about his Mr. Angel; but, after feeling my ground a little, I took the whole upon myself, and he very fairly told me that he had no other object but from general feelings of humanity, which clearly ought to give way to my promises, connexions, or inclinations. You are therefore clear of Mr. Angel . . . My poor wife has suffered dreadfully every misery which close confinement, constant pain, and loss of sleep can accumulate.”

“I have received a very large packet from Mr. Temple (now Sir John Temple) with a long detail of American misery, discontent and anarchy; and seemingly with a strong inclination of putting his finger into every one of these thirteen pies. Upon this head I have written

to him. I do not send you his letters and newspapers, they are too voluminous ; but New England is under no form of government whatsoever ; the powers of raising an impost have been refused to the Congress ; and there is not the smallest prospect of making any payment of their foreign debt, principal or interest. Three ships are sailed for India ; namely, one for China, one for Bengal, and one for the coast of Coromandel. The packet has brought home 250,000 dollars, chiefly from Philadelphia and New York.

" You say nothing of foreign treaties in your letter, which makes me imagine that there is some delay. However, I wish you would let me know what you hear from Portugal, Spain, or Russia. I am at length under articles for the sale of Newtown, and think, with much satisfaction, upon getting rid of debts and incumbrances to the amount of 1,250*l.* per annum, by sale of what has never cleared 900*l.* to me. This will take place at Lady-day, and I think of paying off some at least of them immediately. You say nothing of Lord Mansfield ; does he retire ? Has Kenyon refused ? Does Buller succeed ? Remember we are all in ignorance ; so send us at least the lie if not the truth of the day." *Seal of arms.*

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1786, December 15. Stowe.—" The time which you have allowed to me is so short, that I am obliged to give you my opinion in very few words, as the result of the very few hours in which I have considered it. I do not (I trust) look even on your principal object, important as it is, as the ultimate point of a fair and honourable ambition, founded, as I hope yours is, on character and abilities. But *it* is such a resting place as will always give you the choice of the moment for quitting it ; and it will, according to Lord Chesterfield's explanation of the words, give you *otium cum dignitate*. From variety of considerations, which the compass and uncertainty of a letter will not allow me to detail, I am anxious that you should secure the opening either by an immediate acceptance of it, or by a *private* engagement for the end of this session ; that is to say that — shall be understood to resign, reserving the title for obvious purposes required by several laws ; but that the *arrangement* for life which is to vacate your seat, shall take place the last day of this session. You will by this means avoid a mystery always unpleasant, as the *arrangement* will tell the whole story. You will retain your present situation for the whole detail of the French treaty ; you will retain your seat at the committee of Council till the sessions after this ; and I do not see the necessity of your resigning it, even after you are in possession of your *principal* object. This is one way of doing it. The other, of immediate acceptance *in toto*, I prefer for many reasons. Your re-election will probably be less disputable (with management as to days) at the period of the end of January, than at any other ; the *object* with its *arrangement* will be beyond the reach of fate ; to your present office and its clannish appendage, or whatever appendage is annexed to it, you will have given the go by ; but the most material of all the points for your consideration is, that by the immediate acceptance of *it* you ensure the quitting it at a very early period of your life. You are now 27 years old, and, to my conception, there is a very essential difference for your future objects by the present delay of every month. I think we settled that *it* was not incompatible with the idea of taking a dignified but an active part in all those debates to which, from your

attainments or former employments, you stand committed. As, therefore, it is clear that this *object* will be justifiable by your subsequent *conduct*, I do not see the necessity of waiting to justify by previous conduct what, after all, needs no justification whatsoever. I again say that I think your present seat at the Council compatible with your new *object*, and of that we can talk when we meet; for, if you will look to the inferior offices held by former possessors of your object, I think your seat is more dignified in situation and less dependent in fact. Lastly comes what I am sure must have struck you repeatedly, that there is a tide in political objects which must be taken in the moment. In plain English, a political adventurer never should let an opportunity pass him in the hopes of its return. I have not a guess at Mr. Pitt's arrangements; but it strikes me that the vacancy of the Post Office, of Lord Walsingham's Vice-Treasurership, and of both the Paymasterships will make your *object* much more easy, because these offices will all be given amongst persons of your rank in the House of Commons.

"But of all the ideas, that which I like least is the making the arrangement (*without any previous steps for securing the essential part of your object*) for the sessions of 1788. This I would earnestly deprecate for a thousand reasons. The next is the proposition of securing in June next, at the close of the sessions, the office of—in—for life, with the avowed explanation; and that which I prefer to all is the immediate acceptance *in toto*; by immediate acceptance I mean in January.

"I did not write about the deer, for I waited for an account of their capability of enduring a winter in the park. I am now assured that they will not; and, as I have no place in which I can put them, I must decline with many thanks Apsley's offer. I would have explained this sooner, but Tryon's letter to him, which you sent to me, proposed to keep them all the winter. Pray thank Apsley however for his offer.

"I will think over a clerk for you immediately, with many thanks.

"Will you let me offer Hepburn the office of wardrobe-keeper for Aubrey's man, in the way of exchange? If so, either write to him, or I will do it, as soon as you have given me your answer.

"I cannot guess the second red ribaud. It is a pity that Faucitt has one, who is overpaid a thousand times.

"Lord Nugent shewed me a letter from McNamara, informing him, from Thurlow, that Lord Mansfield had resigned, and that Buller was appointed upon Kenyon's refusal. Pitt has been very civil to me about an office for a poor Nugent of Lady Buckingham's, and has promised to come here in the course of the first ten days of January. Pray send me the news of the day as to the vacant offices; and do not trust to my ingenuity in guessing at red ribands.

"Mornington will tell you that one of my Irish swans (Gardiner) is as great a dog as ever existed; he will explain all this to you.

"Lady Buckingham is, thank God, vastly better in the course of the last week.

"I see *Debrett* has advertised the treaty of Utrecht, contrasted on the same sheet with the new one. This, like many other factious publications, is useful; pray therefore get it for me."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1787, January.—[London.]—"Have you seen Mr. Pitt? If not, when do you propose seeing him on the subject which we talked over?"

I know not what I can write to Cleaver. The more I consider the state of the first engagement, the three subsequent promises to others, and the refusal to soften this cruel blow by any present step, the more I am wounded ; but my zeal for my public line will remain unabated. Let me have your answer as soon as you can ; and as soon as you have seen him let me know the result ; I can (will) not see him again upon this subject ; but I have had thoughts of writing to him three lines before I write to poor Cleaver."

W. PITT to MAJOR-GENERAL COWPER.

1787, February 4. Downing Street.—"Having understood that, in Lord Camelford's absence, you were likely to know his Lordship's intentions respecting the borough of Old Sarum, I hope you will excuse the liberty I take in requesting to be informed whether, in case Mr. Villiers should have occasion to vacate his seat, measures could be taken for his re-election, without waiting for particular directions from Lord Camelford."

W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1787, [January—May].—"You will not be sorry to hear that a despatch is just received from Mr. Eden, by which it appears that Monsieur de Montmorin acquiesces completely (tho' no official consent seems yet expressed) in the duties on linen as settled in Ireland, and has promised to speak to the Controller-General to send orders to the French ports accordingly.

"Since writing this I have had a copy made of the despatch, which will give you fuller information."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE [at the Hague.]

1787, August 6. [London].—"I cannot describe to you the anxiety I felt upon receiving your first letter from the Hague, and reading that which you wrote to Pitt. I pressed earnestly upon him to state to the King and to the Cabinet every difficulty which you could feel, and to prepare them for much disappointment. I cannot say how kindly Pitt entered into all this, and how much he seemed to feel for you ; though with warm hopes that you might see your way more clearly upon the arrival of the Prussian paper. I have this moment got your letter, and have heard from Pitt the state of that paper, and think that we are very fortunate in the contents of it ; though it is not as explicit as one could wish. But, from conversation with Lord Dalrymple, I am even surprised at its being thus favourable. From his account of the Duke of Brunswick, I am anxious that you should see him, as I think many very obvious objects might be attained by it. Lord Dalrymple says that he has told the K[ing] of P[russia] in his presence, that he never would take a command without the *fullest powers* ; and he has told Lord Dalrymple that, notwithstanding the little favour shewn him at St. James's, he never would take part against this country, but hoped to fight her battles either in *Holland or Germany*. This passed last year, and Lord Dalrymple says that he is persuaded that the D[uke] of B[runswick] would not have taken the command but with great powers, and with these hopes ; and that he leans eagerly to us, and has great weight with the K[ing] of P[russia].

"Pitt will tell you the language of the French Court ; and before it arrived, or he told it to me, my brother Tom told me that



the language of the French who are here was vastly lowered and conciliatory. John F—— is returned from Flanders, and reports that nominal 44,000 men cannot give 30,000 for the whole frontier; that they say that they cannot take the field under a month; and that, in fact, though 16 regiments are known to be named for service, yet none of *them* have received orders. He was at Givet on the 25th, and the camp was marked by notching two large trees, right and left; but the corn was still on the ground so marked out, and they had told the peasants that they would have notice to cut it when necessary. No magazine of straw, wood, or bread flour had been formed or ordered; nor was there one oven built, or even a quarter-master there, except to the corps in garrison. This detail I think useful to you, as you may depend upon it. Their camp equipage is not with any of the regiments, nor have they a single *bât* horse for the tents or blankets. The state and appointment of the troops is just as we could wish; but I do not think it necessary to state it further to you. He was at dinner at the Prince of Wurtemberg's table at Luxembourg on the 24th, when General Bender received the Emperor's orders to halt the line of troops on their march to that place.

"He was shown at that table the list of them, amounting to about 48,000 men; the nearest were within five days of that place, and they move in bodies of about 4,000 men per day. Your departure is very little known, and the stocks have been wonderfully quiet. We go on very well at Paddington, and, if possible, my good woman is more anxious than I am for your well doing. I am delighted that you go to Nimeguen, whether prosperously or not."

W. W. GRENVILLE to HENRY DUNDAS.

Secret.

1787, August 26. Whitehall.—"I expect to see here in a week or ten days a Mr. Boers, who is the man in the whole Dutch Republic who understands most of the affairs of their East India Company, both at home and abroad. He has lately resigned a very lucrative office which he held under them from a principle of dislike to the system of French measures which they were pursuing, and is most sincerely attached to the old system of the support of the Stadtholder and the English connection. While I was in Holland I had an opportunity of seeing him two or three times, when he opened himself to me, in a very confidential and unreserved manner, on the subject of the present situation of the Dutch Company. He has no connection with them in the present moment; but in the case of the Stadtholder's being restored to his situation in Holland, Boers would undoubtedly be brought forward again, and would probably have the chief direction of the East India Company, as he is much in the confidence of the Princess of Orange.

"He is coming over to England chiefly (but I believe not solely) for the purpose of trying whether it is possible, and in what manner, to establish such an understanding between this country and Holland, in the point of the East India Companies, as should induce us to give them some degree of present assistance to save them from the almost immediate bankruptcy with which they are threatened; in return for which, measures might be taken which would re-establish our ancient connection, and would put the two Companies on a footing of strict union and friendship in the East Indies. You will see that the execution of this idea must, in some measure, depend on the success of the other steps we are taking for the restoration of the Stadtholder. But this latter event

might possibly be forwarded by an understanding in this point, and by friendly measures from hence.

"The whole subject is so extensive as not to admit of being at all comprised within the compass of a letter. For this reason I feel the most sincere regret at your absence from town; because, if you had seen this man, you would have been able to decide how far any of his ideas are at all practicable; and, even if nothing could have been done on the subject, you would have derived abundance of highly useful information from a man who is so much master of the subject, and is so well disposed to be free and unreserved in his communications. I much wish to know whether there is any probability of your returning, as you have sometimes talked of, in the month of October, as in that case I would endeavour to persuade Boers to remain here; later than that would, I apprehend, be of no use, as I think I understood from him that the crisis of the situation of their Company was to be expected in October or November. If this is impossible, I should like to know your general ideas on the subject.

"The first question that seems to arise is this—Whether it is, on the whole, advantageous or otherwise for us, that the Dutch East India Company should become bankrupts? And this to be examined with a view to the possible effect of such an event both in Europe and in the Dutch Settlements in the East.

"Secondly.—Whether, if we do not take measures to prevent this, it will be probable that France may in her present embarrassed situation; and whether, if she did, she would derive any adequate advantage from it.

"Thirdly.—Whether there are any means by which it is possible that we could assist them, considering the forms of our Government, and the jealousies to be expected on such a subject both in the East India Company and even in Parliament.

"The amount of the relief wanted has not been precisely stated to me. But, on an idea which was started in conversation between us of affording separate relief to the Chamber of Zealand, which has always been friendly, it appeared that the sum required for this would be about £100,000. This chamber bears a very small proportion to the whole Company; but their affairs are so distinct, that no calculation can be formed from this of the necessities of the remainder. You will at once see that, supposing the idea was in every other respect proper and practicable, so large a sum could be advanced only by authorizing a loan for that purpose here, under the guarantee of the public, and perhaps advancing part of the interest if necessary.

"Fourthly.—Supposing the thing could be done here, what adequate advantage would result from it to this country, and what security could be given for those advantages.

"One's mind at once runs to Trincomalé. But here, a most essential difficulty occurs. The only valuable trade remaining to the Dutch in India is that of spices. We have already given an almost unsurmountable jealousy on this subject by the article of the treaty of peace relative to the navigation of those seas. The spice trade is the only means they could have of repaying us, or of ever recovering themselves. Now I do not see how it is possible that we could ever come to any agreement on the subject of Trincomalé which would be beneficial to us, without holding out the idea of encroaching on their spice trade, or even without doing it in reality.

"There are other points of much less importance on which it would, I apprehend, be easy for us to make concessions which would be highly valued by them, and would not be detrimental to us.



"These are the restoration of Negapatam; the removing some difficulties they complain of at Surat, from our influence with the Nabob; and the putting them on the same footing in Bengal as that which we are now offering to France. But the point to be considered, previously to all these, is whether the Company shall exist at all, which I apprehend it can hardly do but by our assistance.

"I collected from Boers much information, and shall expect more, on the subject of English remittances, which have, it seems, furnished the whole fund for many years for the Dutch commerce in Bengal. The Dutch Company would be particularly happy to enter into any engagements with us for receiving money from us in India and repaying it in Leadenhall Street. Their revenues in India are extremely inconsiderable, by no means adequate to the support of their military establishments; and France is now compelling them to encrease their forces in the East; whereas a treaty of mutual guaranty with England would enable them to diminish this heavy burthen. One of the greatest advantages which France had in the late war, and which we should derive from an intimate union with the Dutch East India Company, is the use of their several arsenals, particularly that of Batavia which is considerable." *Copy.*

*Enclosing notes of conversations with Mr. Boers at the Hague.*

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1787, September 9. Stowe.—"Your letter of this day has surprised me not a little. I can see many good consequences from this Russian episode, in proportion as it will embarrass France between her two allies; and as it will give Prussia her elbows free in the only point which remained attackable, after the Emperor's assurances, or his Flemish commotions, had set the King of Prussia at ease in that quarter. I do not so clearly see the inconvenience of this new war to us, except as it may affect our commerce with either of these powers; nor do I see how it is possible that we should be involved in it, though I think that the Emperor, if he can settle things in Flanders, will certainly try for his share. Lord Carysfort says that Russia is too strong in the Crimea to be wounded by this declaration; and that Potemkin has in that country 70,000 men, exclusive of the Caucasus army of 30,000, and of their naval force on the Black sea; but, by a letter from Fitzherbert of the first week in August, he was coming home immediately. Surely he should be stopped. I wish that you had recollected that you are my only newswriter, and that there are many points which I must be anxious about, which might be trusted to the Post. Is Monsieur de Verac recalled from the Hague? Are Monsieur de Castries and Monsieur de Segur out of the French Ministry? Do give me a little news, for I am very curious, and, in the present moment, I can hardly hope to see you here."

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1787, September 19. Stowe.—"Your storm has burst to me most unexpectedly. I do not see how it is possible for France to recede, and I as little see the practicability of her going on; but *le vin est tiré, il faut le boire*; and I, who have been witness to a great deal of what has passed, can most conscientiously say that it is an object upon which we ought to stake our last effort. Still, I cannot see how France is prepared to all the consequences which the present struggle

may entail Spain I conclude, may *ultimately* be to join her ; but the question of Holland will, nay must be decided, before that tardy Court (even admitting any or every ill disposition) can, particularly in her present circumstances, have come to any determination. Russia engaged with the Turks ; the Emperor looking to take part in that war, if his domestic commotions permit him ; Prussia at ease from two such quarters, and actually in motion. With this state of European politics, exclusive of the comparative faculties of Great Britain and France, how is it possible that she can look for a prosperous issue to this step. Much may be done by her intrigue. The Spaniards may be engaged ; the Turks may be drawn off ; the Imperial Courts opposed to Prussia ; Prussia herself detached. To all these objects I am sure every attention will be given. But they all speak the necessity of the most immediate and most vigorous measures, that no time may be given to the operation of such intrigues ; and particularly that every advantage may be taken of the internal commotions of France, which a war will, to a certain point, tend to conciliate. All this has I know been long considered, and I give you these reflections more for the purpose of combining them on paper for my own observation, than with any other object. Unanimity and its long train of collateral circumstances we have discussed, and certainly cannot trust to the post. My wishes I hardly know myself, so much depends upon that which you do know, but of which I do not know an iota. But I certainly, for many reasons most essential to my own peace, must see you to discuss much of the public, and much of the private question. I know that your time is engaged, and you will believe me that curiosity is not the *mobile* of that wish. For many reasons I think it most improper that I should come to town, and the distance of Stowe may prevent you from giving me two hours conversation. I wish therefore that you would fix any evening to meet at Missenden ; and such an arrangement will probably not incommode you, and does better than volumes of correspondence. The time must necessarily be left to you, and you will accord it to what is passing ; but I know that you will act for me as I would for you ; and, in the meantime, do not let a post go without a line if you can help it."

"Your's of the 11th came to me yesterday with a *missent* to Stowe. Judge how I bedeviled Mr. Palmer.

"Upon reading this letter again, it strikes me that I have not done justice to your kind assurances at the end of your letter. I certainly feel them most affectionately ; but it is because I do not *know or understand* my own wishes, that I am so anxious.

"I enclose you a copy from Miles to Lord Carmarthen. 'The object of Liege you know ; I am glad that he is gone to the Hague.'"

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1787, September 20. [Stowe.]—"Your letter having arrived too late for me to hope to be able to reach you before you leave London, and having informed me that you have undertaken this commission to Paris, I should not have written what occurs to me, if I had not made it a rule to state everything which strikes me upon points in which you are engaged ; and, with these impressions, I cannot avoid saying that I am truly grieved at your undertaking, which, to my ideas, cannot end with advantage either to your personal credit, or to the object of pacification. Government are undoubtedly right in attending to every chance of pacification ; but you go with the impression that Eden has softened the

communications which could irritate between the Courts, and, consequently, that he will dwell with satisfaction upon every opening which France may make for conciliation. It is therefore more than probable, (and you state it so) that this is *persiflage*. You know that it must be the interest of France to gain every moment of delay. All negotiation gives them strength in Holland, gives the chance of accommodating internal commotions, and of opening any of the lines of intrigue which may assist her, of which I stated two or three in my letter of yesterday. With these opinions of France, (for I believe that you join with me in them,) and with that opinion of Eden's conduct, of his wishes, and of his Dutch opinions (as you have stated them in your letter,) you have embarked with him in a negotiation where you are to *speak plain*, because he has not; where it is probable that the dispositions are not as friendly as his eagerness makes him think; and where you will probably fail. This failure will undoubtedly, from his general character, from the opinions and conduct stated above, and from his other possible objects of *private jealousy*, be thrown by him entirely upon you; and the very nature of your language will seem to give him ground of advantage in the statement which he will give of it. If you should (contrary to your own ideas and to my persuasion) succeed, the utmost to which you can hope is to follow in the suite of Mr. Eden, both in the public opinion, and in point of official rank most certainly below him. So much for your personal part of this question, stated very shortly indeed, but with a hundred circumstances crowding upon my mind to make it most unpleasant.

"In the public view I think your mission can have little chance of success; and it may lay us under most considerable difficulties to get rid of a negotiation to which your mission pledges this country more than if it were in Eden's hands, which it is not our interest to see drawn into length, and which the French Court may make it most difficult for us to break up, till they have gained their point of delay. No part of this reasoning could apply to your former mission. I urged you to it as eagerly as, with every fond wish for your honour, I should have deprecated this, undertaken upon such doubtful grounds in the suite of so doubtful a colleague. Whether this letter will have any weight upon your judgment, I know not; but I am sure that you will believe it to proceed from the warmest affection to you. And, believing that it would give you uneasiness, I would not send it, if I did not think it eligible that you should know how much I dread this mission; and therefore how happy I should be if any fair opening appeared of getting rid of it before you were too far pledged. I do not mean getting rid of it in England, for I take it for granted that you are too far dipped; but there will be means of guiding it so as to make it less hazardous to your personal reputation. You say that the French are subject to hourly changes, and there is my only hope; but I fear it will be found that they engaged in this declaration, madly indeed, but with the determination to put every thing upon this die. I think that your presence in England might have been essentially useful to Mr. Pitt in so anxious a moment, where the absence of the Chancellor leaves him without any one colleague of confidence, and where every moment is precious both to our *internal* and *external* objects. I shall remain here, most earnestly hoping to hear of your speedy return; for, I again repeat, nothing can be so unfortunate to you, and to all, as a negotiation which suspends, not preparations, but decided measures where they may be applied even with the means now in our power. Remember that in ten days we may have 20 sail of the line at sea, and that, if we wait for a

month, we shall not have 10 more; and the French, by their register, will have as many. This is only one of a hundred objects. I had determined not to have said more than three words, but my anxiety makes me unable to quit the subject."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1787, September 23. [Stowe.]—"I have this moment received your letter of last night. If I had thought that you would have stayed so long, I would have endeavoured to have seen you, not upon any business of my own as you term it, (for upon that I am quite at ease from the moment you tell me that nothing will be done till after your mission shall have brought things to a crisis,) but I wished to have conversed with you upon that which I will call my own, I mean your character and your happiness as they may be affected by this cursed journey. . In my present state of mind I can only entreat you not to leave me long in suspense about you; but write to me as fully as you can spare time, for I am most wretchedly uneasy about you. Your news of the success of the Duke of Brunswick cheers me a little, as it will probably drive your negotiation into a very narrow compass, and as it will prevent any proposal for a suspension of hostilities. In that point of view, and in the impressions which it gives of vigour and decision, the news is most important."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1787, October 7. [Stowe.]—"I conclude by your last letter that this will find you in London. It is very difficult for a by-stander to judge of a game the interior of which he does not see; but if there is anything which I should dislike more than an immediate and precipitate war, it would be that which you state in your last letter; *a proposal for disarming, and leaving things in Holland in the state in which this last revolution has put them, keeping up, however, the idea of future negotiation.*' The relative situation of the finances, of the preparations, and of the political bearings of the two countries to other powers, is probably the consideration under which alone France will ever hear of disarming; if by that she understands that she quits her Dutch game. The same considerations should induce us to persist till it is clearly ascertained that she has relinquished it. Whether this be done by treaty, or in silence, is of less moment, though in itself by no means an unimportant consideration; but the proposition of disarming, *keeping open a negotiation* which she may break off or conclude with perfect good faith, and, if she breaks off, finds herself in the same state of preparation with ourselves instead of being considerably behind us (as at present), is to my ideas full of every mischief.

"When I apprehended the delay arising from negotiation, it was not a fear that the Duke of Brunswick alone would be prevented from acting, but that we should ourselves be hampered by it, and our advantage of the moment lost. You say *we could not act, consistent with our line of conduct and professions, till France does.* I fully agree with you; but the test surely is the moving troops to Holland, and the opposition to the Prussian measures. Till she does this it is not necessary to bring her to explanations, and therefore she has the option of dropping the measure in silence; but when we accede to the idea of future negotiation, we give them the option of resuming it or not, as it suits their situation. In the convention for disarming on the Falkland Island quarrel, we

referred to a future negotiation the question of sovereignty; but Spain took care to make us agree to quit possession, under a stipulation that she would not occupy it after we had quitted it. I mention this to show you that we got better terms upon that convention for disarming, than can be given us so long as the question of Holland is left open to discussion between us. I trust that Amsterdam is in our hands; and, if so, the armed interference of France is hopeless, particularly as it appears from the enclosed letters that, on the 29 September, no force had collected for a frontier army at Givet. But, in proportion as she abandons the idea of that operation, she undoubtedly sets herself more amply at liberty for operations levelled immediately at us, if a spirit of revenge or a clamour should drive them into a war with us, even after their Dutch game is hopeless. Of all this you must be a better judge; but I state whatever occurs to me, anxious only that you should know what strikes me, and fully convinced that you will not disgrace yourself in what I shall, I fear, always think a most unfortunate mission.

“If I wish to see you now, it is solely to talk over that which concerns you; and, therefore, I renew my Missenden proposal, not wishing however that you should unnecessarily fatigue yourself. As to myself, I contented myself with suggesting to Pitt one or two ideas which occurred to me, and with offering any services in which I could help him, *without coming to town*. To the latter part of that letter he gave no answer; and therefore I do [not?] say a word more upon many things which have occurred to me; and this not in ill humour, but because it does not appear to me that he wishes it. Whatever be the event of this mission, I must earnestly press you to let me see you as soon as you can; for, if I do go up to town for Parliament, it must be with much more knowledge of what has passed in the last month, and of what is likely to occur, than I either know now, or am likely to know from any other quarter than yours. To every thing which concerns you I must be most anxious. The subject of your missions will be wretchedly mangled in the House of Lords by Ministers, and more wretchedly treated by me if I am as little enabled to speak of them as at present. This object deserves your attention; but I do not think any other consideration likely to carry me to London.”

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1787, October 25. Stowe.—“Poor Cleaver is again unlucky, as I have no idea that the Chancellor will give him Marylebone as Pitt had hoped. He tells me that he has suggested to you an exchange of Douglas and Harley in order to vacate the prebendary [?] of St. Paul's. In the meantime another death has just [put?] into the gift of the Bishop of Lincoln an object which is, I think, very material to all of us; I mean the prebendary of Aylesbury in the church of Lincoln. Willaume, the late incumbent, was living against Wilkes (the remaining life;) and, upon his death, the estate and manor, the nomination of constables, of the returning officers, and the patronage of the living would lapse to the prebendary. All these considerations make it most essential to me that Cleaver should have it; and I wrote yesterday to Prettyman a most pressing letter, entreating it as the greatest kindness which he can ever have an opportunity of doing to us in this county. Perhaps this may be contrived, and, if so, pray endeavour to interest Pitt in it, as the opportunity never can occur in the same shape. And, in many points of view which I cannot explain by letter, I think it is

preferable to St. Paul's, if he keeps (as he then would) Westminster. You have not laid the spirit of curiosity which your last visit here raised, but perhaps you have nothing to add."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1787, October 26. Stowe.—"Nothing can give me greater pleasure than the receipt of your public and private news. I am anxiously uneasy for the return of the French answer; for I join with you in dreading every moment the operation of the humiliation which they must so severely feel, and which must have a stronger effect in that than in any other Court in Europe. Any declaration upon the general grounds which we discussed, must be honourable; and the stability of it will depend precisely upon the same chances and circumstances as our treaty of 1783. I trust, however, that the East and West Indian force will be augmented, as we concluded it should be. Every day has convinced me of our naval advantages in this equipment, and of Lord Howe's merit in every part of that department save the expence of it; but no prospect of victory can counterbalance the solid blessing even of a short peace. I am sorry that the alliance is not to be triple, nor can I easily see *where* it has stopped on the other side of the water. If in Holland, I do not see why *that* should prevent a separate alliance where we agreed in looking for our ally.

"Now, for your private news, and for my thanks to you for the immediate steps for Cleaver, which have so well succeeded. My letter of yesterday will have shown you how little I expected it. I mean to thank the Chancellor immediately. As to yourself, we agreed in our wish for the time; and that time, by your last account, will not be premature. Wherever or whatever, be assured equally of my warmest wishes.

"An idea has just started to me whether it would not be more eligible to Cleaver to endeavour to exchange Westminster for the Aylesbury prebend. This would assist Pitt very materially, who probably would like to have the Westminster stall. I will write to Cleaver to come over to me tomorrow, and propose it; and, if we agree upon it, I will desire him to call upon you, as he probably will go to town to be inducted immediately."

The EARL OF MORNINGTON to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1787, October 27. Buxton.—"I perfectly agree with you that Arthur ought, by all means, to accept of Sir G. Yonge's offer, which appears to me to be highly advantageous; and I am certain my mother cannot have any objection to it. He was expected every day when I left London, so that I have no doubt that he will be in England nearly as soon as he gets the commission. It would be very desirable that he should be permitted to raise the men in Ireland, where he could get them much sooner and cheaper than here; indeed I should be even glad to obtain an ensigncy on the same terms for one of my Trimmers, I am so persuaded that the men might be had, between Dengan and Trim, even at a cheaper rate than your calculation supposes. If he should be obliged to raise his men in England, I think I must send him to Windsor, and perhaps you might be able to assist him a little in Buckinghamshire.

"I am a great deal stronger than when I left London, which I attribute to the early rising, air, and exercise of this place; but I have not yet entirely got rid of the restraint in some of my limbs, which is my only



complaint, and by no means constant or violent. I shall give the baths and waters a fair trial till the meeting of Parliament, which I mean certainly to attend.

"I am very happy to hear that the triumph is to be complete, by which I suppose you mean that we shall be enabled to announce peace. You may well believe that I must enjoy from my heart a triumph so personal to yourself, whose success is as interesting an object to me as my own. I cannot conclude this letter without assuring you that I feel most sensibly the kind and anxious part you have taken in this business of Arthur's promotion, which, in the present moment, it would scarcely have been possible for me to have managed myself; but, although the circumstance of my ill health may make me more peculiarly sensible to any instances of friendship and attention which occur at this time, I should do you great injustice if, while I thank you particularly on this occasion, I did not feel and declare that you have done no more now than on every possible occasion which has offered in the whole course of our long intimacy, to assist me in the promotion of any object which I have had in view.

"I enclose a letter for Hobart.—Sheridan called on me the other day. I wrote Apsley an account of his language, which is very flattering to us, and I believe, a just representation of his real feelings. . You will burn the letter for Hobart if it should not be necessary to send it. As soon as I know that my mother consents to accept of Sir G. Yonge's offer, I mean to write to thank him."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1787, October 28. Stowe.—"I have seen Cleaver, . and upon examination of the Aylesbury prebend, it is much too valuable for me to propose the exchange of Westminster; and I have writ to Prettyman to excuse so unreasonable a request, and, in the mean time, have received the civilist letter in the world, promising every assistance of influence from his brother to whom he has given it. . I trust that you have said every thing to Pitt for Marylebone, which I ought to say. I long for the return of your French messenger; you will give me a line as soon as you know the result. . . How is the Duke of Rutland?"

The EARL OF MORNINGTON to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1787, October 31. Buxton.—"I received your letter to day, and at the same time a letter from my mother in which she expresses great obligations to you for your very kind attention to Arthur. Hobart sent me an account by the express of the death of the Duke of Rutland. I cannot help feeling great concern at this melancholy circumstance, though I had little reason to be pleased with the conduct of his government towards me. On my own account I naturally wish that Lord Buckingham may except the Lieutenantcy, though I should not think it a desirable situation for him. If Lord Buckingham should go, and that he could give Arthur an *aid du campey* on pay, I should feel some doubts with regard to sending him to India, in preference to such an offer. My intention is, whenever I have an opportunity, to bring Arthur into Parliament for Trim, and this plan would agree very well with a situation in the Lord Lieutenant's family; but this opinion is founded on a supposition that Lord Buckingham could at once, *without inconvenience*, appoint him *aid du camp* on pay. You know me too

well to imagine that I would attempt to press him upon Lord Buckingham, the success of whose government will always be a greater object to me than any personal advantage of my own, or of any one of my family. On the whole, I would refer the point to Lord Buckingham himself, and beg of him to decide for Arthur, and I will abide by his decision.

"The poor Duke of Rutland, just before his death, not knowing that Arthur was already in the army, recommended him to the King for an ensigncy in one of the augmented companies of the 9th foot. I shall beg leave to seize this ensigncy for a Trimmer, if the new Lord Lieutenant has no objection. If your brother should accept, pray let me know immediately by one line only; if he should refuse, I should be anxious to know who is the man as soon as you can write. You may as well make Lord Hillsborough at once as Lady Salisbury. . A strange story was told me to day that Wilberforce had married his sister's maid; can it possibly be true?

"Since I wrote this letter, I have received from Hobart a detailed account of the death of the poor Duke, which I enclose to you, as you and Lord Buckingham may perhaps be curious to see it. The letter itself contains so much real affection for the Duke as cannot fail to do great credit to the heart of the writer, and is the best recommendation which he could have to the feelings of the new Lord Lieutenant, if Lord Buckingham be the man. There are some expressions in the letter which I ought to suppress, if it were to be shewn to any but a very intimate friend; but I think I may, without vanity, suffer them to remain, when it is not to go further than to you and Lord Buckingham."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1787, November 6. Stowe.—"I have received from Cleaver your letter to him, and I had received from Mr. Pitt another stating himself *clearly engaged to Doctor Cleaver for Chester*; but shewing as clearly that he admitted the weight of the difficulty, though he broke it for Prettyman, and just now broke it for Mr. Harley! He proposes to make it matter of negotiation. To that I cannot submit. I can see no *solution* to it, and desire to see none; as I look to the performance of a promise which ought not, from a recollection of what passed upon Cleaver's subject, to have been matter of negotiation. I have written to him very temperately, but in such a manner as will convey what I feel; but I think I have a right to press you, (if you are spoken to, or if you have a fair opportunity,) to tell Pitt that you know there is no point upon which I can less bear to be spoken to; and, as, in fact, I cannot be in town till the 17th, I must hope to hear that it is concluded; for, between ourselves, there is no breach of engagement which can affect me so nearly as this. I write in great agitation, because I did not expect this."

"I have written to Cleaver to say that as I do not go up till the 17th, it is unnecessary for him to wait my motions; and that I do not desire to see him at Stowe till I can see him without the difficulties which I should feel at this trifling with his and my object, in this essential point."

The EARL OF MORNINGTON to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1787, November 7. Buxton.—"You may judge with what joy and gratitude I received Lord Buckingham's most kind appointment of Arthur, by the anxiety which I could not avoid shewing in my last letter on the



subject, though I never would have pressed the request on Lord Buckingham's friendship. I have written a volume to the new Lord Lieutenant. You may imagine how I am tormented by the *Septimii* (a most classical and affected phrase which I leave to you to construe if you can). Every Irish man and Irish woman who know me by sight have something to ask, which one word from me would secure; and I am assailed by innumerable letters from correspondents in various parts of the world, but chiefly from Dublin and Bath. I must tease your brother by communicating some few of these to him; but I should be most unworthy of the early marks of attention which I have received from him if I allowed the importunity by which I am attacked to reach him where I can repel it. I mean to remain here certainly till the 18th. I feel very well. The papers have made you Secretary to your brother; I cannot believe that you are either of you so impolitic; you ought to look to another Secretary's office.

"My mother informs me that as soon as she heard of Lord Buckingham's appointment she could not refrain from writing to you in favour of Arthur. It is natural that her great eagerness to get him into Lord Buckingham's family should induce her to take such a step; but it was entirely without my knowledge, and you may judge from the tenor of my letter on the subject, whether I can approve of such an application."

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1787, November 8. Stowe.—"I feel mortified that you seem so little to enter my uneasiness upon the subject of the negotiation of which Dr. Cleaver is either to lose or to hazard this Bishopric, supposing that it is proposed to him either to waive his claim in favour of a Cambridge parson, or to delay the acceptance till another falls. Mr. Pitt has broken his rule (I again state it) by appointing Prettyman after Wilson, and, again, by naming Harley after Douglas. The objection to Lord Lonsdale's first idea was (as Mr. Pitt told me) upon a different ground. The chance of another vacancy is indeed (after the death of the three oldest within a month) very distant; and if that vacancy should be in the see of Chichester (the most likely) the difficulty may be encreased tenfold. I may and would negotiate for a point respecting myself; but I will not negotiate where my faith has been so long pledged, and upon an object in which (to speak gently of a former transaction) I was most grossly deceived. The difference of ten days is not the question; but that which is proposed, is, to *discuss* the circumstances under which I am to be induced to waive or hazard Cleaver's preferment; and I must say that I feel much mortified at such a proposition, and fully determined to appeal to Mr. Pitt's assurances to me on this point, so interesting to me, which we *discussed* together scarce a week ago, within any difficulty of this nature. If Mr. Pitt feels inclined to give to Cambridge the next two, or two-and-twenty Bishoprics, I have nothing to say to it. But he must remember that he has sacrificed Dr. Cleaver to his own wishes for Prettyman, and to his political situation in the two last instances, and in the promise for Chichester; and he surely cannot think me unreasonable in trusting that he will, by performing his engagement, terminate a question which, from the moment he pauses upon it, must gain strength from the exertions which every parson of Cambridge will think himself justified in making. I entreat I may again hear from him or from you upon this subject; for I am grievously mortified at the appearance of dis-

appointment where, from many, very many considerations, there should be none.

"I could have no objection to the avowal of Fitzherbert's nomination; but, for his sake, you have certainly done right in addressing Orde to him. I have reason to think, indeed to know, that some of the *absolute engagements* are not considered by the parties so entirely unconditional as he stated them, but the list remains sufficiently formidable. I was aware of the vacancy at Doneraile. It was engaged to the Duke of Rutland for Judge Bennett's promotion, but I do not understand how the offer comes intrusted to Sir I. Erskine. Mornington has filled my list of solicitations very completely; the case of Captain Fortescue seems hard, and I can have no objection to it, but that cursed list which haunts me sleeping and waking. Mr. Griffith is not yet arrived."

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1787, November 16. [Stowe.]—"I am obliged to despatch an Irish messenger to Lord Sydney with the report that the three regiments for the West Indies are ready at Cork and Kinsale, and wait for the transports. You will tell Pitt that the longer these transports are delayed the more men he will lose by desertion; but that is more his business than mine. I was obliged to write to Pitt upon the subject of Lord Lifford's letter me, which was very jesuitical, and full of doubts as to the validity of my authority, and desiring to see my patent. I do not care a straw about it, except that I think it never has been done in former cases. But as this may lead to the essential object of corresponding with Lord Sydney upon patronage, and as no explanation has taken place between Lord Sydney and me upon that head, I have desired Pitt to enquire if any such correspondence has passed. Foster writes very cordially; but by the mode in which he presses instantly for the *first* Bishopric for his brother, he deals very much *en juif* with me. I have as yet given him no answer, but I fancy that I shall find it difficult to refuse him. I have, in truth, no particular person in view; and if I make these terms with him, I think I may trust his best services till I can rescue the administration from the rapacity of the Hewits. However, I shall not write till I see you and Pitt to converse upon it.

"I wrote to your frightened correspondent to relieve him from the horrors of the shrievalty, and to tell him that the list has been altered, without my knowledge or consent, by leaving out Bernard's name and inserting his. I must enquire *how* this has happened, and I have a fourth name to give to Lord Camden, and who will be to serve; but you must attend the Council Board to take care of it.

"I am sorry to find Fitzherbert's nomination very public; and the story of the doubt of Fawkener stated as unkindly from me towards him. This would grieve me much, as I feel every regard there; and I lament it, as I am sure it did not come from you and could not from me.

"No orders have been yet sent for the additional companies in Ireland, and I trust none will go till I have talked over with Colonel Dundas (who is in town) the numbers and expense of it. General Pitt, in his letter to me, refers to a scheme for this approved by Lord Sydney; but I have not seen it yet, as General Pitt concludes that I have received it from the Secretary of State's Office; which, *entre nous*, ought to have been the case."

"My list of *aides du camp* and chaplains must, as you suppose, be very open to solicitations, as I can have received none; but I enclose

to you a letter which I must press you upon, in favour of one whom we both lose. I have settled a job for Chaplin without you."

The SAME to the SAME.

[1787, November —.]—"When I last saw Pitt, I pressed him earnestly for the living of Marsh Gibwen or Gibbon, about three miles from Wotton; he promised it, but doubted if it was in his gift. I have now ascertained that point; and as soon as Dr. Greenhill (the incumbent) dies, Mr. Wodley will give you notice of it, and you will name him to Pitt; but in the mean time pray remind him of it. Be so good, *for reasons*, to send the list of new justices to the Chancellor as soon as you can. And remember that Stephen Langton Esquire of Great Horwood is to be proposed as sheriff in Council, in the room of *Sir Charles Bowyer*, no such person existing. I have already mentioned it to Lord Camden." (Letter mutilated.)

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to LORD BULKELEY.

1787, December 8. Stowe.—"I am anxious not to lose a moment in desiring you to vindicate me in the opinion of His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester from any personal slight towards him, in the application which I made to his Majesty for leave of absence for your brother. I trust that His Royal Highness will do me the justice to believe that, from every consideration of respect due to his situation, and to him personally, I am incapable of failing in attentions towards him. It is natural that His Royal Highness should receive his impressions upon this subject from General Hyde, but he will believe that I cannot be ignorant of the usual practise on these occasions, when I assure him that in 1782, I took his Majesty's pleasure in the same manner for Captain Loftus, Captain Cradock, and your brother, all serving in the Guards; and that I never conceived it incumbent upon me to make any application upon that subject to the officers then commanding their regiments; and that, in point of fact, no such application was then made. I trust therefore that the unfavourable impression which His Royal Highness has conceived in consequence of General Hyde's representation *that this is the first instance of the sort*, will be done away by the reference to this practise in a former case by myself, and I believe by all others, (to my knowledge by some) who have held the same situation.

"But when I state this, it is for the sake of justifying myself from any failure towards His Royal Highness, and certainly not with the intention of stating myself in opposition to His Royal Highness's wishes. They will be (as they ought to be) always considered as commands; and, therefore, if his Royal Highness, upon reconsidering this subject, and upon being assured that I have upon this occasion followed the usual practise, should nevertheless decide that Mr. Williams should join his regiment, it is most certainly my duty to acquiesce; but, in that case, I beg to be permitted to state to his Majesty His Royal Highness's commands to me as my reason for resuming the appointment of your brother; as he is too just to wish me to admit the claim in General Hyde's letter, which would subject me and my successors to an application (in His Royal Highness's absence) so very derogatory to the high commission which his Majesty has entrusted to me. His Majesty is certainly not uninformed of the time which your brother has passed in Ireland. I had the honour of submitting his name in the course of the first hour after my appointment on the 2nd November; and his Majesty asked many

questions about him; and, in consequence of the permission he then was pleased to give me to take Mr. Williams, I sent him word that he was appointed, and that I apprehended he need not return to town from Belvoir, where his duty carried him with the corpse of the Duke, as the notification of leave would probably be sent from the War Office before that day. By this I have certainly put him in the situation of appearing to disobey General Hyde's orders; but I trust that His Royal Highness, under those circumstances, will not think him very criminal. I need not add that I shall part with him with much regret; and that for his sake, I should have been glad to have sent him occasionally to England to do duty at the reviews and field-days of his regiment; but if this claim from General Hyde, which I can (*entre nous*) assure you is novel, should induce the Duke of Gloucester to insist upon my parting with him, by requiring him to quit his duty in Dublin, which, you know, is very constant and necessary during the first months of my winter residence, I must submit to the mortification of not being able to gratify your wishes. For I again repeat that I will not state myself in opposition to the wishes of His Royal Highness; though I know that in point of practise, *vis-à-vis* to any other commanding officer of a regiment, the thing will not support an argument. However all that I am now anxious about, is to clear myself of personal offence to His Royal Highness; and, as to the rest, I have only to regret your disappointment; for you must be sensible that I have no alternative upon a claim which, from any other persons except the Dukes of York and Gloucester, would be humiliating to the utmost extent of the word; and having in consequence of the King's wishes, very much curtailed the number of officers usually in waiting on the Lord Lieutenant, I cannot dispense with those whose duty is essential to me, during the sessions of Parliament.

"I return to you the copies of General Hyde's letters, upon which (I mean the last) from respect to His Royal Highness, I do not choose to make any comment, though I have much reason to complain of it. But, in treating this subject, I have avoided any thing which might be liable to mistake in my expressions, or could deviate in the slightest degree from the respect due to the Duke; and if I have not adopted the idea which you suggested, with His Royal Highness's permission, of an engagement on the part of your brother to give immediately six months' attendance in London, it is from a sense of the necessary duty in Dublin which every day employs two *aids du camp*, and three times a week requires a much larger number. I trust however that the Duke may be yet inclined to reconsider the proposition; and if he should be convinced that every thing has passed in the usual mode, (and upon my honour I believe that their never existed an instance of the contrary practise,) I hope he will not exact from you a sacrifice of an object, which, I know, is much nearer your heart than possibly His Royal Highness imagines."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1787, December —. Dublin Castle.]—"I enclose to you some letters upon a very silly subject. Robert Williams, my *aide du camp*, has quarrelled with General Hyde Lieutenant-Colonel of the 1st. of Guards, who, upon the usual notification of leave of absence, wrote a most intemperate letter to the Duke of Gloucester; who, in conversation with Lord Bulkeley, insisted that I should immediately send Williams to do his duty, and that I should ask his leave. I saw the absurdity of such a quarrel; and I wrote the enclosed letter which I thought

would get me clear of it; but, to my astonishment, I received the enclosed answer from Lord Bulkeley conveying the King's opinion upon the point in question, and conveyed, without any further management, in terms very offensive when he talks of the *irregularity* of my proceeding, which I protest is the usual and constant mode. Lord Bulkeley tells me that the Duke of Gloucester informed him that he was satisfied, but that the Duke of York was violent upon the point of military etiquette. Under all these circumstances my first idea was to get rid of the cause of quarrel by dismissing Robert Williams; but, upon second thoughts, I have deemed it more respectful, more temperate, and befitting me, to write the enclosed to the Duke of Gloucester. But as it is done in consequence of my conception of the King's wishes, it is fit that the King should see it before it is delivered; and, if he approves it, Lord Bulkeley may then carry it to the Duke. But as I will not leave a trace of it in the office, I must entreat Pitt to show it, and to express to the King the mortification I feel at the communication of his opinion upon my *irregularity* in doing what I now know was precisely done by myself in 82, by Lord Northington and the Duke of Rutland, and by all my predecessors without objection. I care not a farthing for the thing itself; and if the King had wished it as a rule in future, I have not a wish to the contrary; but the censure is, under all those circumstances, very unexpected and undeserved. If Pitt does not choose to state my concern, and to shew Lord Bulkeley's letter from the Duke of Gloucester's mouth, and my letter to His Royal Highness, I must beg you to do it. I repeat that I would have done in it as the King pleased; but could I have guessed that this offence, to such a person as General Hyde, was to have interested the two army Princes to require from the King such a disavowal of me? However, though I am hurt and angry, I feel that I have acted right in the resolution I have taken to give way to the Duke of Gloucester; but I can go no further.

"Your letter to Jones is perfectly proper. My own patronage is, as you know, very small; but if he wishes to be put upon the list you will be so good as to do it. I have enclosed to you, for Wodley's perusal, a copy of my letter to the Bishop of Oxford; for I think it is material that Wodley's son should succeed to Stukeley; and, if the Bishop agrees, I will try to negotiate for it a promise from Bishop Barrington to give me a living of 100*l.* or 150*l.* I can see no reason for giving Coutts so good a thing as your clerkship, for I think that we may, in some mode, make it useful in Bucks. We had once thought of offering it to Chearsley. I think him valuable as a busy useful man.

"I return your list; the first is the son of the 4th who is to be our High Sheriff (if you do not forget it at the Council,) and I wish to put both of them into the commission. The parson, to whom Lord Thurlow will object, has a very large property from his brother's death, and has no living. I say nothing of my reception, for you must hear it elsewhere; but the phrenay is still as high as ever, the whole town has been twice illuminated, and all ranks are profuse in their professions. I find no objection to our army scheme."

S. BERNARD to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1787, December 27. Dublin Castle.—"I have not written to you sooner, because I knew that you would be as well informed of Lord Buckingham's landing and reception here by the *Gazette* and newspapers, if not better, than I could describe it to you. But as we have now been here for above ten days, it is time I should commence my correspondence.

"There seems very little prospect of any difficulty in the approaching sessions here; no opposition is as yet announced. The principal leading interests in opposition have mostly declared their favourable dispositions, and wishes to support; and nothing is to be feared but from their jealousy of the comparative attentions shewn to one another, which must end in producing an Opposition sooner or later, as the market is overstocked. Lord Charlemont put himself forward to be one of the two noblemen sent to conduct the Lord Lieutenant up the Castle stairs to the Council Chamber; and sat next him yesterday at the Lord Mayor's dinner, where there was a very pleasant party, and your brother was in high spirits, and gave the greatest pleasure to those around him. Chief Justice Carleton who sat next me, observing Lord Charlemont's assiduities, whispered that he wondered how long this would last. I think it however possible that an old man like him may be tired of volunteering and of opposition, and may be glad to seize a moment when he may think he can support, with safety to his popularity. Fitz-Herbert seems a man of very pleasing and taking manners, and to judge very prudently and discretely in the instances which have been yet seen; and, what gives me the most satisfaction, does not manifest the least jealousy of your brother's monopoly of the business. Cuffe lays unremitting siege to him, but I trust will be repulsed; though I know not how it happens, but he seems to be a man much considered here, and of political weight. With respect to myself, I go on very pleasantly in my own quiet way, more sought than seeking, which is the only plan for a private secretary. Lord Buckingham means to give me one of the vacant houses in the Phoenix Park, not far from the Lord Lieutenant's lodge, which will be very convenient for my wife when she comes over, as I should not have had room or conveniences for her in the Castle. As far as I can see, the household is likely to be very well managed under Griffith's and my joint government. I really am satisfied Griffith is as fit a man as could have been found. Young was expected before this, and it was wondered why he did not arrive, when the observation was (not mine) that without doubt he would contrive to arrive accidentally at the Head at the same time with Lady Buckingham, and make himself her Excellency's squire in the yacht to Dublin. I was offered a bet of this, but would not take it, as I am satisfied it is his plan, and it accounts for his delay. I hope you will find questions enough for him, which will require his attendance when the business of your sessions is resumed, at the end of January.

"I forgot when I took leave of you to state what passed at the interview which it was agreed I should seek with Lord — previous to my departure. He held the same explicit language that he had used to your brother, declared that he should not put up anybody himself and would give me no impediment; adding that he had no doubt I should succeed, if I did not mind creating so many troublesome neighbours. I am however more fortified by the deep clays and ruts than his lordship; and if it should come to that, I am not so tied down but I should always have my remedy. Accordingly as I passed through Aylesbury, finding Chaplain in all the rest of the secret, I told him this remaining part, and how he was to proceed in case of a vacancy. I called on Sir William Lee as I went on, who, to my surprise, reminded me that I was to have written to him when I was last in Ireland, but I had forgot it; and asked me whether he might expect an occasional letter from me this time; which pleasure I certainly shall not deny him; and Lord Harcourt's picture at the Mansion House suggested itself to me yesterday as a topic for opening the correspondence.

"Something passed in a conversation when your brother was with you at Whitehall at which I was hurt, and which I think it necessary for my credit that I should explain. When you were talking of the Lord Lieutenant's emoluments commencing, in the present instance, from the day of his declaration in Council, you added that, what was a better thing, his private secretary's emoluments also commenced from the same date. Now as my present emoluments (those of Usher of the Black Rod) are a sessional grant, I thought you could mean nothing else by that expression but the emoluments of private secretary, which I declared from the first moment of my being appointed Black Rod I would not accept; and it would be highly to my discredit if, with an office of that degree of profit, I could have thought of taking any salary as private secretary, which, being an allowance out of the pocket of the Lord Lieutenant, could not with any propriety be taken where there is such ample compensation from another office. I did not make this observation at that moment, lest your brother should have thought me ostentatious of what was no matter of ostentation. But I own I was uneasy, lest by what you said at the time, that I was the only officer whose profits were not affected by the early commencement of Lord Buckingham's government, you should have thought me a pluralist in so improper an instance; though perhaps in some instances, where the public were sure to be at the expence whether I accepted it or not, I may have shewn myself not averse to pluralities.

"I must conclude this letter here. I have so full a confidence that none of these letters, particularly to friends of Government, are pried into at the Post Office, that I have written without reserve on all subjects; and beg a hint if you think I do wrong in using this freedom. I little thought that it would ever fall to my lot to have the honor of franking a letter to you, but it is an instance of what odd things happen. If you would prefer to have my letters sent under cover to Anderson, I will beg an intimation to that effect. The objection would be the delay in the receipt of my communications, particularly if he should be out of the way, or accidentally in the country . . . but of that you will be to judge.

"*Postscript.*—I was delighted to find by one of your letters that you intended paying some attention to Lyttelton. I have taken the greatest pains on that subject, and have been continually afraid lest he should be lost for want of common attention. He is very many degrees above his father in point of political weight, character, and abilities. If there were nothing else in his favour but his name of Lyttelton, I should be sorry not to see it reunited to those of Pitt and Grenville in political life; but when, in addition to this circumstance, he is a young man of uncommon value, I should have been grieved to have seen him enlisted under any other banners. I meant before I left town to have told you where he lived, and to have requested you to call upon him, but it escaped me. He is very shy, and feels any inattention shewn to his father as much as if it was to himself. Upon my making an appointment, at Lord Wescote's desire, for his lordship to call on Lord Buckingham the Friday before he left town, Lord Buckingham would hardly at first consent to receive him, but did at last; and I understand expressions of civility passed between them. You however will have ample opportunities of placing all this on a better footing in the course of the winter. In case Mrs. C. Macartney dies, which is daily expected, Lyttelton will come to Ireland to settle his affairs; and in that case I shall see him often at the Castle, and have opportunities of putting him in Lord Buckingham's way. In such a situation I think nothing could prevent him from becoming intimate with, and attached to your brother.

"In my letters (in case you approve of my writing on at this rate) you will find many expressions of self-importance, which arise out of the nature of the subject, and which I must beg you to excuse, whenever they occur. I stated your wishes for William Bisset, when the list of chaplains was made out, and he is appointed 7th Chaplain."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, in London.

1788, January 1. [Dublin Castle.]—"Your letters both arrived yesterday by the same mail, and I have many thanks to give you for the trouble you have taken about the Duke of Gloucester. The business is indeed very silly, but the King's intimation has galled me much, as I felt that it was not deserved. I trust that Pitt will let him see that I have not been well used in it. Mornington will have shewn you a most impudent attempt of Sir G. Yonge to put W. Fremantle and Wesley upon half pay. I think that it will not be persisted in, but you must enquire about it.

"As to the offer for the manor of Huntspill, I think 5,000*l.* is fully ample; but yet, it is so essential to my objects, that I would not let it go even if I gave 100 more for it. Steele always threw difficulties in my way upon the object of my grant, and Rose always forwarded it; your application therefore ought to have been made to the latter. The rule laid down on those subjects can surely not extend to a grant of what may [be] *recoverable* below low water mark; but upon these points I can trust your diligence, and Pitt's affection, for doing what can be properly done. . . As far as I see, I shall live upon my allowance, but I wish that this payment may be agreed for at a long day.

"We are going on very well, as far as I can judge. The idea of no opposition very much prevails, but I am whipping up all our strength for fear of any difficulty. The army question is a mole-hill in point of expense, but it will require the formality of a message from me, in the words of Lord Townshend's, in order to justify us in going beyond 15,285 to 15,273 men, which is our new establishment. The copper coinage will be a question of very great difficulty indeed, particularly if (as you state and as I always feared) a silver coinage is to accompany it; for the grievance is not so much felt as to reconcile people to the expense of it; but I have not yet officially writ upon it, till the measure took a more decided shape in England. Hemp will be encouraged to our heart's wish by the Linen Board, and by advantages to Irish sail-cloth in our bounties, but difficulties start upon the eternal question of *tythe*. In Great Britain, an Act of William 3rd fixes a *modus* for it of 5 shillings an acre; but here no such *modus* exists, and our clergy certainly do not seem inclined to accommodate us.

"I am happy to hear of the Portuguese turn, but I do not give much faith to this periodical return of kindness, which is to operate during the sessions of Parliament; however, in any event of the question, there can be no difficulty here. Pray desire the Duke of Richmond to keep Lord Henry and Lord Edward Fitz-Gerald in England, for they always irritate their brother's mind, and the late favours of the Crown to them surely call for that acknowledgment at least. . . My wife begs you to forward the enclosed; and as the drawing-rooms, balls, depend upon her diamonds, pray order them to be brought, sealed up, and sent to Jenkinson, in order to be forwarded by the next messenger, or by a Post Office express."



## The SAME to the SAME.

1788, January 10. [Dublin Castle.]—"The language of Opposition here is much what you state it to be from the Fitz-Geralds, on your side of the water. Conolly however declares he will support, so does Longfield, and some unconnected individuals. The Duke of Leinster is very civil, but waits to be bought. The old leaven are all staunch, and I hope to have my business over in a very short time. I am eagerly pursuing an idea of Lord Mulgrave's for extending my father's Bill (for payment of wages to seamen's families) to this country. My idea is to enable our Commissioners of Revenue, whenever any of the certificates, stated in the Act from the Navy Office, are tendered to them from that Board, to discharge them by ordering the collectors to pay them in each district, and to keep the account open with the Board, upon any engagement either by Act of Parliament or by King's warrant that it shall be repaid. I proposed transmitting a draft of it to Dundass, but I see he is in Scotland. Be so good as to mention it to Lord Howe, and ask his opinion upon it.

"Much difficulty has started upon hemp from a cursed tythe question. I do not however despair of it: . . . Burton Conyngham is out of danger, and I begin, in consequence of it, to breath free of all the jobs and infamy proposed to me upon it. Fitz-Gibbon stated *his wish*, but confined it to the supposition that *the office* might be filled from this country; to which I had no difficulty in saying that no name could be proposed on that idea but his, but that I was not authorized to give any answer upon a point which did not depend upon me. With this he assured me that he is most cordially satisfied. Orde has acted very unhandsomely by pledging his assurances, in twenty instances, that he has no doubt but that *you will be immediately gratified*; and this upon the head of pensions, peerages, and every office which his lists had mortgaged. In some cases he has given this answer to persons whom he has not even named in his list, and I have been obliged to justify myself for my refusal by stating that fact. Pray tell Pitt that a very awkward memorial has been delivered in by Colonel Vallancey, stating that Bishop Preston insisted upon carrying away, amongst the Duke of Rutland's papers, the survey of Ireland which is finished for the use of the Lord Lieutenant, and claimed it as private property. The public paid 400*l.* for it; and, by the King's order, it is directed to be returned by each Lord Lieutenant to his successor; and with this I strictly complied to Lord Northington. I am now under the most serious difficulties for want of it, and it is of the most essential moment that it should not pass into private hands. I would not however take any notice of the memorial, but have taken it out of the office; but I must entreat that it [the Survey] may be immediately returned to me.

"All the French letters to this country breathe the strongest wish for revenge and for war. I cannot say how essential it is that I should have the earliest notice of any change in their situation or intentions. This I say once for all, because I know that we can look for no change immediately."

## The SAME to the SAME.

1788, January 12. [Dublin Castle.]—"I wish you to ask for my official letter of this date to Lord Sydney, and for my private letter to Pitt upon the same point; and I must beg you to endeavour to assist

me in carrying my wish, which is so much pressed upon me, and which is so almost indispensable, in consequence of the subsisting English Acts of the 10th William and Mary, and the 8th of the King. I feel myself much obliged to your care upon the attempt of this trick by Sir G. Yonge, but I hope that it will be settled without your interference.

"I certainly do not wish for the application to the Treasury till the purchase is made; you will let me know it as soon as you can. I have heard nothing more of my house; is it taken by her Grace of Gordon?"

S. BERNARD to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, January 17. Dublin Castle.—"After having gone through my duty in the House of Lords to day, I attended the debates of the House of Commons. Your brother has written to you, and will have informed you of all the addresses having passed *nemine contradicente*, and of Mr. Parsons' motions respecting the Duke of Rutland's administration, which missed fire. Indeed the feelings of the House were strongly against him, and seemed to join in the sentiment of *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*. The Attorney-General in answering Parsons, asked him whether he would persist in putting *his absurdities* to the vote. After the House adjourned, Parsons went off in a great hurry, and it was said that he meant to challenge Fitz-Gibbon, and that they would fight before morning. But I take this to be mere talk, and that it could not be meant seriously even by those who suggested it. Nothing has been said of it since. Lord Delvin spoke very well, was very collected, clear, and distinct. Pakenham, who seconded, spoke but one short sentence to your brother's disappointment, who expected him to discuss foreign politics and abuse the French. I have not time to state further particulars, and therefore conclude."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, in London.

1788, January 17. Dublin Castle.—"We have begun our campaign most prosperously, as far as I can judge of it from promises and professions. A state dinner, and an evening drawing-room, will hardly leave me a moment's interval to give you the proceedings of the day. But I find our Speech and addresses are universally liked. The Duke of Leinster has joined; he stipulates for the first vacancy of calibre enough for him; to which I accede, having no engagement; but I find that Lord C. FitzGerald is materially an object to him, and he is always steady to government, and therefore I cultivate him as a strong tie on his brother. I am endeavouring to find out his object; and I wish that, in some way, the yacht might be vacated for him. Sir A. Schombergh must quit it, if he has a yellow flag. I wish therefore that this might be contrived, and that I might have it for Lord C. FitzGerald. Pray find out from Pitt whether there is any chance of prevailing upon Lord Howe to do it for us; but it must not be known that I recommend Schombergh to be put upon the yellow list. You have no conception of the innumerable letters from Orde which rise up against me, dated in the last week of December, and stating that he has *mentioned your case to the Marquis of Buckingham, and I have no doubt*. . . My only comfort is that no one believes him, and I have not improved his credit."

"The House of Commons is just adjourned. Lord Delvin and Captain Pakenham, and Lord Headford and Mr. Maxwell moved the addresses.

Young Parsons of the College attacked most violently the praise of the Duke of Rutland, and complimented me at his expense. The House warmed at the abuse, and all sides joined in abusing him; Brownlow Conolly and Corry entreating him to withdraw his amendment, (for he had moved to omit it,) that he might not *tarnish* the records of Parliament. He persisted, and FitzGibbon and Parnell took part, and at length he withdrew it. My address passed *nemine contradicente*. In the House of Lords, Lord Glandore moved one, and Lord Valentia the other address."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1788, January 26. Phoenix Lodge.—"If those who, from duty, ought to answer my letters, were half as good correspondents as you are, I should not have to regret that the first and only intimation of the receipt of my army letter should have been contained in your letter of this day; and, upon that information, I must, at all risks, present on Tuesday the estimate and plan for the army, unless Lord Sydney should have awoke in the course of the two days subsequent to your last. This is very unpleasant, because I told him that Wednesday was our last day; and the thing itself is not of three farthings' moment to England, though most material here. I have not been inattentive to your oil question; but it has branched out into many collateral considerations; and I fear that there will be serious difficulties, as you will not admit Irish oil upon the same terms as English; and the few manufacturers who use it here in quantity, all unite in saying that they get it cheaper from America than from England. I conclude that you would not think for a moment of allowing Irish oil to be imported on the above terms; however, you shall have Parnell's notes upon it, and the Custom House return of the duties on different oils, and the quantities. I have, for the last three days, been too ill to do any business; having had a fever, which leaves my head very little able to go through fatigue; and, to add to my distress, my poor wife has shared my fever, and has a violent cold in her face.

"Every thing goes on very well in Parliament, and we hope to get through our business very rapidly. We shall compel the clergy to give up the tythe of hemp; and I am sorry to say that I have found the Bishops in general most unreasonable upon this, or any other point, which can check or control abuses. This will, I fear, put off till next year a plan which I have digested, and which you will discuss with Moore, for carrying into execution the ideas of reforming the points which we discussed together.

"I have drafted the Bill for extending my father's pay-act to Ireland, by a reference to it by a clause that *whenever and as often as the Commissioners of the navy* . . . but a Bill must be passed in England (a draft of which I will send) to compel captains on a pay-muster to give to Irish seamen the same necessary certificate as to English seamen . . . I cannot extend this letter, and yet I must trespass upon an aching head to tell you what I feel upon the kindness of your ending to your letter. You have not for a moment been out of my mind, and the reason for not doing any thing hitherto has been the difficulty of getting exact accounts of those great offices; the *best of which* I was in hopes I should have put into your hands before this time. I mean Rigby's office of the Rolls, which pays him 2,000*l. per annum*; and which all the lawyers assure me must not be given as an efficient, or even as a resident office."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1788, January 27-31. Dublin.]—"We got that most disgraceful of all accounts through the Committee of the House last night; the labouring oar was thrown upon Forbes, who, to say truth, stuck bitter to the profligate articles of mismanagement and abuse which swelled to a most enormous total; and, after much crimination of those pensions which have been bought, and the personal charges which have been incurred by Mr. Orde, gave notice of his intention to move a specific question on his pension; having first called upon Fitz-Herbert to state if any such now existed, to which, of course, he could not receive a satisfactory answer. However, Opposition are so extremely weak that, notwithstanding the real unpopularity of Orde's name, I am persuaded that nothing can arise from it that would give us a moment's uneasiness.

"If Lord Sidney had not slept from the moment of receiving my military letter to the present instance, I might perhaps at this moment congratulate Pitt and myself on having got the army question through the Committee. To this hour I have not had one word of answer, and the Committee is put off till Friday to wait the result of his Lordship's dreams. For God's sake request Pitt to take notice of this article of complaint in my Office letter of this day. All public business is however well advanced, for I do not think, from the precautions which have been taken, that we shall meet much opposition this winter. Another year will however bring forth some ill humour, chiefly originating in the boundless profusion of one, whose misconduct towards me is indeed most atrocious.

"Mr. Hamilton has written to Rose, upon a matter of much real delicacy; it is too long for a letter, but I wish the thing to be done, and yet I cannot, consistently with my rule, officiously press it. The object of it is to grant two pensions, vacating two offices already promised; which pensions were officially applied for by the Duke, but were stopped by Orde, without any good ostensible reason, but certainly with one very unfairly meant towards me. I have not yet made one engagement incompatible with those of the Duke, and I am hourly sacrificing my judgment and my wishes to that cursed list.

"I enclose to you two Bills, which you will shew to Dundas, and, if necessary, to Lord Howe; the large one is that which is brought into the Irish Parliament; and the smaller must be brought forward in England, in order to compel the Navy captains to give to the Irish seamen the same certificates as to the British. . . I will trouble you to let me know Dundas's opinion upon the subject. . . .

"*Postscript.*—I enclose to you an answer which you will send to the Duke of Richmond. Nineteen pages is but a reasonable answer to His Grace's of twenty. The contents, which you will gather from mine, are still more unreasonable, but it is necessary that you should run it over with your eye in order to be able to convince Pitt that I am ready to do what I can to an object which the King has at heart. I enclose to you my letter to Lord Sidney open, which you will likewise seal."

The SAME to the SAME.

1788, February 1. Phoenix Lodge.—"This night's mail carries to England my *Io triumphe!* in my account that the proposed augmentation, giving for home service 12,009 effective men, and for foreign service 3,232 effective men, and providing for their collateral expenses

of recruiting allowances . . . has passed the committee of supply *without any opposition whatsoever*. I feel that I shall not have all the credit which is due to me for this measure, which gives us near eleven hundred men, and which, I am confident, no other person could have carried without a serious and heavy contest. But I have done my duty, and have carried a most important object for both kingdoms, and am happy.

“My triumph is not yet complete, for, on Tuesday or Wednesday. I shall send Parnell down to the House with a project for reducing  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. interest upon the whole remaining debt of Ireland; which is now contracted for, and is done without any *douceur* but that of our pitiful lottery for 1788 and 1789. I could have gained about 7,000*l.* more by separating the two; but I thought it most essential to give to the world this proof of the credit of Ireland, of her confidence in Mr. Pitt’s councils, and in my government, and of her abilities to carry into execution the pledge which she has so liberally given in her addresses. I mean, as soon as the measure is past, to send an official document of it to Lord Sidney’s Office, and to request that it may be made public, in order that the full effect of the measure may be felt in England, and wherever else it may be essential. The mode is that the undertakers of the lotteries pay all the expenses, and subscribe our whole debt at  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. less than the actual interest. Be so good as not to state this except to Pitt. I am not yet quite well, but my poor wife is quite recovered, though weak; and I am in such spirits that I cannot be ill.

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1787 [*i.e.*, 1788,] February 6. [Dublin.]—“I could not write to you yesterday in answer to your letter informing me of the fire in Pall Mall, for, in truth, my mind is (till the Committee of Supply is closed) full of other business. I must however thank you for your very early attention to the house, which is not insured, and therefore the loss must fall upon me. Whilst I lived there, I declined insuring it upon principle that I risked less by standing the chance; but, if I had thought of it, I should certainly have done it when I determined to let it. May I therefore desire you to ensure the whole of the premises and the furniture for 10,000*l.* and you will direct the necessary repairs. The whole seems a very odd story, for nothing shall persuade me that a spark from an oven, constantly used by me, has flown near 70 feet high, and has escaped from a flaw *not discovered*, so as to set fire to the roof!

“We are going on most prosperously; we shall, by regulations, encrease our revenue (exclusive of its natural rise) at least 70,000*l.* next year, and I trust that we shall do without a loan. But you will judge of Orde’s profuseness when I tell you that, last year, he exceeded by 120,000*l.*, and this year by 160,000*l.* the receipt of 1785, which was the year’s income by which he pledged himself to regulate the expense. We are still 100,000*l.* in arrears, but I hope that economy and improvement will enable me to weather that difficulty. The sessions is going on in a way entirely new, and I hope to close the Parliament without any material rub. I sincerely hope that Pitt will not press his English Irish-peers upon me at the close of it, as I can certainly keep at arms length those who now are known to stop the gap; and from the moment that his barrier is removed, I cannot stop the inundation whom Orde has by letter *encouraged* to assail me. In truth, the difficulty will be

very unpleasant and serious ; and I should hope that Sir Sampson is not so essential as to involve me in such a scene of discontent sooner than is necessary. Would you believe that Lord Sydney has not, to this moment, thought proper to send me one word of answer to my army dispatch, now near six weeks old ; and, therefore, if I had waited (as I ought) for the King's approbation, I should not yet have opened the Committee. I mention this, not as complaint, but that you should shew Pitt the necessity of my determination to abide by his private communication, or, failing that, by my own judgment.

"We are much divided here by a question upon the expediency of restraining the issue of guinea notes by two banks in the north. You know that the abuse of it made the measure necessary in England. I do not state the general arguments, for they must occur to you, but I wish to have your opinion ; mine leads to the restraint of them.

"I take it for granted that you will send me back my navy-pay Bill as soon as Dundas has approved it, and Lord Howe has seen it. It has been brought in and presented, but the Committee has not been even moved, nor had I an idea of proceeding further till I heard from England.

"As to your oil project, I really, from repeated conversations, do not see how it is possible to adjust it (even if it were an object of greater value to Great Britain) so long as you keep a higher duty upon Irish oil ; but if you wish me to try it further, let me specifically know what temptations you can hold out to us, and you shall have your answer.

"Upon the article of your copper coinage, every one here agrees in wishing to have good copper for bad ; but no one will hear of any thing like Lord Hawkesbury's estimate ; and, as we have been always in the habit of supplying ourselves with copper from the Tower, and as the history of the Mint profit upon it is well known, many proposals are made for it whenever we shall want one. I have declined giving any encouragement till I know what you will do about yours ; but if (as we are now told) you make contracts with individuals for your copper coinage, we shall certainly do the same.

"Pitt is very attentive to articles of expense, and it is therefore fit that he should know that he pays about 15*l.* per man for every man whom he sends to the West Indies from this kingdom, by suffering the Navy Board to hire and victual the transports in the Thames ; from whence they are sent with much artificial demurrage to Cork, where we have made, for 300 recruits, the same contract at the rate of 8*l.* per man ; and it is offered to us even upon lower terms if any quantity were to be engaged. You know that this is part of the Navy Board patronage.

"Baddison writes me word that *all* my library papers are in Bolton Street ; will you enquire what he means by *all*. My wish is that the two great tables . . . be moved . . . and, when that is done, and the house . . . is ensured for 10,000*l.*, I care not how soon Her Grace sets fire to it again. . .

"Sergeant Adair has just exposed himself by giving an opinion upon errors pleaded in favour of a murderer tried by the King's Bench here. It was couched in very extraordinary terms, expressing *his particular anxiety for the credit of the criminal justice in Ireland*, and pointing out a remedy (in the teeth of the judicature bill) in case *the Court shall give judgment in defiance of the objections*. The Court overruled the objections *und voce* ; and, after it was over, Lord Earlsfort produced a letter giving the unanimous opinion of the English King's Bench on the same side. This has, as you will see, considerably exposed

the Whig Chancellor of Ireland *so cruelly stifled in his birth*. . How have my brilliant measures of Wednesday the 31st been received?"

S. BERNARD to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, February 14. Dublin Castle.—"Grattan's long expected motion respecting a commutation for tythes comes on this evening in the House of Commons, when there is expected to be a late sitting. If I get home time enough, before the post goes out, I will let you know the issue of the debate; and the numbers, if there should be any division.

"Mr. Young sailed the night before last for England; he really has been much liked here; as people admire the prodigious fund of conversation which he possesses; and he is at times, in my own confession, very entertaining. Some, however, have been disgusted with his presuming manner of talking of Berkeley, Dick Neville, Buckingham, and the like, being so evidently improper even if he was their constant pet companion. The same people, however, swallow as gospel all he says about his own political and family consequences, not knowing anything to the contrary; while it sometimes makes my blood boil to hear the pitch of extravagance and absurdity to which he carries this kind of conversation. I confess again that it requires some degree of cleverness to have carried off everything so well as he has done, and to have left so favourable an impression behind him; though I do not approve of that sort of display of false colours. My emotions, however, on the occasion proceed from a cause peculiar to myself. I was not aware that I should have been put to this scene of trial. It has left me in a feverish state of mind, which two days since has hardly diminished. It will however pass off in a short time, I trust. It is hardly fair to trouble you with all this, but it is a relief to me, and you will excuse me.

"Lady Buckingham does not think herself well enough yet to come to Drawing Rooms; the day before yesterday she complained of a bilious attack, but the news from the Park is that she is better. Lord Buckingham is very well, and has, in general, been in good spirits of late. They intend going to Killarney in the summer."

The SAME to the SAME.

1788, February 15. Dublin Castle.—"I find that I made a mistake in the division of yesterday, and that it was only 121 to 49, instead of 151, which I understood the Speaker to have said; so that the majority was only about 2½ to 1. Above twenty members were shut out in the coffee-room, among whom were Mr. Beresford senior, and Mr. Sackville Hamilton, and the others chiefly Government men. Of the leading interests late in opposition, the Duke of Leinster's, Mr. Conolly's, and Longfield's men were on our side, except Burgh of Old Town, and Curran, who has emancipated himself from Longfield. None with the late Administration crossed over.

"I was at the House today on the debate for lowering interest from 6 to 3 per cent.; the complexion of the House was plainly for lowering the interest, though I did not stay the issue, and do not know whether there was any division.

"I have settled the point of attendance with the Lord Chancellor, who says I may as well humour Sir H. Cavendish by attending the delivery of all money bills, but I need attend on no other occasion. Some of the

members told me that, if what Sir H. Cavendish said had appeared to make the smallest impression on the House, they would have risen to say a word on my part ; but as it passed off without further observation, they thought it wiser to let it drop."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GREENVILLE, at Whitehall.

1788, February 18. [Dublin.]—" You know that not only I take in good part, but feel most sensibly obliged to you for any thing which you either repeat from others, or which you suggest from your own good sense upon my public or private conduct. With these impressions I read your letter, and if I enter into the detail of the subject of that part of it which you must feel most interesting to me, it is not from unkindness to Lord Sydney, or from petulance ; but I wish that you should know that I am not the very unreasonable being that you would imagine from hearing one side of the question. Upon the subject of his neglect to send me an official approbation which was indispensable to our Parliamentary forms, and which I had stated to him as necessary for the particular day which I named, I wrote a letter which, upon a second perusal, is surely not very exceptionable, when you recollect the importance of the question, and the necessity of taking the proper moment for carrying through a measure, which, I am almost confident, would have failed in any other hands. Upon this subject I had no other document than your letter, which arrived 24 hours before the day originally fixed ; and, if my letter appeared strong, I protest that my language originated less in personal feelings, than in a sense of the hazard to the public service by a similar neglect. In the mean time I had received a letter from him notifying to me that the King had given a year's absence, from *May next*, to a captain upon this establishment. Upon my shewing this to General Pitt, in the usual way of proceeding, he told me that this man had never joined, that he had been absent 15 months, and that neither the man nor his Colonel had ever applied to him, General Pitt, or to the Government in whom, *by commission and by instruction*, the sole power of originating these applications is vested. I enclosed a representation, with an official letter from General Pitt, to his Lordship, and stated the inconveniences of deviating so unnecessarily from the King's instructions. To this I received a very impertinent letter with the King's peremptory orders. To this I sent no answer, for I did not choose to trust myself ; but, in a postscript to a private note informing his Lordship of the success of our army vote, I added *that if anything could put me out of humour at such a moment it would be his last letter which I had just received, and that I only wished (pour la forme) that General Murray (the Colonel) might be directed to apply to me.* This was the whole of my observation, and my answer was a private letter to tell me that no one was less punctilious, but that nothing now could be done of the sort which I wished. I must say that I was here most extremely incensed, because, had I been inclined to litigate the point, I have my commission and my instructions in my favour ; but I wrote a public letter informing him *that I had obeyed the King's commands, that I desired him to lay my humble thanks before His Majesty for some general assurances respecting leaves of absence ; and added that, if General Murray had applied to me in the usual form, all this trouble would have been saved to his Lordship and to me.* With this I sent a private letter, which I certainly meant to be conciliatory, though I told him that I felt severely his conduct towards me as being very little conciliatory ; and added *that while I carried*



*on the King's service with a success which was so peculiarly brilliant, I felt that my situation or character had little to gain by points of etiquette; and I concluded my letter with the chit-chat which he had put into his last private letter.*

"I have now most scrupulously stated the whole of this angry correspondence; and I will appeal to you whether I could have foreborn more than I have; and I protest that the reasons which you have suggested had their full force, and were indeed the only inducements under which I would have acquiesced in this last want of decency towards me. I have no desire of exposing Lord Sydney, but I must not, for the sake of my situation, be neglected first, and ill treated afterwards. I had however taken my line above a week ago, when I wrote my last letter to him, and the surest mark of my resolution was the perfect silence which I observed to you upon it. So much for my private reasons; but those of a public nature will certainly induce me to shew him all attentions; and I trust that he will not, by complaints, induce Mr. Pitt for a moment to think that I could do so unkindly by him, as to wish to drive to the wall, or to attempt to disgrace one so nearly connected with him or his government. You tell me that Pitt has not spoken to you upon this subject; but as from your account he must have heard of it, I will, beg you to shew him this, not as an appeal upon which I wish him to decide, but as a proof that I wish to bear and to forbear, and to consult the ease of his government; and that, having made up my mind upon it, I have only to request him to keep Lord Sydney in a proper tone, to enable me to keep that line with credit to myself.

"Bernard has written to you a detail of Mr. Grattan's motion. The victory of numbers was decisive; but I am sorry to find that the impression has sunk deep, and, added to the temptation which Parliament feel to bribe themselves by a share of the tythe plunder, will operate very unfavourably for the clergy, who certainly depend only on the support of the Crown for their existence. From the same causes the continuation of the Provost's Compensation Bill has been a work of much labour and discussion; and you will laugh to read that we were forced to adjourn on Saturday night, having only gone through half the Bill, because all the Crown servants (most of whom had spoken early in favour of the Bill) had got drunk at the coffee-house, and, at midnight, were loud in every part of the House abusing it. We have made it rather more palatable this day; and I just now hear from the House that it has passed the Committee. Our tobacco Bill will meet some opposition, but none of consequence; and we look to this alteration from custom to excise on this article to be worth at least 50,000*l. per annum*. This and two or three more trifling changes in the revenue laws will close the King's business; for I do not choose to look upon the reduction of the national interest as a Government measure; for I have professed to throw out the idea rather for discussion than for decision, having shewn that Government can borrow."

S. BERNARD to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, February 24. Dublin Castle.—"From four o'clock till six today, the House of Commons were employed in ordering members into custody for not attending the ballot for the Cavan committee; among those ordered into custody, and who must consequently pay the fees, were Mr. Ord, Mr. Pelham and Mr. W. W. Pole. At six Grattan made his motion for appointing a committee for enquiring what grievances existed respecting tithes, and proposing a remedy. The

Attorney General and one or two more (among them Hobart) opposed it, on the ground of its being likely to raise the expectations of the people of the South, and encourage discontent among them, at a time that all disturbances had subsided. Grattan then began a wonderfully able and animated speech, which lasted three hours; in which he first described the existing grievances, and then stated three plans, which he said he should have reserved for the committee of enquiry, had the House shewn a disposition to go into it. The first was by striking the average of tithes for the last ten years previous to certain late innovations therein from the increased demands of the clergy, and fixing this average as a compensation for tythes for ever, dependent however on the price of corn for the time being; the second was by establishing a *modus* of every article which was titheable; and the third by an union of these two principles. He then contended that the clergy had no right, either in reason or in religion, to a tenth of the produce of the earth: and quoted Scripture and the Fathers against the practice. He then defended his plans from the charge of impracticability, or of innovation; and concluded with a splendid peroration, in which, as well as in his whole speech, there were a great many fine things. In abusing the tythe farmer, he said that he was a wolf appointed by the shepherd to take care of the flock, and that he fleeced both the shepherd and the flock. The Attorney General answered him by saying all the grievances he had mentioned were remediable by existing laws, and needed no such hazardous measures as those he had pointed out; which, after all, would not give satisfaction to the complainants, who aimed at nothing else than a total annihilation of tithes. Mr. Parsons spoke on the same side of the question; and Mr. Curran made a very able and pointed speech for the motion, in which he asked whether this was the Administration that was to distinguish itself by a spirit of enquiry; if it was, why crush the present most necessary enquiry. At ten o'clock the House divided

For Mr. Grattan's motion	-	-	-	49
Against it	-	-	-	151

I am called upon for my letter, and must conclude.

"Sir H. Cavendish, very ill-naturedly, took notice of my not coming up with the Bills from the House of Lords, which has always latterly been done by the deputy-usher. Not a person followed him in the observation."

S. BERNARD to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, February 29. Dublin Castle. — "Mr. Forbes's motion for limiting the amount of pensions, came on today in the House of Commons. Having presented his Bill, and it being read a first time, he moved for a second reading tomorrow. Sir J. Parnell moved that it should be read the second time on the 1st of August. Mr. Conolly made a furious speech on the servants of the present Administration setting their faces against retrenchment. Mr. W. Fitz-Herbert answered him, in a short speech, very well. Mr. Denis Browne said that, to show the virtuous intentions of the Lord Lieutenant, he would mention a conversation that he had with His Excellency. Mr. Forbes said he could not allow him to report the opinions of a Chief Governor (their virtual king) in that House. Denis Browne then told it as a conversation between John a Nokes and John a Stiles; the purport of which was that the Lord Lieutenant had declared he would sooner put

his right hand into the fire than give an unmerited pension. Sir H. Cavendish said even this mode of telling it was improper; and went on to make a foolish speech on the subject of pensions. Mr. Curran said he would acquit the honourable gentleman of any intention to influence the House by the ludicrous manner he had told the story; and his fears on that head being relieved, his curiosity was much excited to know what proposition could possibly have fallen from John a Nokes to give rise to this explicit declaration on the part of John o Stiles; and asked whether the declaration might not be merely a civil evasion of an anxious desire on the part of John a Nokes to possess one of these said pensions. Browne turned off the laugh against him by declaring that he never had place, pension, or emolument from Government; and had never asked, nor ever would ask for, or accept either place, pension, or emolument; and challenged Mr. Curran to follow his example by making the same declaration; which Curran turned off as absurd and unnecessary for any man to do. Sir H. Cavendish said (Browne has asked it for a relation) that he once took down the words of a member of Parliament who made a similar declaration, as he had now taken down the words of the honourable gentleman (a loud laugh,) and afterwards found that member in possession of both place and pension; and warned Denis Browne of a similar sequel to his present professions. The House divided for Mr. Forbes's motion.

Ayes	-	-	-	-	-	-	40
Noes	-	-	-	-	-	-	103

Sir J. Parnell's was then carried without a division.

"Mr. Forbes then made his second motion for an address to His Majesty on the subject of pensions, containing a long farrago of matter. Mr. Burgh (Accountant General) moved the question of adjournment; which, after a debate of near 4 hours, in which Mr. Curran made a long, declamatory, violent speech, very much like Erskine, in which he misrepresented some of Mr. Fitz-Herbert's words in the preceding debate, which Mr. Fitz-Herbert explained, and the House divided.

For the adjournment	-	-	-	-	108
Against it	-	-	-	-	42

so that you see we keep up somewhat above the proportion I mentioned of 5 to 2.

"There have been some curious debates about lowering the interest of money, in which Government were neuter, though brought forward by Sir John Parnell. Neutrality on any questions produces relaxation of discipline, and Mr. Fitz-Herbert is a little too much inclined to slacken the reins; but all the rest of us are so much for a tight hand, that I trust we shall open and go through with the next campaign very well in that respect. There is no other question of any consequence in this.

"The lowering of interest is to be debated on the second reading tomorrow in the House of Lords, and there are doubts whether it will pass that House. It is neither favoured nor discountenanced by Government.

"The last messenger went off before I was aware of it, else I should have sent your seal."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, at Whitehall.

1788, March 2. Phoenix Lodge.—"I have just received your letter of the 25th, and I am glad to find your mind relieved from the appre-

hension of my precipitation in this foolish business which Lord Sydney has brought upon himself. To my last private letter I have received no answer; and upon the only question which my official correspondence has put, namely, the King's approbation of our Bill for the election of a Chief Governor in case of vacancy, he has given no answer. But I have, from *experience*, checked my wish to have pressed, in a second letter, for this notification, and if I do not receive it I must bring it forward; though awkwardly, for I must instruct the Lord Chancellor who moves it to say, that the King will be advised to keep a dormant commission always in the kingdom; all which I have stated to Lord Sydney.

"You will have seen by our division of yesterday upon the Pension Bill, that we have resisted with great eclat (namely 108 to 40) that great *cheval de bataille*, which always carries many with the Opposition who usually vote with us, and leaves many shabby fellows out of either list of voters. This is understood to be the last real question; and I mean to direct the House to adjourn in about ten days till after Easter, as there is really no kind of business.

"Our money Bills are all in Lord Camden's hands, and our Mutiny Bill will be sealed with the other public business on Monday. Be so good as to attend every now and then to this, by asking Cottrell or Fawkenor in what stage they are, that we may not (as last year) outrun the 25 March.

"You say nothing in answer to my question to Pitt about the pensions *antedated* to Messieurs Richards and Cavendish; it is essential to me to have an answer as soon as may be.

"We shall have but little business in the House of Lords except to resist a silly claim of separating every matter in the money and other Bills; but, upon the whole, I expect to have closed the sessions by the first week in April. My idea is to make my speech very short; if there is any thing which Pitt wishes I will insert it, but I shall not send over an official copy, unless I should state any thing more than the usual nonsense.

"Our new military establishment takes place April 1st. I have written, ten days since, to Lord Sydney, to give him that early notice that the 4 companies of one of our Irish regiments doing duty hitherto in the Isle of Man, as part of the 2400 men who were serving abroad, must be sent over to us by that day, as the force now sent to the West Indies amounts to 3200 men, and our number of 12000 men is not complete unless these 4 companies are sent over; and you know that, *by law*, I must have my 12,000 men, and that Parliament here have looked upon this as a *sine qua non*. Be so good as to state this to Pitt, and beg that I may not be disappointed.

"You know that I differ with you as to the annihilation of the slave trade; my idea is that it may be brought within a very narrow compass by the good treatment of the slaves; and that a regulation for the redemption of the slave, at a price fixed by law, would ensure kindness and, ultimately, liberty to them. This redemption might be made by giving all slaves the property of one day's labour, and giving them a legal right to the profits of their own industry. This is practised at the Havannah; and a bank is supported for the improvements (by loan to the planters) of the island, by the profit of this labour and accumulation. Surely much may be grafted upon this. The calculation I saw, ensured to the most idle his liberty in sixteen or eighteen years, I forget which; and the redemption of children born in slavery was very low indeed: but, with the certainty of not being able to prevent the evil so long as

foreign flags will cover either their own traders or our's, I do not think your prospects very sanguine; and the risk of the convulsion is very great. Nor, indeed, do I see how you can enforce you law against the interest of every planter in the British and foreign islands.

"You have not returned me Dundas's opinion on my seaman's pay Bill, and it will now be too late; and indeed I am not very anxious on the subject, as you say that some alterations are proposed; and, therefore, it will be time enough for me to follow whenever that line is pointed out.

"You have forgot to give me Pitt's answer about Lord Carhampton's promise of the next vacancy of dragoons. The Duke of Rutland had promised it explicitly, and he has pressed me to be as explicit."

"Do any of our Bucks' voters want an ensigney?"

"Kate has not thanked me for her *potted* woodcocks."

"Pray order the printed proceedings on Hastings' trial to be sent over to me. Fitz-Gibbon has been half inclined to offer his services to Hastings upon the question of the *Consuetudo Parliamenti*."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, March 14. Dublin Castle.—"I have received your account of the Friday's debate, and I cannot tell you the comfort it gave me; for although I did not quite see the full extent of your ill omens of Tuesday, I rather ascribed it to my distance from the scene. I find in this country that the idea of the extent of the push at Mr. Pitt is very widely spread, and it is attributed *solely to Mr. Dundass*. You know that in this I only repeat, and do not mean to give jealousy; but this is the universal language here, and it is pointed to his want of judgment, to his jobs, and to the discontent which he has given in the India House. I do not decide (for I cannot) upon this; but I beg you to believe that I would not have mentioned it to you if I had not heard it from several quarters.

"My reasons for taking no part on the rate of interest, I will explain to you at some other time. I have acted in it with my eyes open, and I am perfectly satisfied with the event. As to Lord Carhampton, I can have no object but good will. He shews me several specific promises from the Duke of Rutland, but they extend only to *Irish dragoons*, and they certainly are not vacant; but, when they are, I beg that his rank in the political and military service may be considered. Our Parliament will be soon closed. The House of Commons will adjourn on Wednesday, and will not meet for business, unless it should be made necessary by a very singular misconduct of Judge Hamilton, of which we do not know all the particulars; but, except this nonsense, we are at liberty. In the House of Lords the Duke of Leinster has flown off, and it remains with me, as matter of cool reflection, to decide whether I will break or not with him; I rather incline to the former."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1788, March 16. [Dublin Castle.]—"There is a great inclination to ape England in the article of impeachment by preferring articles against a very weak judge, Baron Hamilton. His conduct has been grossly indefensible, and Fitz-Gibbon is (from provincial politics) violent upon the subject. I am, however, in hopes to gain a few days for tempers to cool; and, at all events, I fancy that he will not be re-

called till his circuit is closed ; but I feel the difficulty very unpleasant in any point of view.

"Lord Carhampton can have no right to complain of this arrangement for Lord Howard, or the Duke of Northumberland ; but the Duke of Rutland repeatedly, in the presence of General Pitt, and of other officers, and by letters which I have seen, stated himself authorized to promise him the next *Irish dragoons*."

"I cannot describe the impression made here by your defeat, for so it is termed, nor the triumph of the letters from your opponents. I own that I dread the power of the Company whenever, the question of their charter comes forward."

"The Duke of Leinster has been duped by Forbes, who dipped him in an opposition to the police Bill, which he treated with such acrimony, that I fancy I shall hardly think it worth while to continue our negotiation ; for the impression of weakness which it will give will injure me more than can be repaid by the accession of his votes."

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, March 19. Phoenix Lodge. — "Your three letters of the 13th, 14th, and 15th, arrived this morning by the same wind, after having kept me in a considerable degree of suspense, though not of apprehension ; for my alarms had been quieted much by the accounts which I received from other quarters of the effect of Pitt's speech. Still however, the weight and real power of that Company gives me much apprehension, whenever the hour of discussing the new charter shall come on ; this subject however is in its safest hands.

"Irish accounts from France and from Brussels speak much of a French force collecting in the Low Countries ; is there any truth in the report ? If there should be any apprehension, or a wish to have that point ascertained, you know that John Fremantle is at hand at a moment's notice. The information, the most authentic upon these reports, comes from the Irish convent at Liege ; where an encampment near Charleville is confidently talked of. I like very much your E[ast] I[ndia] arrangement of defence with the Dutch ; and perfectly agree with you as to its probable advantage ; and, at the same time, it liberates us from some doubtful and difficult engagements which the full guarantee might draw upon us.

"I am much obliged to Pitt for his facility on the subject of the pensions ; that to Mr. Richards will be drawn in the usual manner ; but that for Mr. Cavendish must be separated, half for him and half to the Right Honourable The[ophilus] Clements and his representative, in trust for Harriett Cavendish the wife. This was the arrangement of humanity made by the Duke, and as this is done in consequence of his recommendation which must be recited, it must be to take place from the date of his letter. The recommendation for 1700*l*. (net 1200*l*. English) for Mr. Orde, and for 300*l*. for Thornton, are signed this morning, and I promise you that I take some merit in doing a thing so thoroughly obnoxious as the former of these to all descriptions of people. It is limited to the demise of the Duke of Bolton, or Mr. O[rde's] acceptance of a place of equal value in either kingdom. Pitt once proposed that it should revert to his wife ; but the applications for these reversions are so numerous and so strongly pushed that I have been obliged to plead the King's wish not to give reversions ; and I trust that so unusually extensive a grant will not be pressed, as it would subject me to very serious inconvenience. Lord Hillsborough, Lord Shannon

Lord Loftus have each (exclusive of private unconnected applications from individuals) pushed reversions for friends, and have each accepted this line, which I am sure will be most useful to the King's service.

"Now to the point which I have most at heart. I have consulted Fitz-Gibbon in confidence, and him only, upon the project of giving you Rigby's employment. His patent is clearly illegal, for, in order to give it him for life, at a time when no judicial office was given for life, all exercise of judicial powers were taken from him, and excepted out of the patent; and yet all fees, profits, were granted in as full a manner as if he were enabled to exercise his function. Such a patent would be wholly unadvisable in the present moment, and is certainly disgraceful. I have therefore listened to the idea of preparing the draft with S. Hamilton and Fitz-Gibbon, ready for the *fiant* at a moment's warning, and according to the old form, by which it was held till Rigby took it; and it will be granted *quamdiu se bene gesserit* to you, the objection no longer existing by the Act for giving this tenure to the judges. By a letter which I received this day from the Duke of Chandos, I find that Rigby's life is uncertain from day to day; but that he never will leave Bath alive; and therefore, in order to cut short all solicitation, I wish that you would state all this to Pitt, and tell him that the Chancellor and Lord Earlsfort, who do not guess at my intentions, have both deprecated, in conversation, the making this a judicial office, by giving it the same situation as in England. In point of fact, the Master of the Rolls has no court, no powers under common or statute law, and there does not exist an instance in which (though held by residents) it has ever been considered as a judicial office. Under all these circumstances I wish that the idea may be opened to the King, but that it may be kept a secret; and I will, as soon as I can make up my mind (with Fitz-Gibbon's help) upon the grant, send to you a letter, *without date*, in the usual office style to the Lords of the Treasury, stating that *credible accounts having been received here of the death of the Right Honourable Richard Rigby, I beg leave to request their Lordships to move His Majesty to grant the office of Master of the Rolls to the . . . and, if he shall approve the same, to lay before him letters according to the annexed form for his Royal signature.* This letter you will keep, and as soon as you know for certain that Rigby is dead, you will date it a week back, and you will give it to Pitt to lay in the usual mode before the King; and if he sees no objection to it, the letters may be prepared and sent off without any loss of time, that I may not be exposed to any *contre-temps* upon a point so essential to my happiness; and by this means I shall be able to give your appointment as the answer to all applications which will pour in upon me from the moment the death is known. These papers I shall send in a few days, and you must take care to be well informed from Bath. I further understand that you must be admitted in a certain form by the Chancellor, and that you are not secure in your saddle till that ceremony; if so, you will see the necessity of coming away in a day or two after the messenger, that you may not trust to the King's life, or to any accident, that independence which you have so fairly earned, but which it will be the happiness of my life to have forwarded for you. Rigby receives above 2000*l.* per annum from it.

"As to your Mr. Alexander; he has very good reasons for wishing me to court him, for he has offered himself and his borough (for he has one) to me; but his terms are a peerage, which is (even estimating the choice of a Director as you please) rather a dear purchase. Can any vote be made by purchasing stock now, and can they vote by proxy?

For if they can buy, I will undertake that you shall have some Irishmen, good men and true, upon the list; but you must answer this as soon as you can that no time may be lost; and, if you will send me over a list of voters, I will see if there is any connexion here which can assist you, for we have many nabobs exclusive of Mr. Alexander settled in this kingdom; and you will send me your recommended list.

"I agree with you that Young's pamphlet is well drawn; his style is abominable, and though I corrected it with him for an hour, very much is left in its original pedantry. The plan is what we have so often discussed together; and the principles of letting labour, like every thing else, find its level by taking off its restraints are sound, and apply equally to the manufacture of corn as to that of any other article. Lord Burleigh, when he framed that restriction by which every man was tied to his parish, must have conceived as his first principle that agriculture is permanent, and never varies in its management, in its quantity, or in its demand. Try this or any other manufacture by such a principle, and then persist in this absurdity of limiting the labour, industry, and science of the manufacturer to the very worst market for him, in one parish, instead of giving him the liberty of turning them to his best profit in another."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, March 26. [Dublin Castle.]—"Your letter of the 22 arrived this morning, and I am extremely happy that you write in such spirits upon the subject of the late attack upon your Board, and upon the very existence of Government. I have given you an answer in my former letter upon the subject of Mr. Alexander; and I have reason to know that the certain consequence of my direct interference would be the demand of a peerage, as a *sine qua non* for his services either here or in England. You know how much that list is hampered, and you will easily see the difficulty of any specific engagement to which my personal honour would be pledged. I will, however, endeavour to put other irons in the fire which may operate; but I fear that I cannot venture to apply directly without a better knowledge of my ground. The disgraceful crowd of private Bills which have pressed into the Lords, without the recommendation of law, justice, or common sense, have occupied them so much, as (joined to the Chancellor's illness) to defer our business for some few days. Our House of Commons might have adjourned (except for receiving Bills from the House of Lords) yesterday, but they must now set for that purpose every day till Saturday; and then, thank God, both adjourn to the 14th of April, by which time, giving two days for the complaint against Judge Hamilton, we shall receive our Bills from England. I do not quite agree with you about deferring that complaint to another year, leaving him upon the Bench and in exercise of his powers. I have, by management, gained five weeks for spirits to cool in; and I now hope that, though he has been very much to blame, we shall let him off without disgrace to the House or to the Bench, for the complaint will be made in the standing committee for justice, and we hope to prevent any resolution being proposed. I say *hope*; for, though he is to blame, the remedy is worse than the disease, and more difficult in its operation"

"I enclose to you a list of Masters of the Rolls, and the copy of the last two King's letters for Rigby's patent; but, upon very accurate researches, the thing has taken a new face. It appears by an Irish



statute of 1497, that the King is prevented from granting the Office of Master of the Rolls (*inter alia*,) or any office for the ministration of justice except during pleasure. The list I enclose will shew you that, in practice, this office was, in 1533, granted for life, and continued so; that in many instances it has been granted with the exception of all judicial functions; and in the last grant to Rigby, the words *ministration of justice excepted* were inserted to prevent the operation of that statute. Since I wrote I have conversed most confidentially with Lord Earlsfort upon it, who has entered into it with unbounded affection and earnestness, to repay in some degree the grant which I gave him in 1783. He earnestly presses the following precisely the form of Rigby's last patent; and, for this purpose, I send over the copy of the King's letter, which is to come through Lord Sydney's office, and not through Pitt's. I enclose my official letter, which you will keep, and you will use your discretion and Pitt's counsel as to the confidence which you are to repose in Lord Sydney's secrecy, prior to the actual event; but you will remember that Lord Earlsfort, Fitz-Gibbon, Fitz-herbert, and Hamilton are the only persons who know it, and that I write my office letter myself for fear of entrusting it to any other hand. Lord Earlsfort gave me the enclosed letter from Patterson (who, managed it for Rigby,) by which you see that it will *pay you* near 2500*l.* per annum on the average. But, in all events, let me know whether any objection occurs in England; and if the accident happens which Macnamara writes is very near, and hardly doubtful, I beg that no time may be lost."

*Enclosed :*

MARCUS PATERSON, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, to  
LORD EARLSFORT, Dublin.

1786, September 4. Belmont.—"In order to comply with the desire of your letter with efficacy, I conceived it necessary to state to you as precisely as I can the patronage of the office, as well as the annual profits. There are, in the Master's disposal, six clerk's offices, two examiner's, and the Clerk of the Recognizances places in Chancery. The last six clerks place sold for 3750*l.*; upon every exchange where a new one is appointed in consequence thereof, 800*l.* English is paid. The examiner's places in Chancery sell for about 3000*l.* each. The Clerk of the Recognizances did not become vacant in my time. The annual profits of the office remitted by the Deputy Clerk of the Rolls, after deductions, I conjecture amounts to about 1300*l.*, and must increase in proportion to the increase of business in the Court of Chancery.

"To form an idea of an equivalent, the patronage must be estimated; which I conceive to be more valuable than the produce of the office fees. This year the patronage produced 4550*l.*, and there is a treaty now depending for an exchange; from this statement the equivalent must be governed in some respect by the patronage, which, in my apprehension, made it worth more than Hamilton's office. I imagined, if a pension was to be given, as the amount of it must depend on the profits of the office, as well as the patronage, it may appear to be too great, and therefore that a lesser pension for *years* would answer every purpose better; but I thought I could collect from Mr. Orde's conversation that he was not seriously inclined to restore that office to Ireland. I knew Mr. Rigby either wanted money, or something that, at market, he

could convert into money in exchange for his office ; but nothing specific was proposed by Mr. Orde, for my recommendation to Mr. Rigby. You know what Mr. Hamilton's office sold for ; I conceived Rigby's to be more valuable. There are but two modes of purchase ; one with money, which is impracticable, the other with a pension which may be converted into money. Though Mr. Rigby expected what would amount in value to 20,000*l.* English, yet, if he could get what would produce 20,000*l.* Irish, I would advise him to accept of it ; less I apprehend he would refuse. Dividing the pension, and granting it for two lives resident here, who perhaps may wish to lay out their [funds ?] in that manner, is the most expedient method which occurs to me ; but, after all, you must not suppose that I take upon me to say *this* would content him, but only that I would recommend it to Mr. Rigby to accept of these terms. I have, without disguise, made you acquainted in confidence with every information I have received, as well as my own opinion, on a fixed assurance that no use will ever be made of either to injure the present or future pretensions of my friend."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, March 29. [Dublin Castle.]—"Our House of Commons has this day adjourned to Thursday the 20th April. . . We have no news but the intemperate absurdity of our clergy, of which I could have not have formed a conception if I had not been a witness, and almost a party to it. It does not require much foresight to foretell their ruin, unless they are more docile and yield more prudently to the temper of the times, which requires much management, instead of the fire and faggot of the Archbishop of Cashell and his friends. However Parliament is now closed, and tempers may cool.

"I could not answer your question about Sneyd till I had seen Lord Drogheda, who had asked from me a commission for Lord Moore in the Artillery. He has acquiesced in waving it, provided I will give him an Ensigncy. You see therefore that your wish to oblige Bagott will cost me not only this 2nd Lieutenantcy but an Ensigncy. After that, I must leave it to you ; adding only that, if you think it *tanti*, I will do it, but you should take care that the extent of the sacrifice should be properly understood. This idea had been proposed to me two months ago, and I negatived it immediately as being most unreasonable.

"I enclose to you a letter of which I do not believe one word ; but it is fit that Pitt should know that such ideas are afloat ; and if Lord Torrington should give him this news, he will know from this letter the author of it. The rumour however is not new, for I heard it, on the information of an Irish Officer in the Emperor's service, a month ago. I trust however that (independently of official information) I shall have the very earliest information of any ill-humour or cloud from the House of Bourbon ; for, some time would be required to put the army in the state in which I wish it, for foreign service or for home defence. I have no reason to believe that any emissaries from France are now in Ireland, but many of their Irish brigade occasionally pass and repass. Be so good as to let me know what line is to be adopted with respect to Russian ships of war, or transports, if they should put into Cork . . . Our prospects are very gloomy for next harvest, owing to deluges of rain to an extent never known before ; and our weather is still most deplorable."

## The SAME to the SAME.

1788, April 2. [Dublin Castle.]—"Four mails are now due, so that I have not had your answer upon my papers respecting Rigby's office; but I wish to know as soon as may be whether the King will object to your having that office for life; for, if any difficulty occurs, I will put other irons in the fire in order to secure something to you by means of the vacancy; and I should not be left for a moment in the uncertainty of having no answer, after he is actually dead.

"This messenger carries over the last transmiss of Bills, and I am obliged to desire that one of them, *For preventing sheep stealing*, may not be returned. It is always good to keep up the practice of rejecting in the English Privy Council, and this Bill is an extraordinary instance of every absurdity and illegality in the enacting clauses.

"I send you a box of Usquebaugh, which is very good. Pray open it, and send half the cargo with Lady Buckingham's compliments to Captain Dayrell for his gout. He is at Lillingstone."

## The SAME to the SAME.

1788, April 8. Dublin Castle.—"I wish you to be a little more particular upon the subjects which I enquired about relative to the Spanish armaments and the Russian requisition for reception for her fleet, as I hear from nobody whatsoever, and am indeed but too fortunate if I can prevail with Ministers to do the necessary business of this country. From Pitt I have not heard a word since I have been here; and Lord Sydney does not seem inclined to extend his correspondence beyond his usual line of answering my letters five weeks after they arrive. I have now received a very mortifying proof of the scandalous inattention paid to the most essential point of government in this kingdom. The last transmiss of Bills is acknowledged to have arrived in London on the 27th March; and Cottrell writes word to Fitzherbert *that the Attorney-General had been absent upon his Welsh circuit for some time, and it was uncertain when he would return; and that the Solicitor-General was gone to Wales on the 25th, and would not return for a fortnight.* In this manner is this delicate point of the examination of Irish Bills by the English law servants wholly neglected; and, what is equally hazardous to the King's service is, that I am obliged, after adjourning the House of Commons by message for 12 days, to let them meet, and again to propose adjournment by vote for a fortnight longer, with all the ill humour of delay, and of attendance in Dublin without any business except that which faction may bring forward. I must think myself neglected in this instance by these great law-monarchs; and, yet, they will think themselves very ill used if I let loose the two Houses of Parliament in Ireland upon them on the subject of their fees, which have been constantly attacked in every session as well as in this, and which certainly are very ill deserved in the present instance. Let me implore you not to lose a moment in seeing Pitt on this subject; and state to him, as strongly as you can, the hazard and the indecency of this delay. And, if one of these great men is not returned, pray urge him to send off a messenger, and to insist on their immediate discharge of their duty by one of them; for I am sure he will not, in this point, think me unreasonable, particularly as I do not write one word to Lord Sydney upon the subject, in order that I may not appear to complain of those so connected with Government.

"I have this moment received the enclosed from Lord Earlsfort; it is in consequence of a further conversation with him. He supposes that, by granting the office *during good behaviour*, and leaving out the exception of *ministration of justice*, you would be enabled to plead that the statute of Henry 7th is repealed by the statute of 1782, which gives to *all judges* their offices for life. You have the Irish statutes with you, and therefore you will consider the point. As far as I can decide, I own that I think this ground is rather better than that of precedent on which was rested the other idea: and I incline to it; but I wholly differ with him in the idea of giving it to you in the first instance *during pleasure*, as that would entirely cut our own ground from under us. I own that I do not much apprehend that an hostile Administration would play tricks with the grant in either shape; but it is fit to decide as well as we can, and I will lose no time in seeing Lord Earlsfort further upon it tomorrow morning. But, whether we pass it or not, I beg you will get the King's private approbation, and (in case of Rigby's death) the actual King's letter, *with the exception* that I may be provided with it if, upon advice *here*, the law Officers should advise it. And, for God's sake, do not open it to any one save Pitt, least it should transpire, and be crossed; for I have not even shown this to Bernard. *A propos*, where is your secret which required a cipher? for your three lines of letter are certainly not very mysterious.

"I continue to hear much of the run against Dundas, and particularly of a declaration from him to Lord Maitland, Fitz-Patrick, and some third person, upon Hastings' subject, which, if true, deserves the rod for its folly. I repeat all this that you may know the current reports.

"If you see Fortescue and Bulkeley, pray tell them that I have just received their letters, but that I have twenty others to answer."

*Enclosure :*

LORD EARLSFORT [Lord Chief Justice of Ireland] to the MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Private.

1788, April 8. [Dublin.]—"If Rigby is dead, which I hear from different persons but which I do not believe, I wish your Excellency to turn the subject for a moment in your mind, to meet the following objection before you move about it.

"The Statute of Henry 7th making a grant for life void, if any difficulty should be made on the other side or here as to passing such a patent, notwithstanding the many precedents, whether the words omitted in Rigby's patent, *ministration of Justice*, had not better be inserted; and then the statute of George 3rd, making the office of a Judge during good behaviour, may *possibly* be called in aid, making this grant also during good behaviour, which is during life; but if the words are omitted which tend to make the grantee a Judge, will not the patent be more vulnerable in a hostile Administration than if the grant were made during pleasure? I suggest this hint only that your Excellency may think on the subject; and perhaps you might, on consideration, be of opinion it had, in the first instance, best be desired during pleasure; for Opposition here, and more strongly in England, will put it in a thousand invidious views; and, if the grant for life be an invitation to cavil, and no substantial protection, it will for your judgment to determine what is best to be done."

## THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, April 9. Dublin Castle. — "You must have thought my letter of last night most strange for having acknowledged your letter of the 5th by the post, and having taken no notice of that by the messenger of the same date; but this will be explained when you are told that, according to the laudable practice of messengers, he arrived one day after the post of the same date. As I do not think our correspondence sufficiently important to call for a separate conveyance, I cannot expatiate upon your ciphered information. My opinions respecting it are the same as when I last saw you. My observation of that Department had decided my ideas, and whatever they might have been, I feel that other duties would, in any contingency, have now made it impossible for me. I agree perfectly with Pitt and you in wishing that the necessity of an arrangement may not occur, and you will know that, in this wish, I can have no partiality. The objections to—are indeed most numerous, independent of his great indiscretions. I am clear that it would produce much discontent, and, in many essential points, he is quite unequal to it; and he is not more likely to conciliate new friends amongst those whom he would wish to cultivate. Having given very shortly my idea upon this destination, I will only add that the grievous solution of removing *him* for fear of indiscretion, appears to me still more highly objectionable; and I will then deprecate, most earnestly, that arrangement upon which you have taken up so much of your letter. I agree in every thing which you can state of the objections which must arise to such a nomination. You will not suppose me to undervalue those talents of which you know my opinion; but I really believe that, excepting *his* intimate friends, the whole clamour of friends and foes would be levelled, almost exclusively, at such an appointment. The office itself is, I am persuaded, most unthankful; the claims upon it are endless; and we well know that *he* would not have one confidential friend who could assist him in details upon which *his* judgment must decide, for which *he* must be responsible, and in points upon which perhaps no two opinions agree. We both feel equally for *his* reputation, ease of mind, and for the credit of Government; let me beg of you therefore to converse with Pitt and dissuade him from pressing it upon *him*. When I have the opportunity I will write more at length; but I can easily state what I do not like in any one of the ideas which are stated to me, but it is not quite so easy to propose another solution to the difficulty.

"As to the Mastership of the Rolls, I have this day had a very long conversation with Lord Earlsfort upon it, with whom I discussed all the bearings and arguments upon it, and very soon convinced him of the difficulty of taking the first grant during pleasure. He is quite convinced that no serious question will ever arise in this kingdom upon the grant of Rigby's office in the same words; and he allows some weight to Pitt's objection and yours to the ministration of a judicial office by a person non resident. Upon the whole, he leans to the exact copy of Rigby's patent. I discussed with him your scruples. He assures me that the offices differ, *toto cælo*, in the two kingdoms; and in no point more than in the point of judicial functions, which, in England, may make such a line as that which Sir L. Kenyon has prescribed perfectly proper; but, he assures me that, in this kingdom, the scruple never would occur to a legal man upon the statute you quoted. As to an exchange of it, the thing is attended with many more difficulties than you are

aware of. I tried Lord Earlsfort upon the office of Clerk of the Pleas, but he declined it; the other offices are looked to by men of different descriptions, or are held by men to whom this cannot be given; and one great facility of this arrangement arises from the law opinions that the office cannot be executed here with advantage to the country. As to the possibility of any question upon it in England, I very much doubt if any can be made with propriety upon a grant with which Great Britain has not the smallest concern; and, in all events, the fees, which are worth 1300*l.* per annum after paying absentee tax, will enable you to take your own ground as to the sale of offices. But you will be so good as to send me over the King's letter, immediately upon the death, even if I do not pass the grant. *A propos*, have you considered whether it will vacate your seat? Much may be urged on both sides; but upon the propriety of making a question upon it (by calling for copy of the King's letter or the patent) there can be little doubt; but you will look to Rigby's precedent. I trust, likewise, that you will see the necessity of pressing immediately that Arden or M'Donald should return my Bills to me, that I may be enabled to get clear of my Parliament before any question can be started upon the subject; and this, I must repeat, I feel very essential to my peace. As to the form of your admission, you shall have the earliest notice of it; and I take it for granted that there is nothing in England which will hinder you from coming over at a moment's warning.

"I will look at your Bill as soon as I can spare a moment, but you will already have seen how much of my time you have taken up; but assure yourself that the prospect of independence for you will sweeten many a bitter moment which I must pass in this country; and if I can accomplish that object, you know that one great purpose of my mission is answered."

"Lord Sydney has been very civil in sending me a very explicit and proper letter upon the question respecting the Russian Squadron."

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, April 10. [Dublin Castle.]—"I have just received your letter quoting the statutes, and Lord Macclesfield's case, on which you have formed your determination; and I profess myself convinced that you cannot persist in the practice which has hitherto made this office so lucrative. But, as you cannot hold it with a certain tenure, I begin to fear very much that it will be very unadvisable for you to take it, until an arrangement can be formed; for this will expose me to much and deserved clamour, and to what is more serious, to very embarrassing difficulties. As to arrangements they stand thus. All revenue sinecures are incompatible with your seat. The offices of Chancellor of Exchequer and Clerk of the Hanaper have been bought back by pensions, and cannot be given in England. The Secretary of State had been engaged in part to the Duke of Leinster, and I must decide to quarrel with him if I give it elsewhere. The Teller of Exchequer cannot be given for life, nor can the Muster Master. This narrows my ground wonderfully, and I begin to fear that I can make, at best, but a wretched bargain for you; and particularly as there is an idea that Pitt wants it for some English arrangement, which has made a sort of alarm. In all events I will do my best; but I do not see my way. Whatever may be the solution of it, be assured I will not leave one stone unturned; but do not send the King's letter till I send again."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to the ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

1788, April 10. Dublin Castle.—Offering suggestions in reference to the non-residence of beneficed clergymen of the Church of Ireland; and to the establishment of parochial schools.

W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, Monday [April 1-10.]—"I just hear from certain authority that Rigby was become so ill yesterday, that he could probably not live many hours. I shall have immediate notice of his death. If it comes before Wednesday, will there be any use in my writing to the King, as I cannot see him till that day?"

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, Whitehall.

1788, April 11. Dublin Castle.—"Dawes brought me your letter of the 8th this morning, and I had consulted the only persons to whom I had committed this secret, Lord Earlsfort; Fitz-Herbert, and Hamilton (for I have not seen Fitz-Gibbon,) and the result of the advice of all of them was that you should take the office if you was ready to make the same advantages and use of it as Rigby, and all the former holders of the office. This however seems out of the question, for I collect from all your letters, (and from the last as strongly as any,) that you have made up your mind upon that subject, and that no consideration will induce you to sell the offices in the gift of the Master. If I thought your opinion less made up, I should tell you that Lord Earlsfort is fully master of all the points and statutes which you have quoted, and that he still contends, (and offers to give me the advice under his hand,) that the uniform practice which has here prevailed establishes a law much more decidedly than that to which you have referred; and that he himself had solicited this very office in 1786, and would then have taken it by grant copied from that of Rigby *for life*, and would have sold every one of the nine dependant offices; and that he still would do the same, even in the teeth of Kenyon's example, trusting to his interpretation of Irish usage upon this Irish office. I give you this conversation however more for the sake of shewing you that every attention has been given to your doubts, than with any inclination of combating them, for I own that I approve your principle, though I am a full convert now to the ground taken by Lord Earlsfort.

"The original exception of ministration of justice was made, while Lord Somers was English Chancellor, in favour of a man protected by him in England. Lord Hardwicke held the seals there, and Lord Bowes in Ireland, in 1761, and to them no doubt occurred; and yet, I have very strong doubts with you upon this subject, which I think less defensible than the practice of the sale. However, I was willing to put the whole strength of Government, and my whole credit, upon the object so large as that which was originally proposed; but your difficulties upon the profits of the office have altered that case; for I own that I should feel much objection to encounter every difficulty for such an object as that of giving you 1300*l.* Irish, reduced by exchange, absentee tax, and difference of money to 900*l.*, and this pittance to be held *during pleasure* only. Do not think that I raise difficulties, or sink under them: but I must be mad not to expect much clamour from disappointment, from turbulence, and the hundred misconceptions which can agree only in the ultimate object of abuse of me, and those who support me

from regard ; for, of the others, you know that there is not one who would not, upon principle, wish that I should be under the necessity of recurring to them to stand between the clamour of party and Government. All this, I again repeat, I should set at nought for an object which was worth it ; but I own that I should feel humbled in the unimportance of the object.

" Thus far I have written in answer to that part of your letter which states your wish to take the office *immediately and during pleasure*, for so I construe your doubts ; and so, I fear, it must be ; for I find that the Chancellor (who has just sent Joseph Hewitt to England to Lord Camden upon this subject, as is supposed,) has held the strongest language on the illegality of Rigby's patent ; and would probably be hampered by this opinion, which has arisen from the unfortunate delay of Rigby's illness. Thus far I have written to shew you the real embarrassment of this business, upon which I could not speak to any person except those whom I have stated ; and you see that my warm and eager wishes for your advantage have been disappointed from the doubts upon some parts of the question from you, and the interested opinions of others ; and, in this stage, I could only look to that which remained, I mean the prospect of an exchange. I stated to you last night the little hopes I had on this head ; and this morning, which I have passed upon the subject, does not brighten the scene to me. The office of Register of Deeds was tried, and an old Irish statute enjoining nine months residence, stares in our face. That of 2nd Remembrancer is worth only 900*l.* Irish ; and all the other patent offices are below 600*l.* Irish. In this dilemma I have made up my mind ; and the result is that, before you can have received this letter, and consequently without calling for any opinion from you, I have determined to listen to the Provost, who will (as I have every reason to know) give up the seals of Secretary of State. No duty, no responsibility is annexed to this office : no act attaches upon it. I find that it has been, in some instances, given in England, and always for life ; and the salary is 1500*l.* Irish, exclusive of the fees of the Signet Office, which are given to the clerk who enters the *fiants*. This will remit to you something above 1000 guineas, or 1137*l.* sterling ; and though it is infinitely short of my affectionate wishes for you, yet I will take credit for my intentions, which certainly carried me much further in my views and wishes.

" As to the Duke of Leinster, I have determined to let him take his chance ; his conduct to me deserves no kindness ; and I much doubt whether it would have been wise to have let him carry his point by this very double dealing of hallooing the Police Bill upon us. But, be that as it may, I have taken my line, and only regret that your disappointment must be so great. As to the explanation which you have stated to be necessary, Lord Earlsfort has strongly dissuaded me from it, by assuring me that his mind is made up for the legality of the sales ; and that the principle would carry us much further than we at present imagine, in Ireland, where the practice has been, and is so extensive in other offices, and so uniform. Many grants, many properties would be shaken by this idea being promulgated ; and, in all events, the difference between the fees of the Rolls at 1300*l.*, and the Secretary of State at 1500*l.* is a hundred times repaid to a man with six sons, by the patronage of nine offices. You will see that the promulgation of such a doubt (in the teeth of the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench) is not a matter indifferent ; and, *independant* of this opinion, Hutchinson is certainly not that simple dupe who would be *swindled* out of his property in the dishonest way which



you have hinted at, and which I should certainly have spurned; but, in all events, I shall not guarantee to him, (and shall so state it,) any one right which he cannot establish; and this will be the more necessary as I am sure he will try to exercise his functions, and I am as sure that every lawyer will resist him.

"It is now late, and I am quite tired. I therefore conclude with earnestly wishing that I had been more fortunate for you; but I feel that you will enter into my difficulties of every sort as much as if you were present to them. Lord Clanbrassill's office had occurred; but he is too odious, and too unreasonable; and I see plainly that, if it is given in the country, the Bar will claim it, and will join in the cry if they fail. Under these circumstances I send no letter of recommendation, and cannot till Hutchinson has agreed upon the subject. You will tell Pitt that I mean to refuse, under the Act of Henry 7, to give it for life; but I shall hold myself at liberty, if he agrees, to send over both recommendations."

"Judge Hamilton has been talked over in the House of Commons this day, and has been prevailed on to abandon the question of right; and therefore we have got rid of the question, without any thing on the journals."

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, [April 16. Dublin Castle.]—"Yesterday's mail brought me the account of Rigby's death, and I have not yet come to any conclusive determination upon it; particularly as our Parliament is now within two days of its prorogation. I am advised by Lord Earlsfort, Hamilton, and Fitz-Herbert, not to do any ostensible thing till I have put it out the power of party to interfere with whatever views I may ultimately have in your favour. I have gained more knowledge on the subject from the delay; but, after having changed my mind so often upon the different projects proposed to me, I hardly know what to say to you, except that I am fixed in the purpose of procuring to you a provision from this vacancy. The Provost has been indirectly tried upon the subject of the exchange of part of his offices; but he certainly thinks himself necessary, and waits for some specific proposal which he means to sell as dear as he can. If the worst should happen, (I mean by that worst the impracticability of making any terms with him or with others, either useful or honourable,) and if I should still, in that contingency, wish to avoid giving you the Rolls during pleasure, I will propose that you should have the reversion of Lord Clanbrassill's office for life. It is worth 3000*l.*, and is a perfect sinecure, provided your money is lodged in the bank; but you will perceive that I mention this as a *pis-aller*, and do not like that you should forego the present certainty. If Hely Hutchinson will only give up the Secretary's office, (and I have not as yet the slightest reason for believing he will give up even that,) I feel that I shall have given the most lucrative and powerful place in Ireland to the most undeserving and the most dangerous quarter; and that I shall not have got in exchange one half of the equivalent. But the answer to this is the difference of the tenure, which with me is most material, although Lord Earlsfort declares that he will ensure to you the continuance in your office even though it should be given during pleasure. He has again been looking over the statutes which you quoted, and over cases, and he still is clear in his ideas that no scruple ought to attach upon the sale of the offices, which, he contends, is so perfectly sanctioned, that the purest character in this

kingdom would not pause; and desires to enter his protest against the principle of trying Irish measures by English law, where it is not specifically enacted; or by English custom which so materially differs. He assures me that the tenure and nature of all these offices held in the Courts, differ in their appointments, and in every circumstance, from those which are similar in England . . . And, in the Exchequer, almost every office differs in its tenure from its correspondent in England. I own, therefore, that I think your scruples do not quite apply in my mind if Lord Earlsfort's law is right, and I am rather inclined to trust him upon it; but, still, if you persist in a delicacy which, if not required by law, seems as little necessary for you in Ireland as for the Lord Chief Justices in England, I shall severely grudge so much money lost to you, and to the patronage of the Crown; and, in that case, I revert to my calculation.

"I have written this more for the sake of shewing you how much my mind has been engaged, than for the purpose of coming decisively to a conclusion; but I shall hope to be able to relieve your mind and my own in the course of two days, for I shall then see whether Hutchinson will make a proper proposal, and whether any thing offers to my mind. But if Lord Earlsfort is able to satisfy me that you ought to let the usual sales go on, and if I do not find the requisition for the efficiency of the office too hot, (of which however I see no symptoms,) I may probably solve the business into a letter of recommendation for the Rolls *during pleasure*, reserving always the idea of exchanging it for Lord Hawkesbury's or Lord Clanbrassill's, if either should fall vacant. But, in stating this, I wish to remind you how much depends upon almost every hour, in proportion as a new hare upon the subject is started; and I am sure that you would pity me if you knew how often my opinion is necessarily changed. When I wrote last I fancied my mind made up for the Secretary's office, and you now see that I rather lean to the Rolls during pleasure. The reasons for these rapid changes originate in the little communication which I can have upon this subject; and, therefore, I am obliged to judge upon premises which after, upon further enquiry, fail me; but I trust that in the course of tomorrow or Wednesday, I shall send you over a letter of recommendation; and, in that case, you will vacate your seat instantly, and you will run down to Bucks to examine on the spot the state of the county."

"Upon looking over this it appears strangely incoherent, for I cannot explain on paper half the collateral difficulties upon almost every idea which has been started. I am sorry to the heart to leave you for a day in uncertainty, but I cannot help it . . . Pray enquire for our cipher, for I do not like half of this going through our Post Office; though I have no room for suspicion."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, April 18. Dublin Castle.—"With this you will receive the official letter to Lord Sydney, which you will be so good as to deliver as soon as you please; and you will probably take care to vacate your seat immediately, so as to give no time for surprise. I have had variety of ideas upon the subject; but have, ultimately, always returned to the grant during pleasure, as the safest and least objectionable proceeding. At the same time, it is my intention, in case of any vacancy in an office of proper value which can be given for life, to grant it to you; and I am sure that you will wish to facilitate my objects on this head. Indeed

I can have none but for your security and independence; and if I take leave of the subject now, it is because I know you will believe me gratified most fully in the means of contributing to your comfort. You will give Lord Sydney the proper copy of the King's letter, which I sent you, granting the office to Rigby during pleasure. As to your idea that the office is judicial, and therefore that you are guilty of misconduct by non-residence, I can now inform you that the offices have been searched from the oldest time, and there does not exist a trace of any judicial order or proceeding executed or attempted by the Master of the Rolls.

"I am just returned from the House of Lords, having prorogued the Parliament. You will see that in my Speech I have most cautiously avoided to say any thing which can embarrass me; and I take some merit that this session is closed with a very considerable augmentation of the external and internal army, with a very capital encrease to our revenue, with a fund for our whole debt, with a successful stand against the clamour for a revision of the tithe system, and with a steady pursuit of such measures as were necessary for our internal quiet. You must take care that the merit of this may not be lost, because I have not copied Lord Carlisle and the Duke of Portland in the recital of their merits from the throne; but it is indeed wonderful that all this should have passed almost without divisions. The progress of discontent will probably unite many to an attempt at an Opposition, and I think it not impossible that they may collect strength in the course of next session; but we have nine months before us, and in that time much may alter. I wish you would draw out for me a state of the French commerce with Great Britain, as far as it can be ascertained; for I must naturally be curious to see how far our visions are realized.

"I have not yet opened to the Lord Chancellor your name for the Rolls, nor shall I till tomorrow; and I will then know what is necessary for you to do as to coming over; but my wish for your *immediate* arrival was grounded on the idea that our Parliament might be sitting, and that it would be eligible to give you possession as soon as may be; but the prorogation has made this unnecessary. The present Deputy is a most excellent officer, and has a warrant from me to act till the King's pleasure is known; and whenever your appointment is made out, I will send him over to you, or send you a proper deputation."

*Enclosed.*—Official letter to Lord Sydney recommending the appointment of the Right Honourable William Wyndham Grenville to the Office of Master of the Rolls in Ireland, in succession to Mr. Rigby, deceased. *Without date.*

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to the DUKE OF LEINSTER.

1788, April 18. Dublin Castle.—"I was yesterday honoured with your Grace's letter suggesting *that the office of Master of the Rolls might be given to one of the Vice-Treasurers, for life, in order that it might tempt one of them to resign in your Grace's favour, or that the vacant office might be given to your Grace.* I am happy that you do justice to the wish, which I expressed at the beginning of the sessions, of recommending to his Majesty's favour those assurances, with which your Grace honoured me, of attachment to his person and government.

"The time which has elapsed since the probability of this vacancy, and since it has actually taken place, has enabled me to turn in my mind the nature of this office; and, if I had conceived that your views could have pointed to this object, I should have been enabled to have held with

your Grace very unreserved communications upon the many relative considerations which attend the disposal of it."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, at Whitehall.

1788, April 25. Dublin Castle.—"Your letter of the 19th is this moment arrived, and is, on many accounts, as unpleasant as any that the post could bring me. On the point which presses nearest on my feelings I have only to say that, in recommending you to take this office during pleasure, I certainly did not give more weight than was due to Lord Earlsfort's guarantee; although I certainly think that the experiment to which you advert in 1782 is not likely again to tempt the Duke of Portland; and I repeatedly told you that I meant to take the chapter of chances during the summer. Having, however, luckily opened my idea of your appointment only to the Lord Chancellor, (exclusive of those to whom it was first mentioned,) I can without *personal difficulty* vary that arrangement, supposing always that the messenger who carried the official recommendation enclosed to you, brings me word that you have delayed to present it. Lord Sydney, however, knows, by my private letter of that same date, that it was in my contemplation; for, as I conceived that I followed precisely your arrangement in making this recommendation, I thought it civil to mention it to him in that *private* letter. I take it however for granted that all this is stopped, and I have (I fear) but little comfort to give you at present on the subject of exchange, which is liable to so many difficulties. My affection however for you is always uppermost in my thoughts, though, at present, I do not see daylight; but I shall take no immediate step.

"As to your defeat, I own that I think it draws with it consequences more serious than those which arise from the general impression of the weakness of Government. Lord Howe richly deserves what he has got; and, if the effects were solely to be centred in his Lordship, I should feel glad that his shameful list had been exposed and censured. But reflexions of this sort are idle; and, long before this reaches you, I take it for granted that you will have been beat, and that Lord Howe will have openly avowed his retreat; and, in that case, let me again remind you how much I am overjoyed that any circumstances should have decided that person, for whom we both feel equally, to refuse it. I do not know whether it is worth while to open to you my idea of a solution for all these difficulties of yellow flags, which will now seriously distress our service. My idea was to destroy all distinction of steps in the list of pay officers; to make every body an Admiral on 17s. 6d. half pay; and to give them the rank of Admiral Commanding, or Vice Admiral, *only for the time that their flag was hoisted*; but giving to all who had served in those ranks for six months the increased half pay which they now enjoy. The Commodore's temporary flag or pennant is struck in this mode, without any difficulty at present; and, by my plan, every one would have the Rear-Admiral's pay, except those who had served in the higher ranks. I have thrown this out in case it may be useful, but I do not presume to guess whether it is practicable in *this moment*.

"In this country I meet much discontent at the refusal of jobs; which will inevitably brew up an opposition, but I still think that it will not be very serious. I am, however, obliged to be much upon my guard. I am very much pleased with Fitz-Herbert, and feel that I owe very much to him. I wish that you would mention to Pitt that Lord Carmarthen

has behaved very ill to this poor man who was ruined in Russia; who received no pay till I landed, (and you know how little the travelling and other expenses are paid,) and now finds that Lord Carmarthen has stopped his pay from the 6th November the day of my appointment. This is out of all practice, and contrary to his own assurances; and I am the more anxious that the poor man should have some little indulgence, or even justice, as he has earnestly begged me not to tease Pitt about it. Pray state this, and add what will and must occur to urge it. I cannot say what I owe to his zeal and eagerness to meet all obstacles in your business, and in every other. He will be over in ten days for about six weeks, and, pray, let me beg you to see him, and to converse confidentially with him."

"Pray guard Pitt against any letter of complaint from Orde. He has writ a most impertinent letter to Fitz-Herbert; although I have not given any thing to any one but to his cursed list, to which he hourly adds."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1788, April 26. Dublin Castle.—"Your letter of the 21st has this moment reached me, and you will have received mine of last night, written in much agitation of mind from the public news, and from its immediate effect in contingencies upon your private situation. Any possible consequence of an unpleasant nature arising from the defeat which, I conclude, you will meet, must alter very much the state of the question under which I should (in the *usual* course of things) have reckoned your place *during pleasure* as by no means a despicable, though in no sense a certain tenure; but I perfectly agree that the *immediate* consequence of an *immediate* change would be your removal.

"Under these circumstances I have little difficulty in agreeing with you (upon the reflexion of a day) that the acceptance of my recommendation is not worth the consequences of it; but I shall certainly lose no stone unturned to commute it in such a manner as shall least injure the King's service in my hands; and shall secure to you the best possible contingency, or the best immediate advantage. I own that, of the two, I prefer for you the former, rather than the latter; for, in every way that I have turned it, I can see nothing to be got for the Rolls except the office of Secretary of State; and you are apprized of the difficulties attending that grant, and the little value of it. Hamilton has pressed me warmly to ask for you the reversion of Lord Earlsfort's office, 2500*l.* per annum; or that of Lord Clanbrassill, both for life; and thinks that you would ultimately gain by such an arrangement, in point of bargain. I agree with him as far as I think myself at liberty to influence your judgment; but, as I feel that it would essentially serve my situation here, I am rather more cautious, not in mentioning it to you, but in entertaining it myself. In the mean time nothing presses the disposal of the office; and although I collect from your letter that, in *no circumstances*, will you present my official letter till you hear from me, yet I shall not enter into any negotiation for the disposal of the Rolls till I hear from you. I say nothing upon the sale of the offices, for your mind seems decided upon it; and as these profits can alone make the Rolls peculiarly eligible, I have little difficulty in requesting you to delay wholly a recommendation which can so little serve you; but I beg that you will send me an immediate answer upon the idea of the reversion. Lords Earls-

fort's would put me under some difficulty, for I know that he has looked to a renewal of his grant to his son; and I wish to avoid an explanation on that head with him. Lord Clanbrassil is above 60 years old, and his office is worth about 2400*l.* If you decline this, I see no other change which is likely to serve you except that to which I have already so often and so strongly objected. If, however, in the course of the nine days before I can have my answer to this, I can satisfy myself with any change which will secure to you 1100*l.* or 1200*l.* in England, I will send over the recommendations addressed to you, that no risk may unnecessarily be hazarded; but you will, in all events, answer this letter as soon as you can; and, even if I receive the King's letter for your appointment to the Rolls during pleasure, and that any other solution occurs, I will withhold the grant, and still forward the recommendation to whatever prize ticket may occur *prior to your re-election.*

"Still thinking most seriously of the extent and of the probability of your defeat, I will trust to that wonderful chance which has so often given to Pitt the means of parrying the most decisive blows. Lord Longford tells me that Lord Howe is expected to retire immediately, and asked me if I was to succeed; which, for several obvious reasons, I assured him was not to be. He civilly lamented it, and deprecated a seamen at the head of that Department, with strong dislike to Lord Howe. I tried upon him my plan for avoiding the difficulty of flags in future, and he entered into it with the strongest approbation; but I own that I do not see who is to succeed to the Admiralty, and I as little see the means of retaining Lord Howe in that station. I own that Sir G. Howard's vote and speech puzzle me beyond the power of explanation. I cannot but conceive that he does what he conceives to be palatable to the King; and yet, the latter is perhaps the only man in England who is aware of the full possible extent of the disgrace, and the consequences of it. At the same time that I state all this, it is impossible for me, at this distance, to know how far Pitt is bound as a man of honour to support Lord Howe to all extremities; though I hardly see how, in almost any case, he can abandon him without risking imputations which I am sure he will not hazard. It is indeed a cruel reflection to consider how much Pitt has sacrificed to those cursed Boards of Ordnance, of Admiralty, and how little he has ever gained by them, and particularly from the latter in the hour of his distress. All this however is most idle; but I will entreat you to send me the very earliest information of any possible change in the appearance of things; and I need not remind you how much my character is in your hands, that I may not be supposed to hesitate a moment upon what would be peculiarly necessary and becoming to my situation, in case of any very rapid or unforeseen overthrow of Mr. Pitt's situation; though, I again repeat that, I do not think such a consequence likely to follow any vote even for removing Lord Howe, for such a personal question with which Pitt is no further engaged than for the general credit of Government. I do not know what may be the day fixed for your trial of strength; but, on every account, pray answer this directly."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, May 13. Phoenix Lodge.—"I am much obliged to your kind attention for relieving me from the anxiety which I should have felt at seeing your name, and that of Pitt and Mornington, at issue

with a drunken madman. The newspapers, however, seem universally to have stated the intoxication and absurdity of the man so fully, as to leave no impression but that of contempt and pity for him.

"Fitz-Herbert will have explained to you my uneasiness upon the subject of the Mastership of the Rolls. I feel every day that what I originally dreaded has happened from the delay which has taken place ; and that I should be exposed to the most serious difficulties if I attempted to give it you even during pleasure ; and you will see the impossibility of thinking of a grant for life in the teeth of the opinions of Fitz-Gibbon and the Chancellor. I do not know how far the indecision which has produced this delay has, or has not, brought forward this reluctance from these legal authorities ; but you have seen too much not to know that the defence of such a grant must lose ground every hour that it is attacked, and that no one defends it for fear of committing unnecessarily his name and character. In this situation, (which Fitz-Herbert will explain more at length than I can by the post,) I feel that little alternative remains for me, or for you, feeling for me with the same interest as for yourself ; and therefore, (still earnestly begging you to speak your whole mind fully to me,) I wish you to taste a reversion of Lord Chanbrassill's office, and to trust me for exchanging it for any thing which can occur in the interim. These *anythings* would be Lord Earlsfort's, Hawkesbury's, Farnham's, Hutchinson's, Lord Leitrim's or Gardiner's revenue offices, (for they *are tenable* with a seat in England,) and the office of Usher of the Exchequer (1,500*l.*) now held by Baron Power. But I again entreat you to say all that occurs, wishing at the same time that some decision should now be made.

"I have heard from Lord Bulkeley upon a subject which gives me the most sensible concern. You know his anxiety for Mr. Parry, who has stood fairly by us from 1782 to the present moment. In consequence of G. Harding's appointment to a Welsh Judgeship, which had even then been held out to him, I was desired to see Pitt upon that subject ; and he authorized me specifically to assure Lord Bulkeley and Mr. Parry that he should have the next vacancy ; and this engagement was repeated to Lord Bulkeley by Mr. Rose ; and, with much difficulty, and much disappointment, he acquiesced under this positive engagement. Lord Bulkeley has now the mortification to see this vacancy given to Mr. Burton, without one word of explanation ; and, in consequence of it, Mr. Parry deservedly incensed to the highest pitch, and declining to stand again for Carnarvonshire. This, as you know, affects me not only in friendship, but actually in the loss of one vote upon whom I could always depend ; and I feel pledged, as a man of honour, to an engagement which I was repeatedly *authorized to make*. I write very coolly upon this, because I do not mean to complain unnecessarily ; but I trust that Mr. Pitt will see that this is not a common transaction, and that it is necessary that my pledge, given at his desire, and for one so near to me as Lord Bulkeley, should not thus be exposed. And, for my sake, consider well how impossible it is for me, thus called upon by Lord Bulkeley, to be silent or to acquiesce ; although I am sure that no offence or inattention is meant to me. Let me therefore request you to state this to Pitt, and to acquaint me with the result ; for I again repeat that my personal faith is too far pledged in this business ; and that some solution must be found if he has that affection for me which I trust he has, and which I feel that I deserve.

"You do not say how you voted upon Sir E. Impey's question, but I take it for granted in the majority. I fear that the law is with you upon it; but no question could exist upon which my passions would have operated so fully as upon the investigation of that foul legal murder. The Public seem tired of Hastings's trial, and I own that my mind revolts every hour at the proceedings. I fancy that we do not differ much upon the Begum question; and upon the Benares question I had not a doubt when I had more the means and leisure for the consideration of it; and very sure I am that the proceedings, in point of temper, rule, and system of evidence, will do essential mischief. And, if we add to this the bad consequences to the general system of government from the facility with which this trial has been granted under all its circumstances, I cannot but wish that it were finished by some less embarrassing conclusion than the condemnation or acquittal of the prisoner."

"I cannot say how much I feel obliged, and how much I applaud the very active part you took in moving the previous question, and in exerting yourself so much for Lord Howe."

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, May 19. Phoenix Lodge.—"Tuesday's and Wednesday's mails came in together, and I waited for that of Thursday (which was by your letter to have been more explicit) before I set down to answer yours of Tuesday. But I think that I cannot misunderstand you between the two objects which, at different times, occupied your mind last year; and for either of them I most sincerely rejoice; though I think I do not flatter myself in hoping, from some parts of your letter, that the arrangement in question is for an office to which my earnest and partial wishes have long destined you. And let me hope that I am not too sanguine in my expectations that, not only other branches of the King's service, but *mine* will be to profit by the change. And, in all events, believe my strongest ambition gratified in witnessing (let me say contributing where I can) to your political career. As to mine I care not how soon it finishes; not from any peevishness of the moment, or of the situation in which I am; but from that indolence of which you have seen so many proofs, and which will certainly encrease upon me from the moment of my retirement. Do not however think that I am tired of my office, or that I despond, or that I have the least idea of a premature resignation as long as God gives me health or success in the government of Ireland; but I need not add how much my comfort here may be encreased if my hopes for you are realized. I am glad that you have made the option which, upon many accounts personal to you and personal to me, is now the only choice which remains. I have strong doubts whether such a reversion (even upon the death of Lord Clanbrassil) would vacate your seat. I mention this that you may consult the Act, and, in other points, I cannot help thinking it most eligible and, ultimately, most lucrative. I have not yet opened the arrangement for the Rolls, and I wish that the King should be apprized of this change, and of the reasons of it, before I send the official recommendation of your name for that reversion.

"Lord Sydney seems to be intent upon delaying some army recommendations which I transmitted two months ago, and to which he has not deigned to give an answer. I have taken no notice of this delay, though it gives rise to very unpleasant speculations here. I suspect that they



are stopped on account of Major Coote, whom I have recommended for a Lieutenant-Colonelcy, because he was first on the Duke's list of promises, because he is an old friend, and because he is a most deserving officer. Judge what I shall feel if he attempts to stop it; and judge what I must feel at this very indecent delay. However, I have not said one word upon the subject to him or to any other; and have simply desired FitzHerbert to enquire for the general list which is all stopped; and to you I must say Lord Sydney and I do not understand our situations, from the general tenor of his correspondence, which, certainly, is more authoritative upon points which I feel more in my discretion than he seems to imagine; but I again say that nothing short of marked disrespect to my situation shall make me complain.

"As to your French budget, I am not so much surprised at the assumed violence of one part of the measure, as at the deliberate insanity of the second part. I think that, in all probability, the *cour pleniére* will be established; for a French patriot must indeed be very short-sighted who does not see in that *cour*, so constituted, a deliberative body who will ultimately govern, or involve the most serious consequences in their suppression, should it be attempted at some future moment. And, with these impressions, I should imagine that the *Pairie* are mad if they do not support the Crown in this attempt. I am however too anxious not to press you to send me constant news."

S. BERNARD to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, May 19. Phoenix Park.—"I do not know whether you will have taken any notice of my silence for this last month or two; or, if you have, whether you will have put any unfavourable construction upon it; but it has been owing to my expectation, for many weeks past, of coming over to England, and consequently having reserved my observations on what was going on here to the time of seeing you. As it would be a convenience to me to spend a few weeks in Buckinghamshire, I had proposed to your brother to be there while the militia were out, which he had intended should be in the month of May; and as there is little necessary business here in my line at present, he had not disapproved of my plan. From some omission, however, in forms and notices, the militia cannot now be out till the autumn; and while this point has been under consideration, I have remained in uncertainty respecting the time of my coming over. I still think of crossing the water soon, though without the pretext above mentioned; but not being now tied to any particular time, I may be led to continue here longer than I imagine; and, accordingly, break the interval by writing a few lines to say that though so long silent, I am still in the land of the living, and that in a little time you may see me or perhaps may not see me; for having fixed no day, it does not become me to speak very positively.

"The matter of the Rolls has remained so much in uncertainty, that I did not follow up my short congratulations with others more diffuse, and suited to the occasion and my feelings upon it, as had been my intention. From what, however, Lord Buckingham has hinted to me, I shall soon have matter of ample and more permanent congratulation to you in this kingdom; and, in the course of time, be able to wish you joy of the improvement of your situation on your side of the water.

"Mr. Fitz-Herbert, who left us about a fortnight ago, will have informed you of the state of things here. We are very quiet, but are told by all the little men that the great men hate us, and are threatened with much opposition next winter; which we shall have; but it cannot

be to a degree which will be material, or which has not been foreseen from the first. The leading Government men are, I am told, offended with His Excellency for not forming personal intimacies with them; but, on the other hand, this circumstance pleases the jealous feelings of those who are in opposition, or in a state of indecision between both; at the same time that it accords with his own inclination and judgement. Mr. Longfield, who has persisted in supporting us, though your brother would give him no encouragement, has shewn us a proof of his kind dispositions by producing your silver box with the freedom of Cork, which had been so long missing; a circumstance which may have appeared to you rather suspicious; but, when I tell you the reasons, you must own yourself not only satisfied, but very much flattered; for he said that *you was so little in Dublin when Secretary, that they had not a proper opportunity of presenting it; and, since that time, they have not known where to send it to you.* I have had it many weeks in my possession, and shall not fail to bring it with me to England, as I know it will be a valuable acquisition to your shaving apparatus.

"Lord Nugent arrived here in good health on Friday last, and rather opportunely for the family in one respect, it having been somewhat melancholy since Tompkins's death, which your brother and Lady Buckingham took much to heart. They have, of late, been a good deal out on parties; and, by way of a little change, they purpose living for the next month or two at a house belonging to Mr. Lees at the Black Rock, which they have taken for that purpose; where they will have the advantage of being near Lord Nugent's house called Clare-hall, which he built about twenty years ago, and at which he will now reside. Lady Buckingham has had a swelled face for a day or two past, and your little niece is just recovering from the small pox. In other respects the family are all very well."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE, Whitehall.

1788, May 20. Phoenix Lodge.—"Your letter by the messenger is this moment arrived, and has gratified fully every wish which I could have for your private interest, and for the public service. I cannot enter into particulars by the post more than I did last night; and you will judge from the perusal of that letter, what my exultation must be at a prospect so highly favourable to my warmest hopes. I perfectly approve the substitute which Pitt has found for the arrangement which you so much dreaded; and I approve of the *Baronet* for his colleague, better than the *Irish peer*; and I need not say how happy I am that this *Irish peer* is not to be where I dreaded him, when I wrote to you upon that subject some weeks since. Upon the whole, I think two names of that arrangement complete, and beg you to tell Pitt how warmly I approve it; but I wish him to consider the other colleague, who, I have always understood, is not on good terms with the *Baronet*. My comment on Lord Sydney's delay as to the commissions is at an end, by Fitz-Herberts letter to me of this day, which notifies that Major Coote's commission is at length agreed to; but I hear of this unpleasantly from other quarters, who tell me that Lord Sydney has talked very absurdly. I am however, as you easily believe, by no means inclined to do or say any thing uncivil or slightest to him.

"I had talked with Bernard upon a certain speculation long before it was even probable, so that I am sure that the very little which I have been able to say to him has given him certain suspicions. He will, however, be in London for a month, in about ten days, having made up

his mind to attend our militia meeting which we expected in June. Adieu, and believe me more happy than I have been for years."

The SAME to the SAME.

1788, May 24. Phoenix Lodge.—"Hamilton is employed in drawing the letter of recommendation of you for the reversion of Lord Clanbrassill's employment; and I shall transmit it, through you, that you may suppress it in case of any difficulty; though I cannot conceive any which can now intervene. I was aware of the delicacy of expediting this business, but we have been obliged to search for the precedent of Lord Clanbrassill's appointment. You have not told me what day is fixed for the adjournment; but I most earnestly entreat you to make it a point with Pitt that you should be named so that your writ may be moved, and the election over, without the difficulty of a six months' canvass, which must be big with every inconvenience, hazard, and expense. I can see no serious inconvenience in keeping the session open for four or five days, if that should be necessary; but I am very anxious on that subject as far as it affects my private interest, and really thinking that it must be a public inconvenience. I have not yet settled with the Duke of Leinster about the Rolls; but I find every one happy that you are not to have it, which is now very generally known; but I wish that it may be opened to the King together with the reversion for you.

"As to your intelligence respecting Lord Lifford, you may depend upon it that he has not the most distant idea of retiring. He is going to England in July for two months, and told me (when he asked leave for this excursion) that he felt himself better than he had been for some years; and that, although he had last year conceived a wish to have retired, he was now satisfied that his health and faculties were (were) fully equal to it; and that he had consulted Lord Camden last year, who had advised him to *keep the seals* as long as he felt himself equal to them; and this conversation ended with a request to me to honour him so far with my friendship as to give him my ideas upon this subject, which I did in the tone which he wished. In truth, though he is an old woman, he is useful to English government by holding himself unconnected with party, and following implicitly every direction which he receives; and I certainly do not want him in the House of Lords to play the sort of part which Lord Thurlow fills. As to his successor, you know my general ideas on the subject so well that I need not detain you for a moment with them; and indeed the arguments for an English successor are too obvious; those for an Irish Chancellor centre in the person of Fitz-Gibbon. You are no stranger to his general pretensions of abilities, rank, and powers; and yet, notwithstanding his strength in this kingdom, I think that he might have been resisted originally, and might have been flattered and perhaps gratified elsewhere; but you remember the manner in which Orde stated his claim, and the very strong encouragement which had been given to him by the Duke of Rutland. This gave us but little reason to expect that we should be able to put him upon worse ground than he stood upon in October last; and, even in the course of the first conversation with him, I was convinced that Orde had stated this encouragement *short of the fact*. By subsequent conversations, I am certain of that fact, and that it was even *originally proposed to him* as his object by Orde, when there was an idea of opening the office of the Rolls for Ponsonby, which FitzGibbon dissuaded; and left on the

mind of Orde and of the Duke the impression that he wished it. All the engagement to which he pressed me was, and is, *that if it was judged advisable to give the seals to an Irishman, he might be the man*. To this I had no difficulty of acceding, and there stands my *engagement*; but you will find Fitz Herbert equally impressed with me with the idea of the strength with which he will be able to urge his claim whenever the vacancy occurs. His intrepidity, his influence, and weight have, in fact, placed him at the head of the country. We all fear him; and, on all occasions, I have found him fair, manly, and to be trusted. Under all these circumstances (which might be further detailed if I had time) I have no doubt but that he will carry his point. I feel that I could not successfully resist him *now*, and his power must encrease. To this I must add my conviction that he is firmly attached to Great Britain and to the King's prerogative, as opposed to the frenzy of Irish republicanism; and that, however all this might have been fit subject for deliberation two years ago, the moment of checking his wishes, if that were judged proper, is gone by.

"I feel deeply interested in the question of Parry; for whatever may have been the qualification of Pitt's engagement to Lord Bulkeley, I certainly was desired by Pitt to promise it specifically; and the man has my positive engagement in force against me. You will not wonder therefore that I entreat Pitt, as an act of friendship most interesting to me, to make some arrangement which may relieve me from this very unpleasant reflexion; and, when he remembers the fidelity of this man's political pursuits, he will see that he serves himself in giving him some provision which may be permanent, so that in case of the worst we may always depend upon his vote. I must do Lord Bulkeley the justice to say that he has acted most handsomely to me in his language upon this transaction; but, indeed, I feel most unusually sore upon the subject; and I trust you will endeavour to impress Pitt with the sense of my uneasiness.

"Pray give Frogatt directions to know from the Duchess of Gordon, specifically, what her engagement is to be, as to tenant's taxes for my house. If she will pay them, and will give me 550*l.* for three years, from 17th January last, I will agree to her offer; but I suspect her so much that I wish to be very exact. Shall you want Bolton Street? If you should, you will give your orders."

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, June 6. Dublin.—"Our appearances have [so] mended in the course of this day, notwithstanding a little return of fever in the course of last night, that the Doctors have declared my dear boy out of danger; and, indeed, his every symptom have now so completely altered for the better, that we have nothing to consult but how to guard against a relapse, and to recover his extreme weakness. I wrote to you just in time to save last night's mail, and, I fear, very inaccurately, as I was very little able to collect my thoughts; but I feel that I cannot enough thank that Providence to whose dispensations I owe so much.

"I cannot write upon the subjects which have latterly engrossed so much of your thoughts, except to acknowledge your letter of three lines, and to express my earnest hopes for some solution which may complete this arrangement. My ideas on the subject of the election are still the same: I would sacrifice anything which stands in *your way*; but, indeed, I would not provoke so very hazardous and uncertain a contest.

"We are likely to be officially engaged in a Stamp Act dispute with England. Fitz-Herbert will explain it; but the ground work of our quarrel is that all the *Irish* documents to which, by *Irish statute*, a stamp is requisite, and which are executed in England, are stamped with English stamps. It is not an essential object with you, and it may make an unpleasant question here.

"I must beg you to make some one write for you a note of my boy's health to those who I know feel so warmly for me."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1788, June 7. Phoenix Lodge.—"I meant, in truth, that my last letter should convey to you my opinion fully on one point, which I thought clearly objectionable. I mean that of an open canvass for 54 days, under the circumstances which I stated in my letter. I have seen no reason to change that opinion, and perhaps it is almost the only part of the case upon which I can decide at this distance. This difficulty therefore brings the whole to a very short option, and upon that I feel (as is natural) very great hesitation. I always understood that you felt a delicacy in pressing an arrangement personal to yourself beyond a certain point; but it was fitting that your convenience should not wholly be forgot in such a negotiation; and I own myself still at a loss to conceive why *he* may not be to vacate, and wait the arrangement originally proposed, or any other, with as much propriety, and as little failure of attention towards *him*, as by the mode proposed, which is to subject you to such a material inconvenience. I confess I threw out the other idea without any very sanguine approbation of my own proposal; but I thought, and think still, that more is due to your objects and arrangements than to *his*. However, upon all this I am sensible that you have delicacies; but I trust that, as far as you can press the consideration, you will try it; and perhaps you may converse more easily with Pitt upon it when you state to him a part of the consideration in which I am interested, if I can be supposed to have an interest separate from yours. You will easily see that I point at your re-election for the county. If you cannot vacate before the prorogation, I necessarily have the option of the 54 days canvass for you, or the abandonment of the county; for I must look upon the idea of General Grenville's election as wholly visionary, the man being absolutely unknown, and most absolutely unfit for any such attempt. To the 54 days canvass I have given my answer, and to the question of the abandonment I am ready to sacrifice that or any other object to my favourite wish of forwarding your political situation. I do not pretend to be insensible to the proposal of giving up the fruits of 15 years' personal slavery, and of 14,000*l.* which I have paid at different times for that seat; but I know that I would, with my eyes open, have engaged in that slavery and in that expense, twice told, to have contributed to your success in life; and I feel, therefore, that on this head we cannot have a shadow of difference. If therefore you ask me whether you shall hazard any of the great considerations which ought to guide you in this question for the sake of such a miserable object as the county of Buckingham, either as a personal feather to you, or as a trust estate for my family, I do not pause a moment in the answer. You well remember that when you undertook it, we calculated your political steps much slower than your industry, abilities, and character now hold out to you; but we both saw the incumbrance which a county representation threw upon the

shoulders of a political man; and perhaps it might be a question well worth consideration to decide whether it is not almost incompatible; in its various unpleasant bearings, with your new situation. Upon the whole then my opinion explicitly is to keep the county, if it can be done with moderate inconvenience, but to abandon all thoughts of it, if circumstances should absolutely drive you to the necessity of postponing your acceptance till after the prorogation. In all this, however, you will *voir venir*, according to my uncle's old text, taking the chance (which I own I think almost desperate) of the party acquiescing in your re-election. (By the way, Chaplin writes word to Fremantle that Lord Titchfield is laying himself out with much expense and personal attentions in his neighbourhood.)

"The next question is to decide what, in case of the Whig resistance, which I so confidently expect, we shall do with the county; and here I am considerably puzzled by my distance from the scene of action; but I conclude that the nature of your secret must prevent you from opening on the subject to young Drake, who appears to me to be the only candidate whom I should care about, and, in all events, I think it most doubtful whether he would stand. Trevor, Lord Hampden's brother, is (I understand) with Government, but I know nothing of his ideas. Lord Blandford would hardly be permitted to stand a contest; and I do not know whether old Waller, or (what I should like better) young Waller, both of whom would support us, could be brought to stand a contest. If not, the election falls to Lord Verney, Lord Titchfield, Dashwood or Lee; and *utrum horum* is, I fancy, equally indifferent to us. But as to the time of your declaration, or the mode of it, or the engagement for support to one or the other, I must trust to your prudence and discretion, which will equally guide you not to throw it away, and will enable you to judge upon these points, upon which I beg that you will write to me at large. But I certainly wish to halloo a contest upon our opponents, even if it were to be fought in the person of Mr. Sullivan, your new constituent. Now, as to your new seat, I own that I shall feel most unpleasantly in depriving Young of his seat, according to the idea which you have thrown out, and will therefore beg of you not to think of it unless in a case of the most urgent necessity; for, although I would not hesitate to do it, if necessary, I should still rather pay for a new seat for you than take that step. You know that Boscawen is his colleague, and his tenure at St. Mawes expires with the Parliament; he has hitherto remained in Parliament for the object of a reversion which Pitt has given him, and perhaps you may buy him out, and, in that case, St. Mawes is your's. I throw this out as one solution; and, if you pursue it, either Rose or Camplin may negotiate it with him, and you would give Camplin the necessary directions for your election.

"I have not yet thanked you for your representation to Pitt upon Parry's subject. Lord Thurlow has not done fairly, for he last year (in Wales) repeatedly spoke of his wishes to see Parry a Welsh judge, and Lord Bulkeley stated *that* to Pitt in his letter, to which he received no answer. I perfectly, however, acquiesce in that difficulty, but it should be explained to Lord Bulkeley. As to the office proposed for him, I fear that it would not answer our propose of securing his vote in any contingency, and therefore I wish Pitt to think over any legal provision of less value, *but for life*, as the poor devil is ruined, and must quit the county if he has no bread; let me therefore entreat Pitt *most earnestly* to find out some provision which may not be held out to so very distant a period, and which may secure to him bread, and, to us, his vote in all cases.

"As to Sir H. Hoghton, I have not wholly neglected the necessary enquiries about his business; but I have met much delay from one obvious cause, which is that the regiment in which his young ensign was placed, has been off our establishment above four years; and I cannot find any one who knows any of the circumstances of it, or can point out any mode in which I can help this young man, but by giving him a commission; which I suppose Sir H. would hardly propose to me when Sir G. Yonge is so much, on all accounts, the properer channel. If Bagot's job is to go forward in the Royal Artillery, Sneyd should send his resignation, and his brother's name and age to General Stratton, to lay officially before me.

"I have now only to beg you to let me press one man upon your *new list* for any thing from Canada to Botany Bay inclusive, and he is most earnestly pressed by my wife for the sake of his wife. The man is Oliver Nugent, who really is not unfit for any West Indian or foreign employment of 300*l.*; and, knowing your ideas on these subjects, you may trust that I will not distress you by recommendations. I fancy that I found out a very superior officer, with whom I have not exchanged five words, but am much pleased with his composition, and his attention not only to his profession, but to many other objects; he is Lieutenant Colonel Craig of the 16th. I name him, not for his sake, but because you once threw out a wish on this sort of subject."

W. W. GRENVILLE to W. PITT.

1788, June 11. Whitehall.—"I have heard again this morning from my brother on the subject of the proposed arrangement. His letter is kind and affectionate to me beyond what I can describe. He continues however to think the abandonment of the county a necessary consequence of my acceptance of this office subsequent to the prorogation; but he, at the same time, presses me in the strongest manner not to let this consideration stand in my way, and endeavours to persuade me that the sacrifice is much less on his part than I well know it to be. You will, however, I am sure, agree with me in thinking that it is utterly impossible for me so far to abuse his affection towards me as to throw away, for an object entirely personal to myself, one for which he has been labouring for 14 years, and in which he has already expended not less than 14,000*l.* I mention this to you, not because I have the least doubt of your desire to employ whatever means are in your power to bring this business to a conclusion as soon as possible, but in order that you may see the real impossibility which there would be of arranging it at any time in the course of the summer. I hope it is unnecessary for me to add that, in being allowed to look forward to this object at the beginning of the next session, I feel I am placed much beyond what I had any right or pretension to look to; and that, in the interim, I shall only be desirous to give any assistance which may be in my power, on every occasion in which it can be of service."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, in London.

1788, June 16. Blackrock.—"Your letter of the eleventh is just arrived, and although it is unnecessary for me to write in peculiar haste upon it, yet I cannot lose a moment in insisting most peremptorily that no consideration of my family interest in the county election shall interfere, directly or indirectly, in guiding the moment of your new

arrangement. It is indeed true that we did not foresee in 1784 such a difficulty; but I cannot be sufficiently happy that it has occurred; and when I mentioned to you the expense of person and of money which I had incurred for this object, I protest I had no other view than to shew you how much I rated your present prospects when I assure you that the expense does not weigh one moment in the scale, except as it made me anxious for (what probably may not depend upon you) your immediate appointment; but as you tender my peace of mind, as you value the joy which I shall feel, I must implore and insist that you do not pause; and let me add that, if you still hesitate, I never shall forgive myself or you.

"I am settled here, and with my whole family am increasing in health and spirits. My dear boy is recovering very fast. I pity your plague about Ensign Maudesley, but I really have not been to blame, having lost more time in hunting the means of obliging Sir H. Hoghton than the object is worth; but, in truth, I have not the means of helping him (the regiment being off our establishment) but by giving him an ensigncy to sell, which, in the very great dearth of them, is more than I can spare; the King's commands having (for the purpose of liberating adjutancys) taken four vacancies from me. We are going on very well; the Duke of Leinster delighted with his Rolls, Ponsonby very angry and discontented."

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, June 23. Blackrock.—"Many thanks to you for your news, which is indeed so interesting that I can hardly obey your wishes of secrecy. What was eligible in September last is doubly so at this moment, and seems most fortunately timed; pray give me the earliest detail of the terms, and of the effect of it upon those who probably least expect it.

"I am delighted that Lord Carhampton has the vacant regiment. I write a *private* letter to beg that I may recommend Nugent for the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of Cavalry, and to ask if *I may recommend* Craddock for the vacancy in his own corps by Nugent's removal; this mode I prefer to official letters, and *I shall be always happy to follow it*. Your Sneyd has presented to me a most extraordinary memorial, declining to quit the artillery unless I will give him a civil employment; to which, you will easily believe, I give no answer. Pray let me know the truth of the newspaper history of Lord Chatham's confinement, for they have made it alarming. Tell Pitt how much he has delighted me by his answer on Orde's absurdity. I cannot say how much I hourly suffer from repeated acts of duplicity and *doggism* from that respectable *élève* of Berkeley Square."

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1788, June 25. Blackrock.—"The mail is going out so soon that I have very little time indeed to acknowledge your letter of the 21st, which found me at dinner at the Lord Chancellor's. I have no letter from Fitz-Herbert by this post, and can therefore only collect the intended purport of it from your letter; and I wait with anxiety to see in what terms Lord Sydney, or Mr. Pitt, or any friend to me can propose to me a measure so offensive, so humiliating, and so utterly incompatible with my public situation or my private feelings. There has not, for very many years, been an instance, even with Lord Lieutenants the most passive, of a step so disgraceful to my



situation, so irritating to a body whose complaints I must hear, and must sooth, and so personally injurious to those objects which I must have of private affection and interest. I have on Monday last, in consequence of Lord Sydney's notification to Fitz-Herbert of the King's pleasure respecting Lord Carhampton, gone beyond the line of my official situation to *solicit leave* to recommend *my own nephew* Lieutenant-Colonel Nugent to this vacancy, and I have proposed the name of Major Craddock of his regiment for his Lieutenant-Colonelcy, but with the specific reference to the King's wishes on that subject; trusting however that he would, in *all cases*, have left the recommendation to me, so as to enable me to consult the *public service* in buying Lord Granard's party by a majority to Major Doyle, whose seniority and services as a military man give him well founded claims. To this I am to a certain degree *pledged*, if the rest of the terms are acceded to; and if I have indeed so little weight with the King, and so little interest in the thoughts and support of Mr. Pitt and Lord Sydney, as to be exposed to a nomination put upon me, so unprecedented, so disgraceful, so personally offensive to me in the only object which I can have for my own family, it is time for me to consider very seriously my situation. You tell me *that all the Colonels and Lieutenant-Colonels in the army are not worth a competition of this nature*; you surely do not recollect that an object so near to me is amongst that number; that I am responsible to the public for the *public service*, which is indeed much involved in my not being humbled below any humiliation ever known; (for you will remember that the proposal which I make is that a Lieutenant-Colonel shall be Lieutenant-Colonel of Cavalry;) and that Mr. Gwynne never has been even intimated to me till this moment, when I am called upon to offend the feelings of the whole army of Ireland, to sacrifice that which is nearest to me, and to forego my pledge for the public service, in an instance where I could have no other object.

"When I receive Lord Sydney's letter I shall judge what may be the answer which becomes me; but if I should, upon reflexion, transmit, in obedience to the King's commands, the name of Mr. Gwynne, I shall by the next mail resign what I can no longer hold with any degree of public credit or private satisfaction. Particular circumstances of the regiment! you have indeed been grossly deceived if you fancy that there are any which have not repeatedly occurred in former instances; and in none that I can yet trace, has it ever been proposed to any Lord Lieutenant so to disgrace himself. You will easily believe that my answer will certainly not be inconsistent with the place which I wish to hold in my own esteem. I will not disgrace myself by it, but I am most peremptory in my determination to quit a situation in which I can no longer be useful. In this personal quarrel I do not wish to involve you, and therefore I must entreat you to decline any correspondence which you may be desired to hold upon the subject; for, after such a scene as this will hold out, you will not wonder that I shall decline any correspondence save that which will set me at liberty from Ireland and from the King. I feel that I shall have sacrificed enough to private friendship towards Mr. Pitt in not *thwarting the King's wishes* as to the thing itself; which, I again repeat, I shall probably do when I receive the King's commands; but the sequel to it must depend upon my feelings, and upon that subject I will not hesitate.

"But from your letter I can hardly collect that the very appearance or form of decency is preserved; for I collect from your words that *it is settled to be done*, and that it only remains for me *to do it with a*

*good grace.* If this should, in civil words, be the tenor of Lord Sydney's letter, I will not anticipate my feelings; but I should be the meanest of mankind if I did not, in that case, state what was due to such a treatment. I again repeat that, having recommended in the usual form, (though with more personal civility than is usual) to this vacancy, I shall abide by it till I am commanded otherwise; and I must beg of you to believe that I would not commit myself upon such a subject, if I could find the shadow of a reason which would justify me in giving way. If the King had named this man to me in November last, I would have endeavoured to have made up my mind, and that of others (if it had been possible;) but no such intimation was given, though the subject of Lord Carhampton's promotion was mentioned by the King; and it was not then in Mr. Pitt's contemplation, for he gave me, amongst Orde's *memoranda*, a note of the Duke of Rutland's wishes for this very contingency. To this specific object I have uniformly looked for G. Nugent: I will not suffer him (if I can prevent it) to waste his prime in a West Indian climate in time of peace; many domestic reasons make me anxious to keep him at home, and this or the Adjutancy-General are the only means of doing it. I mention this, in coolness, as my reason for wishing what surely needs no apology. My public object I have stated; and I cannot but imagine that this has been suggested to the King before he would think of putting to me such a proposition; but, be that as it may, either from Lord Sydney or any other quarter, if I am indeed abandoned by Mr. Pitt who should have protected me against it, I must be the guardian of my own credit and situation; and I am persuaded from the affection you bear me, that you have yourself been duped upon the subject, or you would not wish to reconcile my mind to it; but, when you have seriously weighed my public and private objects, you will not wonder at my feelings at receiving such a notification of a measure, (possibly actually taken) and certainly determined on, without the slightest intimation which could reconcile me to such a real grievance. Do not think by this that I claim the absolute disposal of the commissions; I never have been so absurd; but I claim the same attention upon recommendations of a person of equal rank to a better commission, that has been constantly given; and if that very limited patronage is not given, I feel that the service of the Crown cannot go on.

"I could write for ever on this topic, but I have not further time. I must therefore conclude by desiring that, whatever becomes of my situation, you will still pursue your objects. I wish no one to sacrifice for my feelings, but I must act upon them when I can no longer withhold them from the public eye, or when they are urged forward as they are in this instance. You will probably apprise Mr. Pitt of my intention to resign whenever I receive the King's commands, which, in all humility of language, I shall desire may be communicated to me so soon as he shall have considered my letter of Monday the 23rd on the subject of Lieutenant-Colonel Nugent; and you will entreat him, as the only favour which he now can shew me, to believe that I acquit him of intentional unkindness, though I feel strongly my want of support in this instance against such an attempt."

"If all this affects your situation or comfort I shall grieve most sincerely; but I am convinced that my resignation is absolutely necessary; and I shall prepare my mind to it, that I may not be hurried into improprieties of language on the subject. Before I hear from you again, I may have taken the actual step, if Lord Sydney's letter calls for it; else I shall, as I told you, wait a second command on the plea of

having written on Monday last. But wheresoever and whatsoever I may be or you may be, remember that my affections are always equally yours."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, June 27. Blackrock.—"Twenty four hours have contributed very little to calm the anxiety of mind which dictated my letter of last night, and if any thing could add to it, I should feel additional mortification from the following plain state of facts. I had amused myself yesterday and had not gone to Dublin; if I had, I should have found that the mail of Friday the 20th, which arrived on Tuesday the 25th, had brought to many persons the news of Lord Carhampton's appointment, and that Colonel Gwynne *was appointed*. Your letter of the 21st, brought me this secret *last night*, and the same mail has brought the same news to every officer and every other person who had correspondents; the thing is known, is stated with every degree of malignity *even in newspapers*, as a blow given me designedly, and the consequential humiliation in the eyes of every one is complete; added to the impossibility of my fulfilling those engagements to which I am pledged for the King's service in my *public situation*. I have, thank God! consulted with no one, and masked the bitter sense which I feel of this treatment. My mind is made up to answer Lord Sydney's letter (whenever he designs to write to me) with all the respect due to the name of the King's commands; and I even think that I shall not desire to wait till he apprizes me of having laid before the King my letter of Monday the 23rd; but I shall immediately transmit the official recommendation of Colonel Gwynne, if that *form* should have still been preserved towards me; but my mind is equally made up to resign as soon as I shall have completed my own shame in the acquiescence to such a blow, unprecedented in the military promotions of this kingdom; and still aggravated by the publicity of my wishes which are known to have been stated by Fitz-Herbert and General Pitt in favour of Colonel Nugent. This resignation is necessary to my feelings; but, from the discontent which is felt upon it by the army of Dublin (now very strong by our encampment,) and from the turn which the business has taken of considering it as a marked offence to me, I feel that I cannot carry on the King's business to advantage, or to my own credit. Whether I have deserved all this remains to be judged of in cooler moments; but, in point of fact, I cannot (since this sort of thing was done on purpose to offend and humble Lord Buckinghamshire) find an instance; and even then it was not done so offensively as in this case, where it is done in the permanent cavalry line of Ireland, and to the exclusion of the nephew of the Lord Lieutenant, and avowed to every body or known in London for weeks, and in Dublin for days, before it is opened or even intimated to me; for, on many accounts, I do not look upon your letter as that notification, though I feel that it was meant to sooth those emotions which you must have expected.

"Thus will end my second edition of Irish government, and this treatment will close my political story; for the lesson is too rough for me to hazard a repetition. I again implore that it may have no other effect on your political situation than to put you on your guard against blows so unexpected and unmerited. I do not mean to complain of this treatment in my correspondence, but simply to acknowledge the King's orders, and to name Colonel Gwynne in obedience to them; and, as soon as that commission is returned to my

Office, I shall desire to be released from a situation which I can no longer, from public opinion, hope to carry on to the advantage of the King's service. Let me remind you that this is done to a Lord Lieutenant who has not pressed upon the Crown one object of patronage, such as pension, peerage, reversion, or army promotion; for, in the latter line, I have not yet transmitted one recommendation which did not stand its ground independently of government objects. Judge, then, whether I deserve slight, offence, or a denial of the usual course of patronage in that department. One thing I must add in desiring that you will not look on Lord Carhampton's success as a personal favour to me. I am glad of it, and wished to urge it; but the pledge has been given in the King's name by every Lord Lieutenant since the Earl of Buckinghamshire, and most solemnly renewed by the Duke of Rutland upon public claims.

"I do not know why I write all this, except to relieve my mind, which suffers from not being able to open its secret to a single soul, (for I have not yet opened it to my wife,) and from the increasing fretfulness of disappointment. I trust, however, that nothing will escape me in any way derogatory to my character, but indeed reflexion does not sooth me."

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, June 27. Blackrock.—"I enclose to you the copies of Lord Sydney's official letter, and of his other, which is in his handwriting, but is not marked. You will have collected from my letters of Wednesday and Thursday my state of mind; and you will not wonder that I feel the outrage of the manner infinitely beyond (if possible) the thing itself. Lord Sydney has unnecessarily, in his *official* letter, put it out of my power to submit to the blow; and his private letter is, if possible, more offensive. This is not what you held out to me in your letter of the 21st, and, surely, it is not what the King could direct, or what Pitt can be party to; but both these doubts must be solved. I have therefore written to Mr. Pitt, and enclose to you the letter, that you may deliver it to him, and explain the grounds of my complaint. I feel, first, that the King should have given from me an object of patronage, involving my private feelings and his public service.

"I feel the gross insult in the publicity of this arrangement, known here by letters of the 20th to many individuals, and withheld from me till the 23rd.

"I feel the gross insult of the manner of doing it *by the King's commands*, without giving me the means of recommending, or of remonstrating, if it had been essentially interesting to his government; and I feel the insult of the *official* notification that this *is to be expected* in such cases, though in the teeth of the King's assurances in my instructions.

"Upon all this I could expatiate; but my mind is made up, and very few words will convey my determination. I have a right to call upon Pitt to state all this to the King. It is natural that he should wish to provide for his Equerry, and I protest that, if delicacy had been shewn to me by Lord Sydney, I should (though grievously mortified) have been soothed by the mode in which it might have been done, if I had been enabled to state to the King's consideration how nearly I was interested in the sacrifice; and, if this intimation had been given, I might have avoided negotiations for his public service to which I am now pledged, and which can only be set right by the statement of my

humiliation. This must be stated, and Lord Sydney's letters and dates must be shewn as a proof of the little attention shewn to my public situation or private feelings. My official letter I enclose, and you will shew it to Mr. Pitt before you seal it for Lord Sydney. I do not wish for a disavowal of this man who has so grievously insulted me, but it is fit that I should not be exposed to such a scene, and that can be secured only by my resignation. From Lord Sydney's official situation, and from his declarations, he should have interposed to have softened the original disappointment, of which he did not state one word to Mr. Fitz-Herbert on Thursday the 19th; much less should he have been a party to this mode of doing it, and to the official letter which, being on his office books, cannot be a secret. But wherever and whatever has been the blame, I cannot submit to the shame, to the disgrace, and to the bad consequences which it must entail; and therefore I must suppose that the answer from Lord Sydney will close this scene, for I do not see what satisfaction can now be offered, and yet I feel that without it I cannot go on."

*Enclosure (1.) LORD SYDNEY to the MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM, Dublin.*

1788, June 23. Whitehall.—"You will receive with this my official letter acquainting you of the King's having disposed of the 6th regiment of Dragoon Guards in favour of Lord Carhampton. I have no doubt of your Excellency's satisfaction in this appointment, from the zeal and activity in His Majesty's service shewn by Lord Carhampton on many occasions, which the King seems much pleased to find an opportunity of rewarding.

"On the vacancy made by this promotion, the King has declared his intention of bringing from the half-pay, Colonel Gwynne, his own Aid-de-Camp and Equerry. The character and services of this officer cannot be totally unknown to you: and as he is, particularly, a good regimental officer of cavalry, His Majesty thinks he will be a valuable acquisition to the army. The offices which he now holds near His Majesty's person, though not really lucrative, deprive him of his half-pay, and therefore the King wished much to put him upon a more comfortable footing. His rank of colonel prevents his appointment from being looked upon as a supercession of the rights of any other officer. These circumstances have occasioned His Majesty to depart from his general rule of waiting for your recommendation, before he fills up the vacancy of a commission below the rank of Colonel. But, all things considered, the King has no doubt of this arrangement being perfectly agreeable to you.

"I cannot conclude without expressing my earnest wishes to hear that Lord Temple's health is perfectly re-established, and that Lady Buckingham as well as your Lordship are quite at ease, and in good health."

(2.) *The SAME to the SAME.*

1788, June 23. Whitehall.—The official letter on the same subject.

W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

Private:—

1788, June 29. Cambridge.—“Before I got your letter this morning I had determined to be in town very early tomorrow. I shall now contrive to get there between ten and eleven tonight, and shall probably land at White’s, among other reasons for the sake of speaking to Lord Weymouth. I shall be much obliged to you if you will meet me there. I think I see the means still of carrying the present Bill. But if it fails, I have made up my mind, after very full reflection, to bring it again immediately in the House of Commons (which I apprehend there is no difficulty in doing in point of order) and to summon all the strength we can for another trial in the House of Lords. If it fails then, the opposers of it and myself cannot continue members of the same Government, and I mean to state this distinctly to the Cabinet before the House meets tomorrow.

“There is but one topic of objection to the retrospective clause, which is worth thinking of. That is the danger of sacrificing the lives of those slaves whom the new regulations will prevent from being carried off. There seems to me little ground for this, from reasons we have already agreed in. But might not even the pretence be removed by some provision that all ships, on whom notice of the Act is served, should be obliged to give in an account of the state of *their purchases*, as well as of the number on board; that the sloop which goes out with the notice, shall, as soon as it has been along the coast, return with these accounts to England; and that if, within given time, the respective owners of the ships now on the coast do not undertake to send other ships sufficient to carry off the numbers of slaves left behind, the Treasury or Navy Board shall be empowered to hire vessels for this purpose; and the profits of these adventures, shall be divided, in due proportion, on account of the several merchants affected by the retrospective regulation, or be applied to furnish a general fund for compensation, which will come nearly to the same thing? Supposing half the ships which generally sail in a whole year to be now on the coast, and to receive the notice, the *utmost possible* effect will be that they will carry away about four thousand slaves fewer than the same ships would have done. This would require sending less than 3000 ton of shipping additional, which may certainly be done in time for every purpose, and with little difficulty. I wish you would turn this in your mind before we meet, and, if you think it can be put into a clause, prepare one.”

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, in London.

1788, July 5. Blackrock.—“I have only time to say, in three words, that I received yesterday yours of the 1st, referring me to another which I was to have through the hands of Bernard. The mail of the 2nd is just come in and brings no letter from you, but, as no mail leaves Dublin tomorrow, I was unwilling to leave you unanswered for three days, though I can say nothing decisive, till I see the sort of solution which you propose. I protest, in coolness, that I do not see how I can continue in the Government with personal credit, or with advantage to the King’s service; for indeed, we differ widely upon our ideas of the importance of *these blows*. I mean no unkindness to Pitt when I say that I think he might have prevented part of this; and surely it was natural for me to imagine myself *abandoned* by him, when I received from Lord Sydney such letters, after I had been told by you that Pitt

had communicated with him on the mode in which this thing was to be done.

"I perfectly agree with you that the King cannot be forced, and ought not to be requested to recall his appointment; but I am equally clear that such a step taken, and notified to several persons on Friday (before even you or Fitz-Herbert knew it,) and not even meant to be opened to me till four days after, is a measure decisive in the minds of every man in this country, as to the real means which I possess of recommending, and consequently of carrying on the government. *The one case* as you state it, is, as you will observe, the *only case* in which I can assist Colonel Nugent; and I must add that, for ten years, no such opportunity has occurred. The King knew from me *personally* my wishes for my nephew, and those wishes were certainly from every consideration obvious to every one; the disappointment therefore and the mode are matters so glaring, that I do not wonder at the impression which, I protest, is universal here. I do not mean to criminate, and it is of little moment to me in such a question whether Lord Sydney has played me fair or not; but the conclusions seem inevitable, and though I do not mean to act or think precipitately, ten days have very little changed my ultimate purpose. On this subject I have not spoken one word, except to Mornington, whose conversation has indeed been a relief to an extent which I cannot describe. He deprecates most strongly my resolution; but he has not been able to shew me one reason to make me doubt my opinions on the effect of this cursed business in Ireland; though he cannot state as strongly as I feel them the consequences to myself, and perhaps to both countries, of my resignation. I shall hope to hear from you tomorrow; and I trust that it is unnecessary for me to assure you that I never doubted your impartial and cool judgment upon such a point, and your separating it from every consideration personal to yourself; but, indeed, that last consideration is to me the most important, and the point which of all others makes me pause."

The EARL OF MORNINGTON to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, July 7. Dublin.—"You will be glad to hear that my election has ended in a great triumph of my interest, and that I have every reason to expect a verdict in my favour at the assizes. The cause is to be tried on Thursday at Trim; Fitzgibbon is my principal counsel and *will not accept any fee*. I hope on Friday or Saturday to be able to set out for Buxton, where I mean to remain about three weeks.

"I found your brother in a very unpleasant state of mind in consequence of the promotion of Colonel Gwynne. He has shewn a just sense of my real and sincere friendship for him by communicating with me in the freest manner on this occasion. I have used every argument that occurred to me to prevent his taking the step which he seemed at first to have decided, and which would produce so many mischievous consequences to himself and to Government. I must own that he has not betrayed the least symptom of heat or intemperance on the subject, and I believe that, excepting myself and W. Freemantle, there is not a person in Ireland who knows his present feelings. I left him last night, apparently undecided whether he should resign or not. His chief argument has been the disadvantage under which the Government must suffer in his hands, after such a blow as he conceives himself to have received. It cannot be denied that the whole world here is amazed at the measure taken in England; and that the effect *is*, and must be in this country, a general opinion that your brother is not so strong *some-*

where as he has been hitherto imagined to be. You know how much such an opinion will influence the conduct of people here, and that it is not an imaginary evil in a country like this. I think *your appointment* would be the most effectual way of removing this mischief, but I fear that cannot happen soon ; and, in the meanwhile, I am strongly of opinion that something should be done immediately for Nugent ; any mark of favour conferred on him would tend to remove the impression which, I assure you, is universal. I hope in God your brother will decide with my wishes and yours. Excuse the hurry in which I write, as I am just going into the country to prepare for the assizes, and have scarcely a moment to myself."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, in London.

1788, July 8. Blackrock.—"The anxiety which Mr. Pitt expressed for the return of his messenger has left me but little time for reflexion, and for communication with you. I therefore enclose to you his letter open, that you may collect from it the very painful state of my mind. Indeed I have not spoken or thought the language of intemperance, but I see hourly proofs of the impression which is universal here, and which, in justice to me, I must entreat you not to try by the rules of reason or common sense, but to take the fact as I state it. I had, on Saturday night, waited to the last moment of the packet in hopes of receiving a letter from you, and, at last, my messenger missed the packet, and after following it in a boat for three hours, was obliged to put back. I enclose it to you that you may see what I thought even before I received Pitt's letter ; and I confide to your justice that you will believe my assurances that my wish of a favour to Colonel Nugent arises more from a wish for the public service than from motives of private favour. I cannot hope, without some sort of testimonial, to meet the public opinion upon this event, which you certainly have treated much too slightly, and, let me say, not quite with your usual fairness towards me ; even in your last letter you have argued that the mode of doing this is strictly conformable to my commission, and, in a former, that I have complained too precipitately of being *abandoned*. I need not say that, on the first point, I have no doubt from the extracts which Pitt sent to me, and from the uniform practice upon it ; and surely when you recollect that you wrote on Saturday to tell me that Mr. Pitt and Lord Sydney would settle the mode, and when on Monday *this mode* so offensive was adopted without any other explanation from Pitt or you, I had a right to conceive myself *abandoned* in the fullest extent.

"I feel, with strong resentment, that the King has done towards me what he has done only to the Earl of Buckinghamshire to disgrace him ; and I feel that I cannot shew this resentment without making too severe war on the country, and upon those I love best. I am therefore determined to wave my private feelings, and to consider the business solely as it affects my situation, and on that head I have endeavoured to form a cool and dispassionate judgment ; but, indeed, I feel that I have rather deserved any thing but censure, when you consider the whole of the provocation, and read the letters which I have written to Pitt and the public answer to Lord Sydney. I cannot however wish to check the free animadversion upon my conduct from the motives which I know guide you ; but, stung as I am, I cannot bear even from you a doubt upon the justice of my feelings. In the same spirit I wish to do justice to the fairness of Pitt's letter to me, but when you and he refer me to the next opportunity of a vacant Lieutenant-Colonelcy of cavalry, you



do not know that none has occurred for ten years; and, above all, I wish to remark upon your difficulty from the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel Loftus, that it exists in half the regiments in the King's service, and that in many, (I have counted above 20,) a junior officer has been put in to command a senior brevet officer, without any difficulty whatsoever. I only mention this to fight off the imputation of unreasonableness, otherwise I should spare you and myself the trouble. If Pitt leans to my idea, I have no difficulty in telling you that my wish would be that he should propose to the King that Colonel Nugent should, by some mode of purchase, have Colonel Fawcett's employment of Adjutant-General, for which the latter is wholly unfit; and that if his Majesty should afterwards wish that Colonel Dundas, the Quarter-Master-General, should succeed, Nugent might exchange with him. In all this however, my object is to get some mark by which the prejudice now existing may be undeceived; and as I certainly look for none of a personal nature, I see no other solution. At the same time that I think it indispensable to urge this, I own that I am uneasy at trusting the communication to Pitt and to you, if I did not trust to your justice not to misconceive me.

"If this all ends as I wish, I mean to write an ostensible letter to Lord Sydney *that, in obedience to his Majesty's wishes, notified to me by his Lordship, I have the honour of recommending Colonel Gwynne*; but I am so sore upon the subject, that I do not wish to have that notification from his Lordship, but rather wish to presume that it has already been sent. I must, in that case, trust that all copies from the Office shall be withdrawn and I will return his letters. . . I write disjointedly, for my mind is too severally agitated, and will remain so till I hear from Pitt and from you. I once more say that I acquit you of the smallest purpose in all this question distinct from that which I know is always first in your mind; but *assure* yourself that the menace of your last line (which I understand) would at all times outweigh volumes of writing."

W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, [July —.] Downing Street.—"I have seen Sir W. Fawcett, who will write to his son, and will, I am persuaded, recommend to him to treat liberally. He says *selling* would suit his son particularly, but tho' it was done in the instance of Lord Carhampton, he considers selling a staff appointment as irregular and wrong. He thinks his son may be satisfied with a Lieutenant-Colonelcy of Infantry, (which of course he may have immediately,) and a ten shillings' government, or an equivalent for such a government, till there is one to dispose of. I hope there will be no difficulty in this last point, but as I am not quite sure, and as I should be very much afraid of a proposal for Fawcett to sell, I have thought it best (as it will not make many hours difference) to put off writing till tomorrow. I will be in town at latest by one, and shall be glad to see you then, as we have another Cabinet at half after one."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, in London.

1788, July 9. Blackrock —"The enclosed details the very unexpected and very precipitate *fatality*, under which Lord Sydney has cut short the alternative, (held out by Pitt and by you,) by forwarding the commission of Colonel Gwynne to my *Office*. Mr. Sheridan brought it up

to me, and very significantly told me that he had not given it out in orders as usual; and I have, without any explanation, bid him keep it till I speak further upon it. I make no comment on this, which took place three days after your letter of the 2nd, but to deplore the little wish shewn by Lord Sydney to conciliate, and to beg you to observe how much this agrees with the former notification, and how little it accords with Pitt's wishes and your language. I still however abide by my letters to him and to you, and by the alternative which I have chosen, supposing *that means can be found to save my credit*; but you will agree that this does not seem very inviting. If however the *rest should be settled*, my intention is to antedate a letter of recommendation (of the sort which I pointed out to you) so as to appear to have been written before the commission was signed. If, however, no steps are proposed to meet my wishes, I must of course feel this last *official* step very much as an aggravation. At present I certainly do not feel any emotion but that of surprise, conceiving myself bound to suspend every feeling till I hear again from you in answer to my last."

The EARL OF MORNINGTON to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, July 17. Buxton.—"I am just arrived here and very anxious to hear something of the state of politics from you whenever you are at leisure—is it true that the Chancellor or Lord Stafford are moving?

"I was happy to leave your brother decided to remain in Ireland, and I trust that everything will be done to remove any impressions which may have been taken in Ireland on the subject of his discontent. I left him and all of them very well. Fitzgibbon leaves Dublin this day, and will, immediately on his arrival in London, apply to Pitt with respect to the seals; I hope he will not meet with any refusal before the question has been very deliberately considered; I could state much to you on this point which fell within my observation when I was in Ireland; but I hope to see you when I pass through London in about three weeks.

"A verdict was found against me at the assizes at Trim, but my counsel think it of no moment."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, in London.

1788, July 20. [Blackrock].—"Nor is it necessary for me to say more than that I am perfectly satisfied with Pitt's conduct; though I have very great reason to doubt the event of our negotiation; but, be that as it may, my sense of what I owe to him is the same, and as a proof of it, I have given out Colonel Gwynne's name in orders, and, I enclose to you these cursed letters, desiring you to withdraw the copies of them and my answer.

"I wish most earnestly that the King may be induced to reconsider his decision in Captain Magrath's case against me, who consulted General Pitt and Lord Ross throughout the whole, and am pledged by those steps to Captain Duport, whose claims of service are so much greater. Add to this that Captain Magrath was informed, *before he was recommended*, that his recommendation was kept back for this very purpose, and he acquiesced; and surely a decision from the King which is to compel me to recall one which I have notified in orders, in consequence of an official reference to me, and official communication with the Generals, is a very harsh measure; however you will see what I say upon it to Pitt.

"I do not know what to say about your comptrollership, except to thank you most kindly for your affectionate attention. I hardly know

how to propose it to you, but if you could give it to poor Tompkins, to whom I am bound by promise for the resignation of his land tax, and bound by sensibility for his cruel loss, in which I share, you would gratify my mind beyond every other pleasure. I have opened to Pitt an idea of exchange for Hobart which struck Mornington and me, but have referred him for details to Mornington."

The SAME to the SAME.

1788, August [2-3.] Dublin Castle.—"I write three lines to desire you to inform Pitt or Lord Sydney, for the King's information, that Lieutenant-Colonel Ferguson of the 27th is just dead in this garrison. His Major is so young that his succession is out of the question; at present I have entered into no engagement to recommend a successor, but I wish, before I take any step, to know what the King will permit me to promise to Major Doyle (whose advancement I think essential;) but my idea at present is only to propose him for the majority which will be vacant by whatever promotion takes place; but I must know what I may hold out to him in future. I am very anxious about this foolish business of Captain Magrath, but if there is any difficulty in reconciling the King's mind to it, I will offer to compromise it by endeavouring to remove him to another regiment; but, in this case, I will beg that no answer may be sent to my dispatch on that subject; and by this offer I feel that I shew every wish to make things as easy as possible. Colonel Faucitt is shuffling, and I begin to despair of that arrangement. Hobart does not seem disposed to the idea which I threw out to Pitt about him."

The SAME to the SAME.

1788, August 4. [Dublin Castle.]—"I received your letter of the 30th so late on Saturday night that I could not answer it by that mail, and I regret the delay, as I am very impatient to give an answer to Doyle, who presses me very hard, and brings forward to my recollection the engagement which I have been unable to keep towards him. He is upon half-pay, and near the top of the Majors; he wants the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, but I have informed him of the King's rule not to give rank from half pay; he must therefore return to the line as Major, which he is ready to do if I am empowered to hold out to him the next Lieutenant-Colonelcy *after this shall be disposed of*. This I have fought off; not because I have any engagement which interferes, but because it was possible that the King's wish for some older officer might interfere, and therefore have talked of the second turn, which is all that, at present, I have held out to him. But he has likewise pressed for a Lieutenant-Colonelcy of cavalry as his ultimate object, and wishes to have the King's answer upon it, which, of course, must reserve the claim of older Irish cavalry Majors (and perhaps English cavalry,) and particularly of Colonel Delancey 18th; and, when we add to that list the pretensions of any one in Colonel Nugent's situation, I cannot advise any promise of that sort to Doyle. But I wish to be allowed to promise him either the first or second Lieutenant-Colonelcy of infantry, *after this vacancy is filled*; and to be allowed to give him immediately the majority which will be vacated by filling the 27th from the Majors in Ireland. Upon this subject I have hitherto writ nothing, nor am I pledged to any; but I lean very much to the idea of naming to the King Lieutenant-Colonel Knight, Major to the 21st, for the Lieutenant-

Coloneley of the 27th. I know him only by having often reviewed his regiment; he is the oldest officer of his rank in Ireland except Lieutenant-Colonel York, Major of the 69th, who is so bad an officer that I dare not in conscience propose to trust a regiment to him; and Colonel Knight is a very superior officer and of much service. This I think would conciliate the King's mind to my arrangements for Nugent, and to the little jobs which I must do for the sake of his government; and I wish that he may be told (in order to obviate any jealousy upon the number of cavalry commissions now upon sale) that the reduction of the four regiments of horse to dragoon pay, and the strict examination which I have brought forward of all forage accounts, will inevitably drive several captains from the service; and my object, in every instance, will be to replace them from the half or full pay of the English infantry, in order to break that spirit of licence which pervades the corps of Irish cavalry. This latter subject is not necessarily matter of discussion; but I wish that the King should know why so many purchases are going on, and I wish to have an answer on Doyle's subject as soon as may be convenient.

"As to the Adjutant-General's commission, Pitt has not answered my first question as to the sale of the Lieutenant-Coloneley of infantry, which Faucitt is to have; he assures me that he has not at present any thoughts of quitting the army, but he wishes to have it in his power. In case the negotiation goes on, I shall, according to the King's wishes of November last, recommend Colonel Dundass for the Adjutancy, and Nugent for the Quarter-Master-General's commission in his room; and this not because I prefer it, for it is on every account less eligible, not because I see the utmost advantages to the army, which will be systematically trained just before they embark for foreign service, by that very able, intelligent, and systematical officer; but it is fit that I should state that Colonel Eustace, Deputy-Quarter-Master-General, thinks himself offended by seeing Nugent put over his head, although, in almost every instance, the Deputy has, by chance, been senior to the Principal; as, for example, in 1772, Lieutenant-Colonel Luttrell Adjutant-General, Colonel Patterson Deputy-Adjutant-General; in 1783, Lieutenant-Colonel Pigott, 6 May 1783, Lieutenant-Colonel Bowyer, 18 November 1782; and he is either gone or going to England to endeavour to prevent such an arrangement.

"I own myself extremely uneasy upon the subject of the lieutenant-government to be vacated, for I do not see the means of doing it, not knowing any one of the very few upon the list. I have named two, Dundass and Bernard, in hopes that Pitt, by some of the Duke of Rutland's friends, might know how to get at them; but, at present, I fear that I have little chance of profiting by Pitt's wish to gratify me in this instance; and, what is essential, I have little chance of being able by such a promotion to remove the impressions which I have so often stated. The Provost is gone to England, eager for a viscounty, which I beg Pitt to guard against on the old ground of the King's unwillingness to grant two steps; and equally eager to secure a retreat into the House of Lords, which possibly I may wish to grant, as I fear he may do us more mischief in the other House, from his extreme absurdity, and affectation of importance.

"Having now exhausted your patience on the subject of our Irish government, I will say a few words upon the subject of Westminster, in which every body except yourself seem to have had every possible demerit. I own that I think a petition would be eligible even if you failed in all your ultimate proof; as I take it for granted that you have

enough evidence to substantiate your charges of bribery, perjury, and subornation of votes, to the conviction of every honest mind; and if, added to this, you can prove the hire of any of the mob, I think you would, very materially, strengthen that ground which, I am happy to find, you think as essential to the cause as I do, at the next general election. I can never be persuaded but that we ought to have the members for Westminster . . . If, by chance, you want a few tide-waiters or boatmen for county or city politics, I can assist you at this moment.

"As the chapter of the election is now closed, I will beg you to give me a little of *your own* news which have now stood suspended, and I wish to know how soon you now look for the *object* which I have so much at heart. I need not say to you what probably you have found, that it is very generally expected and *known*. I wish to hear your foreign budget."

"I have seen a great deal of a very intelligent Irish Bohemian Count Taafe, who is come to collect part of Butler's property of Ballyraggett, to which he is heir, and his language is that of the most sovereign contempt for the Imperial Joseph, and his army. The desertion, the disinclination, and want of confidence in Lascy are, he says, universal, and he apprehends that the resources for another year will fail very rapidly. His accounts of the disaffection of Hungary and Bohemia are very interesting; but what regards us the most is a very extraordinary hint which he gave me, and which he desired me to state for Mr. Pitt's information. He passed a week at Maestritch, and, conversing at Lisle some days after, upon the subject of the Dutch revolution, with the *Vicomte Sarsfield*, he told him that he could not conceive what could possess the Prince of Orange to leave all the Brunswick troops in that frontier garrison, for *the States-General pay for them to the Duke at the same rate of pay as the Dutch troops; the Duke only gives them Brunswick pay, which, in a country as dear as Holland, cannot maintain either officers or men; and that, whenever a blow was necessary, it might be struck in a few hours by means of those very troops*. This impression, Taafe told me, sunk deep into his mind, from having been witness to the wretched state of officers and men from that very cause. You will make your use of this, concealing from every one except Pitt the names of both. Are you going on with your Dutch or your Spanish commercial treaty; or are you likely to start that subject? If you should, I conclude that you will inform me.

"What answer does the King ultimately give about Captain Magrath? which, you will remember, is a subject very interesting to me. I have indeed very many thanks to give you upon the subject of poor Tompkins; you know and feel the reasons I have for wishing a provision for him. I really believe him fully competent to such a situation, and I am certain that, if he finds himself unequal to it, he will himself quit it."

"If you are not *detained* this summer, for God's sake think of us, and give me ten days; they will sweeten many a bitter hour; and I am at present retired from noise and from business save three days in the week. I am happy beyond measure at Neville's success. Pray tell Pitt that I have sent back Buller's exchange in half an hour after it was sent to me; and that I have a means of selling a majority to his Mr. Brodie; but that it is a favour, and therefore he must claim it as such from that gentleman, if he wishes it to go on. I have likewise the means of letting your cursed ensign Maudesley purchase a lieutenantcy, and get him off our hands."

"Pitt has been so much used to engross *all* the business of government, that the enclosed list will not appear extraordinary of persons now absent from the government of Ireland; but it is ludicrous."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, August 11. [Dublin Castle.]—"I need not say how much I have our success at Westminster at heart, and how ready I am to do all in my power to assist it.

"I have not heard from Pitt one word on the points which he must know me to have much upon my mind, I mean the question of the sale of Faucitt's lieutenant-colonelcy (when he shall wish to sell it,) and the question of Doyle's preferment. He will naturally ask why I trouble him with these points not in his department; but the footing upon which I stand with the King upon military points, and with Lord Sydney, must make me resort to him. On Captain Magrath's business I have not a word from you or him; and yet if the King takes from me that sort of discretion which belongs to my situation, I must at least have the means of communication; and the uncertainty of all the arrangements depending upon these cursed military questions makes my time very irksome to me, by exposing me to constant questions and solicitations. I have had a very long *memoire* from the Duke of Richmond upon the union of the Artillery and Engineer Corps; but I fear that insuperable difficulties will arise to stop the measure, which I have much at heart. You understand that I opened it with a proposition to waive all patronage and command on my part.

"I wish you to tell me what you are doing about the idea of a silver or copper coinage; the latter is eagerly called for in this kingdom, and if you do not decide on some new measure, I must contract for a new supply of *Irish halfpence*, 26 to the shilling as usual; but, of course, if there should be any idea of a general measure, I will wait with patience.

"Your letters for this month have been wholly silent upon foreign politics, and the state of our negotiations; the latter are peculiarly and officially interesting to me. I much wish to know what has passed between Pitt and Fitz-Gibbon; for on the whole of that subject he has been silent, though I wish much to be assured that there is not any idea of facilitating Lord Lifford's resignation by such a manœuvre as Lord Camden suggested. I take it for granted that nothing of this sort ever crossed Pitt's mind; but the want of communication prevents me from forming my language to Lord Lifford, who is to go to town as soon as the King comes from Cheltenham. As you are leaving London, I am necessarily more anxious that you should press him to write to me, or converse with you, upon these subjects.

"I have turned my thoughts very much to the smuggling carried on in this country; and, in the course of my enquiries, an idea has occurred to me which seems to promise most fairly to the advantage of both countries. You will see upon the map that Port-Patrick and Donaghadee are distant 14 miles, about 5 leagues; consequently every vessel, of whatsoever nation or trade, is within the hovering laws of both kingdoms in the middle of that strait; and in many other parts of the Irish channel, by the intervention of the Isle of Man, and by the projection of the headlands, the hovering laws operate upon the greatest proportion of the vessels who trade in this sea; but our cruisers of both kingdoms guard the two long sides of Great Britain and Ireland, instead of systematically guarding the two extremities. My

idea is to extend the hovering Act of both kingdoms to any part of the channel, marking the extremities by a line drawn from the Mull of Cantire to Fair-head North, and from the lights of the Smalls to the lights of the Hook tower (near Waterford) South. I would then propose, by laws, to legalize in both kingdoms the Revenue Commissions of either; and to divide the long list of cruisers, who now range up and down, into two squadrons (commanded by a frigate, and 2 sloops or King's cutters to each) to be stationed at the two ends, and to make the headlands, alternately, with a part of these vessels every day in the year; and to put an officer on board every vessel whom they shall suspect. This officer to go with the ship to her port, if within the limits; and, if without the limits, he will leave the ship when she passes the cruisers at the opposite end from that at which she entered. With our own ships no difficulty can occur; with those of foreign nations, if bound to either kingdom, there can be no objection; but with those who profess to pass through, objections may arise. On this head I have inquired, and I believe that not one foreigner goes through, bound *bonâ fide* to a foreign port; and in all contingency I apprehend that they would be answered by shewing that this law necessarily must catch them at present between Port-Patrick and Donaghadee, and by stating our claim to the sovereignty of a channel formed by the King's dominions. However, all this is but a rough plan which may be improved, but I wish to know how far Pitt will encourage me to turn my thoughts to it; and, if he will, he must send me a list of the revenue water force stationed in boats or cruisers from the Severn to the Mull of Cantire, in order that we may divide the duty with ours, which is very large; and, as soon as he sends me this, I will return the plan more detailed in order that it may be considered."

"I have written to Sir P. Parker to beg him to buy a vote in Buckinghamshire; and I shall give directions to Chaplin to buy for George and Edmund Nugent. I wish you to write to James and the General for the same purpose. I have begged Mornington to do the same; they cannot cost above 80*l.* each, and it would materially help us to have a certain number of single votes whom we can dispose of in any contingency, so as to keep Lord Verney and Aubrey in better order than at the last election. You understand that I would not wish to have them leasehold votes or annuity, but *bonâ fide* freeholds; and I would beg you to make any dependant of yours, or intimate friend, give to you the same assistance. I wish you to send me the new Election Act of Lord Stanhope's brain, as I must consider it with a view to the next election, which, I cannot help thinking, from the general view of things, must take place sooner than the natural demise of the Parliament."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1788, August 26. Blackrock.—"The mail of the 22nd is arrived, and I have not heard one word upon any of the subjects which you know to be so interesting to me. On the subject of the Adjutantcy-General, I have not been able to say one word to Colonel Faucitt, notwithstanding his anxiety for an answer, and my eagerness upon this subject, which surely, considering the manner in which I waived my feelings (heavily wounded,) ought not to have been neglected. The subject of Major Doyle stands in the same situation, and he is loud in his complaints of the apparent neglect with which he is treated, in not being able to get from me any answer. The recommendation of Captain

Taylor for a majority has been transmitted seven weeks, and I have not heard one word upon it, except a report that the step is to be refused, together with some others; but in the mean time I remain perfectly without communication direct or indirect. On the promotions themselves I will say nothing till I see how they are treated; and I will then argue each of them separately, conscious that in none of them am I disgraced by my recommendations. But indeed it is impossible that the Government can be carried on, without more confidence and communication than I am likely to expect while things remain as they are. I hate this style of complaint, for it seems unkind to you with whom I certainly do not quarrel; but I cannot help reflecting that every uneasiness in my situation has arisen from the other side of the water, either from Lord Sydney's dis-inclination or inability to assist or attend to me in that part of the business which must pass his Office, or from his repeated attempts to establish precedents injurious to my situation. I do not know what you can do to assist me on these subjects, for I am convinced that you have long since tired yourself in endeavouring to keep things quiet; when therefore I write in this strain it is more for the sake of showing you the state of my mind, than with any hopes of profiting by your affectionate attention and support.

"Upon the general subject of army patronage, the King must confide, more than he seems inclined to do, in my wish to please him on that subject; but it is neither fitting nor possible to throw it out of the scale of influence, and, in whatever hands he places his government, the difficulty must exist; and, I may say without vanity, more perhaps in any other hands than in mine. He may make it impossible for me to hold his government by repeated blows of this nature, but he cannot alter the general question. However, upon all this I shall wait patiently till I hear from England, premising that I have no personal interest in any of the recommendations, except that of Captain Fremantle to *purchase* a troop; but that in several of them, Captain Taylor's purchase of a majority, Lieutenant Creighton's purchase of a troop, Lieutenant Pigott's purchase of a troop, I have been pledged by the promises of the late Duke of Rutland to their fathers, of above two years standing; to Lord Bective, who has two sons in Parliament, and uniformly supporting, without any other tie or hold upon him or them; to Lord Erne, who has two brothers in the House exactly in the same situation; and to Colonel Pigott, who is brought in by Lord Shannon, and has all the very pressing and warm support that Lord Shannon can give him in this business. Add to this, that almost all the cavalry Captains here are quitting from the reduction of the 4 regiments of horse, and from the savings which I have made in their various means of making money. So much on this cursed subject.

"As to the Seals, I again repeat that I wish at present for nothing so much as Lord Lifford's continuance, and, as long as I understand that this is Mr. Pitt's object likewise, I am easy; but your three words upon it are all that I have received; and, therefore, I was not at ease while I had reason to know that Lord Camden wished to get a pension for Lord Lifford, and to make him retire for his private views; and that Lord Stafford and Lord Thurlow had each of them objects in that removal. I have discovered a most scandalous scene of fraud and abuse in the Ordnance Office, which will oblige me to dismiss the three principal officers; they will be replaced by Mr. Corry, 800*l.*, Captain Packenham, 400*l.*, and Mr. Coote, 400*l.*; but the whole of it is very



unpleasant; it has not yet broke out, but I think of doing it tomorrow or Thursday: the enquiry has engrossed my attention for five months. Every thing at present seems quiet, and, if I secure Lord Granard, I shall close this session with more *éclat* than the last."

W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, August 29. Downing Street.—"The enclosed dispatch arrived this morning, and brings an account of a change which, next to one at home, is I think the worst thing of the kind that could happen. Not however that France will be much to be envied, even tho' she has got Necker, and got rid of the Arch-Bishop. But I think we may expect from Necker's character, that he will set himself in earnest to put their finances in real order, if the thing is possible; and will probably be glad to avail himself of the necessity of establishing something like a free constitution. One other consequence, which is a good one, will I think be that of improving our chance for settling something about the slave trade. I wished to send you this news as soon as I could, tho' perhaps you are in part indebted for it to a swelled face, which has confined me at home. The chief inconvenience of it is that it will oblige me to be at St. James's next week, and so retards my going into the west. Pray remember me to Addington."

"Barthelmi's account (alluded to in the dispatch) is that the Count de Conway sailed from Pondicherry on the *12th of March*, in consequence of advices sent from France the 18th September. His force was 800 men, and destined for Trinquemalé, but they pretend to have had no account of his arrival; and repeat that orders were dispatched to countermand his expedition if in time, or, if not, to restore every thing. This was communicated verbally to Lord Carmarthen. I have since recommended to him to desire to have it in writing, that we may know accurately what the communication is. But probably there will be not much to be done in consequence, till the event of the expedition is known."

The SAME to the SAME.

1788, September 1. Downing Street.—"A ship is just arrived from Madras which sailed the 1st April. No letters are yet come up, but Nepean has seen Major Grattan, who comes from thence, and says that, a few days before his departure, the Count de Conway had returned to Pondicherry, and it was understood the Dutch Governor had refused him admittance. I have sent for Major Grattan, but send this in the mean time to save the post.

"Bad accounts came yesterday from Copenhagen of the King of Sweden, his fleet blocked up, his officers deserting, an apprehension of great discontent at home, and Denmark arming vigorously. These particulars are communicated by the Swedish Minister at Copenhagen to Elliott, and he added that the King of Sweden was preparing to apply for mediation here, at Berlin, and Versailles, to make whatever peace he could. We had before written to Berlin with power to Ewart to send on an offer of our joint mediation, if the King of Prussia agreed, and this seems now the more necessary. Our intervention may prevent his becoming totally insignificant, or dependant upon Russia, and it seems to me to be an essential point."

W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, September 5. Wimbledon.—“I could not see the King till Wednesday, and a confusion of names prevented my having a final answer about Major Doyle till to day. He consents to what is desired in a way that I think will be perfectly satisfactory, and I have just written to Lord Buckingham in consequence. There will, I am persuaded, be no difficulty about Captain Taylor. The King has never pointively refused it, but desired a letter to be privately written stating his objections to this and some other promotions, but with an intimation that, if it was *material*, he would probably give way. His language to me on Wednesday left no doubt that he will. He at the same time expressed a wish, that when a recommendation at all out of the common line is made with any particular object, it might be explained by a private letter. All this looks very little like the system you imagine to be formed, and which, I confidently trust, you will find yourself mistaken in. Lord Buckingham enabled me to give an explanation respecting Captain Freemantle, which, I am in hopes, will be satisfactory; but I gave the King the paper which Lord Buckingham had sent for that purpose, and have not yet got an answer, there having been no levée to day, but an exhibition of Mr. Hartley's fire-works on this common instead.

“The dispatches from Sir Archibald Campbell confirm fully the news I sent you of Count de Conway's return; and add that a gazette was received containing the accounts of the settlement which took place here in October; so that business seems completely at an end. But we do not yet know distinctly whether there was any hostile appearance in Conway's expedition, or only an offer of reinforcement.

“I agreed so exactly in your speculations, that I was preparing an application to the Court of France in our name and that of Holland, when the last news came; but it seems now unnecessary. Perhaps something may be right in Holland when we know the particulars.

“There is nothing fresh from the North, except that a Swedish ship of the line had fallen in with some Russians and been burnt, and that their fleet is certainly blocked up.

“I am still uncertain what day I shall get away, as I have still several things to do, and I believe I must now wait for my brother's going to St. James's, which he will probably accomplish this week. He is so far recovered as to be coming here to dinner today. Pray tell Addington he shall hear from me on the subject on which he wrote, in a day or two.”

The SAME to the SAME [at Castle Hill].

1788, September 10. Hertford Bridge.—“I have at length got as far as you see, on my road westward. Having found it impossible to do all I wanted before I set out, I thought it best to make sure of one week now, tho' I shall be under the necessity of returning to town by this day sen'night; and I shall perhaps, after a few days interval, be able to get back again to Burton for a short time. I hope you continue in the intension of calling there about the time you mentioned, and that we shall make our journey from thence together. I fear however that part of the plan which included a visit to Long Leat, is what I must postpone for the present, as I certainly shall not have a day to spare. My intension is to leave Burton early on Tuesday morning. I hope, if you can, you will allow yourself one whole day at least to bate there.

I have no very particular news, but many things which I want to talk to you about.

"I have a letter to day from Lord Buckingham on the military questions; but on which, from the state of the business, no step could have been taken for some days if I had staid in town, as it is necessary to wait for an official answer which he has sent thro' Fitz-herbert to a letter of Nepean's. In the mean time he will have heard from me on the subject of Captain Taylor, which I hope will have removed part of the impression which he felt when he wrote. I still persuade myself you will find my opinion justified by the event; but I defer entering into further particulars till we meet.

"Pray give my best compliments to Lord and Lady Fortescue."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE, London.

1788, September 14. Blackrock.—"I have just received your letter from Castle Hill, and I do not lose a moment in requesting you to give me those 14 days which you had destined for France, and which I now beg you to employ in giving me the satisfaction of conversing on the very many points common to both, from the reciprocal interest which we both take in what may concern the other. By returning from Devon by Taunton, Bridgewater, Bristol, Chepstow, and Milford, you will have a sea passage not longer than from Holyhead to Dublin; and by landing at Waterford you will see a country new to you; or if you will let me order a revenue cruiser (they are larger ships than the Dublin packets) to Barnstaple, you will have six hours more sea passage to Waterford, but you will embark immediately from Castlehill. In this case you will write directly, that I may order one of them round; but in all events pray let me hope to see you.

"I am at present in the most painful and doubtful situation. The King refuses not one or two, but almost every recommendation, whether connected with civil government; or pressed upon me by the Commander-in-Chief, or originating in private regard. Your distance from town has prevented me from applying as usual to your friendship. I have, therefore, in three letters submitted the whole to Pitt's judgment, and to his advice, because the measure appeared systematic, and therefore did not appear to me to involve my private feelings near so much as it did my public situation. Captain Taylor's promotion is refused, except under a *promise that I never will press one in similar circumstances*; Major Doyle's is refused; Lieutenant Creighton's and Lieutenant Pigott not answered; all these are public questions. Freemantle's refused: Lieutenant Backhouse to purchase at the regimental price refused. All this prevents me from dwelling on any single grievance, and compels me to appeal with every degree of personal kindness and real confidence to Pitt's opinion; but that *non haec in fœdera veni* is most certain, and that the Government is not maintainable on these grounds is equally so. I again repeat that nothing can be kinder than Pitt's conduct towards me; and the best proof of that sense is, that I have offered to him to sacrifice my private friendships in this list, provided I am enabled to keep my faith for the public service, if he really thinks it fitting that I should be so degraded from what was always given to this situation. I may therefore, by the King's obstinacy, be driven from this situation; but I cannot leave it with a shadow of ill humour towards Pitt; and, having gained one great object by this pilgrimage, I shall not repine whenever the moment arrives, if (as I suspect) the King is determined to force me away.

And, yet, I cannot to this moment see the motives of his ill-humour, unless they originate in my disappointment upon his very strong nomination to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of cavalry. In the meantime all army promotion is suspended; for they do not return to me my list of *June*, and I am determined to send no other till that is finally settled one way or other. Such are the blessings of my situation! and I need not observe to you on the speculations and jealousies founded on this history, which (with all my caution) is very well known. So true a prophet was you even in your last comment on this cursed subject, which has exhausted my patience.

"You will have seen the *denouement* of the Ordnance inquiries as to Mr. Ward. The wretched man knew the proofs of his guilt to a very large amount to be in my hands; and the peculation on all sides is an object of very great magnitude. My choice is very popular, but the cry of precipitation and cruelty from the numberless connexions of these villains, was very great. Upon the whole, however, I have gained credit, but, what is more material, I have satisfied my own conscience.

"Bernard (who leaves me tomorrow) takes to Chaplin the list of persons for whom I wish him to buy freeholds. I think it essential to have a certain number of single votes, upon whom we might depend to prevent any unfair trick, on a repetition of the same double game that was practised by Lord Verney and Aubrey at the last election; but I clearly wish you not to involve yourself in difficulties as to any poor *protégés* in the Pay Office, although I do not think any such could occur."

W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, September 19. [Downing Street].—"The enclosed draft is an idea of the Chairman, in consequence of the order last year for drawing bills for an additional investment from Madras having failed on account of the terms of exchange. This gives no authority for additional bills: beyond what was then proposed, but only raises the exchange to 8s. (for that of course must be the effect of the discretion given,) to which I see no objection. If none occurs to you pray sign it.

"I was in hopes to have got away again tomorrow, but the King is prevented from coming to town by a pain in his face. This will keep me till Wednesday."

The SAME to the SAME.

1788, September 22. Hollwood.—"My return westward seems postponed a good deal longer than I like, as, besides being detained for Wednesday levée, I have now a summons to one of those gay festivals at Windsor on the 29th. I fear therefore, or rather I hope I have no chance now of meeting you in the country. For as I am condemned to stay here, and as I want much to see you, I cannot wish that you may stay so long as it is likely to be before I get to Somersetshire.

"There is one business particularly on which we have been abundantly bored already, but on which I want to persecute you again, I mean the *projet* for the convention respecting India.

"*Lord Malmsbury* has got so much spirit with his new honors, that he does not despair of getting Trinquemalé; and I had undertaken, thinking that we should have met sooner, to have sent him definite instructions on the other points, which he was to find on his arrival at the Hague, to which he went by the way of Spa. I own to you how-

ever that the more I consider the points, the more I have been puzzled about the detail, especially of the Spice business; and I do not like to trust my own single opinion, which is nearly all I have to trust to on this subject at present. I should be glad therefore, if possible, to talk it over with you as soon as you can make it convenient; and if it does not break in too much with any of your plans, it would be desirable that instructions should reach the Hague before the 1st October, as, about that time, Lord Malmsbury wants to be absent for his health.

"We have had strange reports of the French troops being to move into the Austrian Netherlands, which are supposed, according to this story, to be mortgaged to France.

"A thousand things concur to put such an idea very much out of the question at present, but if Calonne's information can be trusted, some thing of the sort was in question before the Archbishop went out.

"I hear Lord Effingham is again thought to be in a very dangerous way."

"The L[ieutenancy] of Huntingdon will be settled so as to ensure Lord C.'s election, tho' it is not yet quite clear who will be to hold it.

"As you may perhaps be moving about, and cross posts are very precarious, I have thought it best to send this by a messenger."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, London.

1788, October 8. Blackrock.—"I have been prevented from continual agitation writing to apprise you of the very unexpected state of health in which Lord Nugent has been for the last nine days. . . . In this situation I must, for many reasons, request you not to leave London; and if Camplin be in the country, you will apprise him of this, and direct him to come to town immediately, that he may assist G. Nugent, (whom I shall send over in case of Lord Nugent's death,) and his executors M<sup>r</sup>Namara and Drummond, in separating the papers and the property. In this scene you will imagine how much public business worries me; but I am made very happy in finding by your letter, which I have just received, that Pitt is sensible to my sacrifices for his ease and quiet; for I protest that nothing short of what presses so strongly on me, should make me continue this scene of drudgery. The King has, by Pitt's last letter, given way on all the points, except those *which are personally objects to me*. I need make no comments on such a determination, and have professed that I will acquiesce in the negative, if the King still persists in such a measure! But I will not, and cannot, while there is one senior Captain-Lieutenant in the Irish or English army, recommend a Captain Fenton who has insulted me by a conduct and language which I cannot bear in the situation in which I stand; and yet upon this I have offered a compromise. While these negatives are put on my recommendations, an arrangement is proposed to me for a scandalous job for a Lieutenant Hope of infantry to purchase a *troop over senior officers*, and for Captain St. Leger, a *protégé* of Lord Sydney, to purchase a Majority. I agree that I will recommend both (if I am assured of their success,) because I know that the first is an object material to Pitt in his Scotch politics, and the second is wished by Lord Sydney, whom I wish to oblige *because he has used me ill*; and to my utter surprise both are instantly agreed to, as is also an exchange of Duke of Hamilton's Major Moore with a Major in this army, without any certificates whatsoever, though the job is known to be abominable. I do not, as you will believe, want to hinder any of these, on the contrary I have assisted them; but I cannot but feel the

difference. However *le vin est tiré*, and all I now wish is to put an end to the whole subject, and to the stories in circulation from the suspension of all army promotions since the 30th of *May last*. I am however most happy that I have kept my temper uniformly, and only wish you to ask Pitt for my correspondence that you may satisfy yourself. I kept your map; but you shall have it as soon as we know whether your Irish tour will be put off or not."

"I have had much plague about the Ordnance, the result is most flattering to me. I am preparing to prosecute the executors of Mr. Ward, and can *prove* the delivery to him of 9400*l.* since 1770, by the contractor for arms, being the value of those which Ward certified, but never received into store; the other frauds are on a smaller scale but are numberless. We *suspect* however practices to a very large amount on the powder, of which 1500 barrels (by their books) are missing, at about 7*l.* a barrel, since 1780.

"I impatiently expect the event of ——— death. Perhaps that office need not be given till Parliament meets, and, if so, the secret may remain in *statu quo*; that is, guessed but not ascertained."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, London.

1788, [October 15. Dublin Castle.]—"Lord Nugent died last night. . . I have examined (with Colonel Nugent) his papers, and we found a counterpart of his will open, and, as it appears to be more perfect than the parts which are lodged in London, I have desired G. Nugent to carry it to M<sup>r</sup> Namara and Drummond the executors.

. . . Lord Nugent leaves me all arrears on his Essex and Irish estates . . .

"Pray urge Pitt on my commissions, and remark to him what a job Sir G. Younge has just carried for Captain Whitelocke, brother in law to Mr. Lewis his first clerk; a Captain of 1784, and now Major over all the senior Captains in the 60th! and, in the same moment, the King squabbles about my Captains and Subalterns."

The SAME to the SAME.

1788, October 18. Blackrock.—"As to my own affairs, on which head you complain so much of my neglect, I really do not recollect any point which I had left unanswered, either through my letters, or through Bernard, except that of my bond to you for the 1000*l.* advanced to Tom: . . . I think Lord Nugent's estates here are probably underlet; but I probably shall inherit about 6000*l.* *per annum in toto*, subject to Mrs. Nugent's annuity of 500*l.*, and to 20,000*l.* to be raised upon it.

"As to my commissions, indeed my mind is too much worn to renew so sore a subject. I wished to have followed Pitt's advice, but my dread of fresh encroachments on the very little which the King has left to me, deterred me from calling for any rules upon paper, which could only militate against me. I again repeat that nothing should have made me swallow every emotion of my pride or my judgment, but the one object of my connexion with Pitt; and (particularly after this accession of fortune) if I could see the means of quitting this situation, without personal disgrace and public disadvantage, I would do it. Indeed I cannot say what I suffer, while my situation and the public service are thus trifled with, in spite of Mr. Pitt's exertions, by the King's jealousy and indisposition. I have offered a compromise

disgraceful to me, and it seems yet uncertain whether that humiliation is sufficient! Is it too much, after five months' misery, to implore termination to the business, the consequences of which are hourly so unpleasant to my government? and when I only ask for the means of carrying it on. I cannot but recollect that (except the one object to which I would dedicate the misery of years) I have neither asked nor received one point of gratification, in return for health, comfort, and the feelings of one dear to me by every tie which can press closest upon me. I would not have said so much but my spirits are much depressed.

“ This silly Lord Chancellor writes, (and says to Irish in London) that he never will return. I have explained myself to Pitt about him, and I cannot persuade myself that he will resign without a pension; and upon that head, I have as yet seen nothing which can induce me to propose it. Much embarrassment would follow the vacancy in any event. I am very far from indifferent on the succession, but, on any contingency, I would wish to know Pitt's language before he gives his answer to Fitz-Gibbon, for I must prepare for much trouble on the legal successions.

“ I shall, in a few days, transmit (not officially) a proposal to Pitt for the separation of the two Boards of Stamps and Accounts, at present most unaccountably joined. They consist at present of 5 members at 800*l.*, making 4000*l.* My idea (and I have settled with the parties by means of other *douceurs*) is to make a Board of Stamps, consisting of three members at 500*l.* - - - - - = 1500*l.* and of three Commissioners of accounts, at 800*l.* - - - - - = 2400

**Total, 3900.**

To this latter Board I add Parnell as chief, who in the most cordial and flattering manner has accepted without a salary, and the Comptroller of army accounts at his old salary; and I propose to give them all the powers of Pitt's new Board for auditing imprest accounts. I expect much credit and much advantage from this arrangement, and as no objection can arise upon it in England, I will only beg that the necessary King's letters may be returned to me as soon as may be. Mr. Smith, the Secretary of the Ordnance, run away to England with his family on Thursday last, and every day brings forwards fresh scenes of speculation and dirty frauds, but not to any very great extent except those long since discovered; however much remains open to enquiry. This subject suggests to me a proposal made by Fitz-Gibbon in December last to Pepper Arden, and never *answered*; to enable by law the Attorney General of either kingdom to sue in either kingdom for the King's debts. I cannot give you stronger cases in point than this Smith an Irish defaulter, and Colonel Bruen, who as Deputy-Quarter-Master-General in America has amassed upwards of 400,000*l.*? and is now in Ireland; buying every estate, and laughing at your processes *ad computandum*. Surely this might be attended to, and if the powers were given, they might be used with discretion and propriety; but, at present, the public is the only party to whom the law gives no relief in matter of debt contracted in the other kingdom.

"I have writ till I am too late, but will only add that we remove on Wednesday to General Pitt's house in Kilmainham, where the air and situation promise much comfort to the moments which my poor wife would otherwise have been doomed to have passed at the Park Lodge, or in the Castle."

"Many thanks for your very interesting news: can the irruption of the Danes into Sweden be true? If it is, I own that I fear we may be involved, for I conclude we shall not, nor will Prussia, suffer that madman to be annihilated into a Russian province."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, in London.

1788, October 29. Dublin Castle.—"You will subscribe 500*l.* for me to the Westminster business, but it cannot be paid till Parrott remits the rents which he receives next week. The Irish estates turn out worse than I imagined: they will not remit 4000*l.*: and the Gosfield is not worth more than 1500*l.*, subject to 20,000*l.*, and to about 700*l.* annuities."

The SAME to the SAME.

1788, November 3. Dublin Castle.—"The very blustering weather of these last three days has delayed our mails so as to bring two of your last letters together; by the last I am left in the suspense and agitation which the first has so naturally and so fully excited. Of my private and individual mortification (sensible as it must be) I will say nothing, for, in truth, it is absorbed in considerations of a higher moment. I do not like to trust to the post what occurs to me upon it, but I cannot point to myself a moment, since the King's accession, in which his death would be attended with more fatal consequences to our external and internal arrangements. I have however much comfort in remarking the dates of your letters, which, at least, shew me that no immediate change for the worse had taken place since the first alarm of the King's relapse; and although I fully agree with you in dreading some lurking disorder, I will still trust much to his wonderful constitution; and, in all events, I beg you to keep in mind my perfect ignorance of his illness except through you, (for Lord Sydney has not had the common attention of notifying to me one word upon the subject from the beginning,) and my earnest wish that I may hear often from you. As to my commissions, I again repeat that I am too anxious on the state of the King's health to repine at this delay, pregnant as it is with every mischief and every personal inconvenience. Whenever it can be finished I am sure that Pitt will, from private friendship, relieve me from this suspense; and, in the mean time, I will wait patiently till the moment arrives, trusting to his and to your affection that it will not be protracted one moment beyond what is necessary. Lord Sydney's inattention, and Sir G. Yonge's unfairness, have involved me (who was no party) in a hot dispute with Lord Eglinton, on the subject of Major Moore's exchange. . In truth I have plague enough of my own without fighting battles for Sir G. Yonge or Lord Sydney, who has not even writ to thank me for my attention to his wishes in a most infernal job, *which is carried through without an objection for a protégé* of his, by the name of St. Leger.

"I have not received any abstract from Camplin. Lady Berkeley has written to me a very proper letter, and therefore my mind is at ease on her subject; but it is fitting that her renunciation, which Lord Nugent told me often was in the iron chest, should be found and given to me. The private papers are, I know, the property of the executors, but I know, and Colonel Nugent feels, the propriety of putting them into my hands. . The deed of appointment is an anxious paper to me, though I have little reason to expect that Lord Nugent has altered



those points of which you have heard me so often, and so justly, complain. I trust, however, that the next mail will bring me a copy of it.

"I will answer Mr. Woodley's letter to you by pleading what is true, young Mr. Waller's long, very long, solicitation to me on this head; and I will endeavour to satisfy him, which will be easily done if all goes well at Windsor, and as difficult if any accident should take from him any further hopes."

"Are you to have any copper coinage? I am much plagued about it here, and if you do not make a general measure, I must have one partially for Ireland."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1788, November 10. [Dublin Castle.]—"I have delayed till this moment acknowledging your two anxious letters, which arrived yesterday, for we have this moment parted with our dear Hester, whose kindness I shall never forget, in the very affectionate attentions to my poor wife. They are gone, and the wind is as fair as it can blow for them.

"I cannot, by letter, say all I wish on the subject of your last. I wish to know your speculation, because *I know* that it admits of much doubt and speculation. On that *knowledge* I can depend; so as to induce me, in my very uninformed state, to beg you to transmit to me *safely* your ideas, and to send to me a cipher in which I may write some names to facts and opinions, which are well worth Pitt's attention. At present I can write no more."

"I do not (indeed I cannot) press Pitt upon the subject of the commissions, but I know not what to do with the army, who are open-mouthed against me. Many officers have had their purchase money lodged, without interest, for six months, and are starving for want of their commissions; others are violent, and I know not what answer to give them; and if any accident should prevent the completion of those now recommended (I do not speak of those which are disputed,) I know not how I can reconcile the ruin of these people to my feelings as an honest man. You will say that I may complete those which are allowed; but, in truth, one set depends upon the other, and I should not know how to arrange them without I knew the fate of those which are disputed. I mention this with difficulty, but I have dealt so fairly (throughout the whole) with Pitt, that he will not think that I trouble him unnecessarily."

"Lord Nugent's *appointment* is whimsical indeed; but it is cruel to me that he should, by entails *ad infinitum*, not worth a straw, give his property to J. and R. Grenville *rather than to me!*"

#### W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

Private.

1788 [November 1-15]. Tuesday morning.—"The account of last night is that the King's state thro' that day had been perfectly *maniacal*. What I learnt from General Gr—— yesterday morning was so much worse than the day before, that I begin to fear the physicians have been more in the right than we thought.

"The Duke of Richmond and my brother dine with me in town. Can you meet them. I shall be back from Windsor in good time as I have only to see Warren, which will not take many minutes. At all events dinner will not wait."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, in London.

1788, November 11. [Dublin Castle.]—"I had just sent away my letter of this night when your messenger arrived. I will not say how much I am shocked at the news, which is indeed the heaviest blow that ever befell the kingdom. I do not apprehend from your letter that there exists the slightest chance of his life, and, indeed, from motives both public and private, I cannot wish it, if his reason is hopeless. I am now vexed that I should not have expressed myself so fully upon any contingency, as to leave you master of my ideas on the possible events which may occur as to the question of government. These considerations induce me to dispatch the messenger instantly, with answers on the several heads which you have suggested.

"As to the first, my ideas on a new Government, I will answer, most unequivocally, that my only object is the continuance of Mr. Pitt's power; and that, to this point, upon every principle public and private, I will sacrifice every consideration personal to myself. You will therefore give him the inclosed lines, and you will understand that I repose myself fully upon his honour, integrity, and friendship, fully determined to abide by him and his situation whatever it may be, and earnestly entreating you to consider with him what is most fitting for him and for those who are nearest to him in blood and in affection. I own I do not think a coalition can take place; but I alluded, in my post letter of this night, to two very extraordinary conversations held by Anthony St. Leger, who is the only one, except J. Payne, who lives in the Prince's house and in his confidence. He told Fitz-Herbert (who having originally been in the Prince's household, has always kept up habits with him) that he was persuaded that the Prince was afraid of Fox, and that his opinion of Mr. Pitt was much altered since the negotiation on the subject of his debts; that he was sure the Prince would, in case of any accident, send for them both, and endeavour to make his time quiet by employing them jointly; and that this coolness to Fox was much increased by Mrs. Fitz Herbert, who never would forgive his public declaration on her subject in the House of Commons, and had taken every opportunity of alienating the Prince's mind from him.

"This passed in August last. And, two days ago, FitzGibbon talking with me on the King's health, and the possible event of his demise, repeated to me the same story almost word for word, which he had from A. St. Leger in September last; and you will observe that he could know nothing of the other conversation. This makes me think such a proposal possible: and, if it is made, I think it will be the most unpleasant and the most difficult of all situations; for I do not think that Mr. Pitt can refuse it, *if they leave him his present employment*. To this however I think Fox will not consent, and upon that question it may turn; but if it should be possible that Mr. Pitt should go on, I must desire most explicitly to renounce all idea of continuing in Ireland or in any public situation, *unless such continuance is bonâ fide an object to him and to his situation*; assuring him always that my warmest support and affections will ever be with him. Yours is a different situation; and perhaps Pitt himself would hardly think himself safe with any persons in Ministry who might dare to propose your exclusion as a preliminary; and in proportion as my retirement facilitates arrangements, I should expect that your's should be considered. So much on the very doubtful, and, I may say, very desperate project of a coalition.

"If the Prince dismisses us all immediately, we need not give ourselves much uneasiness as to the mode of doing it. If Pitt should be compelled by circumstances to try a coalition, and should fail, (losing however as he would in such a trial many of his friends,) I desire to be understood to have no choice but that of steadily supporting you in the object nearest your heart, I mean the support of him out of office, who, I verily believe, is (in office) the honestest Minister we ever saw. And you will observe that, in every thing which I have said, I have always presumed that your ideas and Pitt's are not likely to vary; which indeed, from many circumstances, I should suppose impossible. If the situation of things should drive Pitt to a resignation, or rather a refusal to continue, you will, of course, notify to the ostensible and proper person, whoever he may be, that though I cannot think my continuance in Ireland can even be wished for, yet I desire that it may be understood that I have commissioned you to resign my government for me; assuring them however that I wish to put it into the hands of my successor with every possible advantage, and with every degree of temper and good faith. I write most unconnectedly, for Hamilton and Fremantle are writing at my elbow. Fitz-Herbert is not in town. I have sent for him, and we must take some immediate steps to meet the question of a demise, which operates very differently in the two kingdoms. In this, *all* commissions except those for life, and mine under the great Seal of England, are *void*; at least, this was Fitz-Gibbon's opinion, which he gave me yesterday. You will see that I must be prepared with legal and other advice for carrying on the Government, and for obviating any of the many possible inconveniences of our present situation; for I think it probable that, in almost any contingency, Ireland must necessarily be forgot. It is now too late to think of any concealment on the subject here, where the King's health has been universally given up for some days past. I do not however think myself at liberty, from the style of Lord Sydney's letter, to avow more than the great uncertainty of the King's health.

"As to Buckinghamshire, I cannot pretend to foresee one half of what must occur; and, on that point, I must trust your discretion in the fullest extent; premising that I think it highly inexpedient to give up the contest, which I should be much more inclined to fight for you in opposition, than in government. Of a junction in the way of compromise you must decide; I should feel no difficulty in doing it with Lord Verney, but much with Lord Titchfield, and more with Sir J. Aubrey, of whom I will not hear. Walcot brought me over eight days ago a most civil message from young *Dashwood*! professing violent regard and *support*, and declaring that, on my return, he will immediately visit me, and attach himself to me. I do not know how far this event may change his tone, but you will avail yourself of it if it originates (as I suspect) in an indisposition to the Duke of Portland or Lord Titchfield, which probably is the case, as he was loud in Pitt's praise. At Buckingham, J. Grenville will be returned, of course with you, in order to keep it open, and to *secure* you, my nearest object; at St. Mawes, Sir W. Young and Lieutenant-Colonel G. Nugent. You should see George Nugent, if the event has happened when you receive this, and inform him of my intention of electing him instead of Edmund, on account of the latter's ill-health; and R. Grenville would be under great difficulties with his royal master. In the supposition that you can open for him at Buckingham, I will elect Lord Mornington, unless he has any opening elsewhere for a small sum; in which case I conclude

he will not press upon my friendship. You will send Camplin down to St. Mawes with Colonel Nugent, who is an elector, and Sir W. Young, in order to settle that election.

"I have hitherto found the post safe, but all this is too important to be risked; you will therefore send me the detail of what I fear must have happened, and the subsequent negotiations, by this messenger, who will wait your orders. I detain the English messenger, as I know not how soon I may again be to write to you. . . . Since writing this, I think it better to elect J. Grenville and G. Nugent for Buckingham, and Sir W. Young and you at St. Mawes. If you succeed for the county, you may then open for Mornington; or if he is elected elsewhere, you will open for E. Nugent or some other person."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, in London.

1788, November 12. [Dublin Castle.]—"I have just received your letter of the 8th, which is, if any thing, more distressing than the account of the preceding night. It is indeed most extraordinary that the death of the King, to which we of course never could look but as the most calamitous event, should appear light compared with the scene which threatens us. I have considered yesterday very fully the idea which you threw out on the subject of a Regency as affecting Great Britain, and as immediately affecting Ireland. In this kingdom no immediate difficulty can occur, for we are prorogued to the 20th January; and, if we were not, I am competent to every act of kingly power which may be necessary to keep the executive department perfect, till our Parliament should interfere; but in what manner *that* is ultimately to be done must be very doubtful, until we see your proceedings; and, on that head, I do not see a single ray of light. The Resolution precedent surely can hardly give you the principle on which you would proceed; and I can see the most tremendous consequences from the admission of the idea of a Convention, or of its proceedings. That which appears the least likely to risk the security of the country seems to be a commission, to be signed by the King, authorizing the Prince to sign papers and instruments in the King's name, during his illness; and such a solution would surely fall in so much with the wishes of the country, that it would not be disputed. King William signed the commission for the royal assent to his three last acts, with what the French call a *griffe*; and surely if the state of the illness justified the medical people in declaring that there existed no chance of such a crisis as might immediately tend to the restoration of the King's health, this would save all constitutional questions, till Parliament could meet and pass an Act explaining all necessary powers, to which the royal assent might be given by commission, signed by the Prince, in consequence of the King's general power to him. But even under these, or any other circumstances, I foresee infinite difficulties in wording any law or declaration of power, which, by our Constitution, must revert to the King, whenever he shall be competent to exercise it; and of that competence who shall judge? I have some faint ideas (but have no books to turn to) that Queen Elizabeth's name was put to such a commission; Queen Anne's consent was undoubtedly never given, but only supposed, to the staff of Treasurer which the Duke of Shrewsbury brought out of her bedchamber, and you well remember, in that case, the assumption and exercise of power by the Privy Council. On all this I do not pretend to build any system which can meet our present calamitous question, and possibly, before this reaches you, Providence

may have relieved us from it; but, in all events, I could not refrain from giving you these incoherent ideas.

"In case of a demise, I now see my way clearly as to its operation in Ireland; but you would be astonished at the difficulties which I have found in the want of information in either of the three, Lord Earlsfort, Fitz-Gibbon, and Foster, whom I have consulted. It now seems clear that all offices are by the British Act of Queen Anne (legalized by Yelverton's Bill) held over for six months.

"Our Parliament is not guided by that Bill, but by an Irish Act 1st George 2nd, chapter 7. It meets at [the end of] its prorogation, and sets for six months unless dissolved; and the same Act continues all duties for six months from the demise. *Nota Bene*.—Our money Bill expires March 25th. The Privy Council seems dissolved, and certainly is not provided for by this Irish Bill, which was meant to correct the English Act of Anne as to its operation in Ireland; but the practice in 1714, 1727, and 1760, has been to consider it as held on, and, by that precedent, we should abide. It is likewise held by practice, and by Tisdall's opinion, that the old establishment exists, and payments were made under it until a new establishment is transmitted.

"All this discussion is necessary, for, in whatever hands the government of Ireland is placed, it is necessary for me to advise the immediate dissolution of the Parliament, if a demise should take place. This step is most earnestly pressed by Primate Stone in 1760, in four days after he had notice of the King's death; and was instantly approved by the Cabinet, and carried into execution. Our canvass was already begun in some counties; and the actual *death* of the King is so much believed that others will be canvassed probably by this night's post; and who or whatever is Lord Lieutenant, will never meet the old Parliament in such circumstances. I mention all this [that] you may know what has occurred to me, but without the slightest idea that I shall remain here to meet it; for, on reconsidering the question over and over, I am persuaded that, though the Prince will negotiate, yet it must fail; at the same time the *two persons* whom I quoted in my last letter are positive, from their informations, that the Prince is in earnest in his wishes to retain Pitt.

"Sheridan has just left me, having come to me to inform me, from *his letters*, that the King was at 7 o'clock on Saturday night everything that could be most desperate. I directed him to examine the office for any thing which might remain unanswered, as I would wish in such a moment to clear it. He told me that he knew what that order must mean, but that he wished I would allow him to say that he had every hope that a negotiation might take place which might include Pitt and Fox; and, in the course of conversation, he said that he was convinced that the latter had always looked to this idea on such an emergency. I said that I could not see how they were to adjust the very first step of the Treasury, to which he said that he had no idea that there would be a thought of proposing to Pitt to quit it. All this may be nonsense, but it seems very particular that the information should so officiously be pressed upon me. Corry came to me with a note to him from General Garth, of the 7th, stating very authentically the progress and situation of the illness, and the delirium, and the chance of the permanent lunacy. He tells me that he is convinced from long observation, that the Prince will negotiate, and will force Fox to take the seals, and to leave Pitt in the Treasury. He tells me, (and he is very good authority, but must not be committed) that the Duchess of Cumberland hates Fox, and that she will labour to turn the Prince's

mind to Pitt. I look upon his information as very material, for I have the highest opinion of his observation and his abilities, and he is most confident."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, in London.

1788, November 13. [Dublin Castle.]—"I cannot express to you the satisfaction which I feel in receiving so constantly from you, the very attentive and very detailed communications which alone enable me to support my bitter anxiety. Yours of Sunday arrived this morning, and though I have very little to say, I return the messenger that you may know that I have received it. I think I collect from it the probability, amounting almost to certainty, that the insanity is fixed. I can hardly expect any thing from the miraculous idea of a sudden restoration of the reason; and the little observation which occurs to every one in private life, hardly gives an instance of a recovery from water on the brain, or from ossification. The disorder is notorious in Dublin; several letters have been received and put into my hands with details as circumstantial, and almost as well authenticated (for they quote Warren, Baker, and Dundass the apothecary) of the perfect insanity, and the probable restoration of the bodily faculties without those of the mind. I cannot find that the minds of men seem prepared for any step as to the Regency, nor has it been mentioned in more than one of the letters which I have seen. In these circumstances I have thought it advisable to let the common Office correspondence go on, as the suppression of it would only give strength to an idea, much in circulation here, that the King is dead. You will mention this to Pitt, and to Lord Sydney, that they may not be surprised at receiving them in such circumstances. The question of the Regency seems every moment more difficult to me. I cannot conceive how it can be brought to conclusion without hazarding some of the most essential points of our Constitution, and the limitation of such a guardianship seems of all points the most difficult. Perhaps the resumption of the Regal power might be allowed in the Bill, whenever His Majesty, personally present in his Parliament, shall signify his intention of doing so, and the two Houses shall, in consequence of it, address His Majesty to resume the exercise of it. The evidence of the imbecility must rest on the same ground as the birth of the Prince of Wales and his brothers, the evidence of the great officers who were present; and to this, the testimony of the medical people must clearly be added.

"I again repeat that in this kingdom no difficulty can occur. The famous Irish Act of Henry the 7th pledges Ireland to acknowledge as her sovereign the Prince who shall be King *de facto* in England; and the spirit of it would apply equally to the Regency; and, in all events, I can by my commission prorogue the Parliament from the 20th of January, if it should be necessary, to the 1st of February, without risking the money and mutiny Bills, which expire on the 25 March. Long before that day, the die will be cast, and I shall be only anxious to leave the government with credit, temper, and moderation; and to put it honestly into such hands as the Prince will direct. Some difficulty will occur on the revocation of my commission, which Lord Earlsfort and Fitz-Gibbon think can only be recalled by a Regent, acknowledged as such by Irish Act of Parliament, under which my commission is enrolled in our Chancery. But, I have suggested the solution, which you will keep in mind, of appointing any person the Prince may name the Lord Deputy or Lord Justices in my absence;

and I can then, when in England *avoid* my patent, in which case, by my law of last year, a new appointment will take place either by election of the Privy Council *or by nomination of the King*.

"In the mean time I have suspended all business of patronage except that which accidentally falls in my gift, and, till I see further, I decline entering into any engagements; and, indeed, unless I shall be enabled to complete an arrangement which I have had in contemplation, I shall not be able to perform all that I am pledged to. On this head however I am less anxious as the calamity itself cuts short such considerations. Hobart has this day been with me to know how far his business was completed, *for, meaning in all events to push for the English Parliament in case of vacancy, and meaning wherever I am chosen to devote every faculty to Pitt, I can expect no quarter, and shall be turned out of my Irish office*. I give you his own words, and you will state them to Pitt as doing him credit; and, at the same time, you will let me know what you advise me to do on the subject of all these vacant commissions, in the contingency of my removal. The practise has been that the Lord Lieutenant's nomination is always accepted till he leaves Ireland, but, as I would not be supposed to press at such a moment as that for objects unworthy of me, I must be guided by your ideas, for I here I can consult no one."

"Lord Fortescue and Hester put back after eight hours, and are just now sailed again with a very promising wind. If you wish him to attend you will write to him. Yours in cipher I read with the utmost ease.

*Postscript.*

Corry had offered to go to London in hopes of being  
 33.5790969869916462966320679020819260927568909462  
 of  
 90581943792931804823491353665871276'6582478491963481522  
 1656829377466133754045385727875863544135749482455641  
 2645'92'14'90'98'58'61'70'83'17'79'68'96'55'90'92'96'64'23'54'57'40'  
 74'36'."

**The SAME to the SAME.**

1788, November 15. Dublin Castle.—"Three mails, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday the 12th, are just arrived, having held us for three days in the greatest anxiety. Your three letters leave me in the same suspense as to the King's life, but they confirm me in my opinion upon the duration of that insanity which we so much dreaded. I hardly wish, in such a moment, for the prolongation of a life in any other circumstances so valuable, but I am happy to find that Pitt is taking the proper steps for discharging the many duties which must now press upon him. I cannot reconcile my mind to the meeting of the Parliament for the discussion of the Regency, and yet I do not see how the whole of that question can now be avoided; but, as to the limitation of it, and the means of ascertaining that for which I am most anxious, I mean the restitution of the Royal power in case of a recovery, I do not pretend to see any daylight; though I am clear that we shall be the most disgraced of beings if we do not provide for the contingency.

"As to a coalition, and, *a fortiori*, as to the idea of continuance in the service of the Prince Regent, I cannot, for the reasons which I have so often repeated, indulge the shadow of an idea in favour of either of them. I still think that the Prince and Mr. Fox, each for their

separate objects, will wish to begin a negotiation, but it cannot seriously be an object to either of them except upon terms disgraceful to Pitt. As to any offer from Pitt to Fox, I should most warmly deprecate the very thought of it. The difficulties must be innumerable from the moment that such a concession is begun, and the consequent struggle and defeat, a little sooner or later, are equally certain. He may be forced to descend from his very high eminence to a private situation, with dignity and applause, and with the approbation and attachment of his friends; but he never ought voluntarily to kiss the dust by an *offer*, though he may be obliged to hear and entertain a negotiation commanded by the Prince Regent. I cannot describe the anxiety I feel on this head; and I would gladly forfeit part of my own property to secure that which I feel is now our only object as honest men, I mean dignity of character in disgrace equal to the same character in power. I am however sure that Pitt's own wisdom and pride, aided by your feelings, will steer clear of such a disgrace; but I can not help being anxious upon the subject, knowing that there are some in the Cabinet who have always looked to the possibility of such a coalition, and have indeed told me that they wished it; I mean the Duke of Richmond and Lord Camden. Let us recollect the situation of Lord Chatham in 1761, and we shall see a strong lesson upon the subject of a coalition, in his attempt to carry on the government with Lord Bute, the avowed favourite of the King, knowing that the utmost jealousy of him existed both in the Minister and in the Crown. In proportion as the Prince and Mr. Fox will feel themselves bound to attempt a coalition, I feel that the difficulties from public duty encrease; but, at the same time, they give to Mr. Pitt an advantage which his father fancied he could retain, and failed. Much caution is necessary to avoid revolting the minds of individuals and of the public, but I am clear as to the line, if circumstances (of which I cannot judge) do not interfere. But I again repeat our usual Irish declaration of *standing and falling* with him, professing to prefer the latter, even though he should continue in his situation; unless I could find in you such an *official* correspondent as should supply that of which I have so often complained in Lord Sydney.

"Every one here is full of the King's unhappy situation; it is impossible to disguise it, for the information is usually as accurate as mine, and much more circumstantial. I can trace it in some instances to the English Post Office, and Secretary's Offices, and, in one, to Mr. Ponsonby, who is supposed to be most anxious for the result. Every one however believes that the Prince will not venture so far as Regent, on the subject of dismissals, as he would do in case of a demise; but that the exultation of the party is high I well know; for the Abbé O'Beirne, private secretary to the Duke of Portland, has this evening sailed for England, being (as he has told every one) *sent for* on this occasion. All this makes it difficult to avoid speaking on the subject, but the great difficulty is to parry the many *kind* wishes for my continuance, which I always say must depend upon my friends in England.

"I have enclosed to you another cipher which is much more clear to my comprehension, and includes three combinations much wanted, *videlicet*, er, es, or, and the t at the end of 'out' is left out, as I can use the 'ou' so often in other words. The reference to the date of the letter as the index is, I think, very material. If you use it, write Number 2 under the date of your first letter, and, till then, I will keep your old one, but I shall write by this in future.



"As to the question how Ireland will be affected by this unhappy suspension of the executive power in England, and how the appointment of a Regent is to be carried through, so as to accord with the arrangement on that subject to be made by the Parliament of Great Britain when it meets, I have only to refer you to my former correspondence, by which you will see, that I am advised by Lord Earlsfort and the Attorney-General that the incapacity of the King does not attach upon my commission so as to vitiate any of the powers entrusted to me. Those powers are so extensive (as you well know) that the executive government can be carried on in the usual mode, and to the fullest extent, except with respect to the excepted appointments, and to grants for life; the first are very few in number; the latter description is wholly out of the question. The signature of the King is necessary for issues of money not included in the establishments; but those issues have generally been made by the order of the Lord Lieutenant, and have been included in two or three sweeping King's letters, which have authorized the warrants many months after they have been paid. Upon the most attentive consideration of this question, assisted in it by Hamilton, I can safely say that it is perfectly easy to carry on the government of this kingdom by the powers given to me, without the intervention of the Crown till the 20th January, when the Parliament meets. It will, undoubtedly, be my duty to obey such orders as I may receive from time to time from the Prince Regent; but those orders, even if they came directly from His Majesty, are never quoted in the forms of this government, and, therefore, any deviation from the constitutional practise would (unless called for by any unforeseen circumstance) be unnecessary. Whatever notification is made to the two Houses in England by the King's servants of the state of His Majesty's health, might be constitutionally made by me from the throne, or by message, and there could be no doubt that the same steps would be adopted. It would, however, be necessary that the medical depositions, which cannot be here given *visâ voce*, should be authenticated to me under the Great Seal of England, in order that they may be here enrolled, and the proceedings of the two Houses would come to me from the Secretary's Office; but it is most clear to every one whom I have consulted, that there does not exist in the Crown or Government the power of calling our Parliament together before the day of its prorogation; and, in truth, I cannot see to what purpose it would be wished to risk a violent measure which, I again repeat, is not called for.

"It is fitting that I should caution you on one subject which these lawyers and others have suggested to me, and that is, the inexpediency of revoking my commission before the Parliamentary recognition which we have discussed. That commission has always, by practise, been enrolled in our court of Chancery; but as the whole of the important question of that enrolment, and of its powers, depends on practise, they earnestly deprecate any innovation which might bring forward a discussion of it, and might be attended with the most serious consequences to the British Government. You will observe that such a measure would involve, in some degree, the question of the independence of this kingdom from English legislation, if I were recalled before the revoking power was here recognised; and I have the less difficulty in stating this, as I have the power, in my commission, of appointing under the Great Seal of Ireland a Lord Deputy or Justices; and I need not say that I should be ready to execute it in favour of such person as His Royal Highness should command me. Under that commission the Parliament may be opened,

and, as soon as the recognition is passed in form, my commission may then be revoked. I mention this as a simpler mode than that which I suggested in my last letter, of an avoidance and a subsequent election under the act of last year; for, a subsequent *appointment* from England would be liable to the same objection. I again repeat that the assumption of the power of calling the two Houses together before their time, cannot be made by any quarter on your side of the water, and certainly would revolt much even if it could be attempted by the Lord Lieutenant in Council; and if it were *necessary* that a proclamation must issue for that purpose, it would be wiser that the Lord Lieutenant *alone* should issue it; but I deprecate both.

"Pray enquire from Barnard how stands the state of the application to the Treasury on the subject of my father's balances. You will not wonder that I am most *anxious indeed* to have that settled; and I trust you will not omit whatever is right, and possible.

"Many thanks for your care about my Somerset law-suit. I have written to you about the key.

"No one sees my letters to or from you. I read to Fitz-Herbert the *narrative* of your correspondence only.

"I cannot say what real comfort your letters give me in such a moment. I conceive your adjournment will be for eight or ten days; and, even if you proceed by address without the form of Bill, we cannot hear of that event till the 7th or 8th December. But as some daylight may appear before that, I wish to know what your ideas are from day to day, for I long very much to send my wife over to England, and she must set out the 2nd or 3rd or determine to lie in where she is; and as I would not leave her, you will judge my anxiety. Pray take care, in *any contingency*, that Her Grace of Gordon may be apprized of my intention to pull down my house immediately, and let me know when her year expires; in truth I may wish to inhabit it, or, if I remain here, I shall rebuild it."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, in London.

1788, November 18. [Dublin Castle.]—"Your long letter of the 13th reached me this morning, as did yours of the 14th some hours earlier; in fact the winds are so uncertain at this season of the year that such an accident is not extraordinary. I will not describe to you the satisfaction which I feel at the perusal of that which you have so kindly detailed; every idea there stated seems so perfectly to have agreed with those which I had framed; and every wish for the personal character of those with whom I am embarked in every bond of affection and esteem, seems likely to be most amply gratified. To Providence alone we must commit the life of the King; but the prospects which the return of his reason on the 13th has given, are, in any contingency, all that we could hope whether the disorder terminates with his life, or whether it ends as we all pray it may. From the language of those who build upon the change, (and you know that there are some of that description in this kingdom,) I still think the negotiation will be tried; but I agree with you in thinking that good faith will form no part of the basis of such an attempt; and, if I earnestly deprecated it, for the reasons which I gave you, when I thought his reason desperate, you will guess what I must now feel, and how strongly I admit your arguments against such an union, in the contingency of the permanent or even temporary return of the King's reason. Every word is

unanswerable, and from that ground you can never be beat with disgrace, though it must end in the loss of situation.

"As to the question of the powers proposed to be given by a Regency, I have long since thought the Regency Bill of 1765 excusable only by the particular situation of my father as Minister at that period; for it is impossible to reconcile to the real respect and opinion which we entertain for his virtues and abilities, a measure so little likely to answer any good, and so certain of producing every evil purpose either of a weak or wicked Regent or Minister. Yet such, I agree, has been the system of every Regency which our annals hold forth; and the consequence of them has been uniform, till the struggle had ultimately vested in some individual the power which he was intended only to share. If the annexation of the control of the Cabinet for the time being is likely to assist in putting the Regal power into the hands of the King, in case he should again wish to exercise it, and is competent to it, I should agree to it; but of this consequence I have much doubt, and I see much more to apprehend from the dominion which such an arrangement would give to Mr. Fox over the Regent, than to hope from the facility which it might, in any shape, give to the King to reassume the government. I speak, however, without having the opportunity of conversing on the reasoning, and therefore may possibly have missed the pit [pith?] of your argument. As to the powers which you wish to limit to the Regent, I think that they stand on different grounds. The restriction on grants for life would, I think, be supported to great advantage, and is one great security against such a monopoly of Royalty as I am convinced would be attempted by Mr. Fox, both against the King and against the Prince; and on that ground you are firm. The restriction on creations is I think more questionable, for a creation (and still less an advancement in the Peerage) gives so little permanency to a system of government, that I confess I do not think such an argument would bear you out; and perhaps Pitt's strongest ground with the public is not exactly on this subject, where he has laid himself very open; and he would be supposed by such a manœuvre to secure to himself the majority of that House, whose doors he would now close, after having for his purposes thrown them so open; and by this very act he would incur an imputation which I am convinced he least deserves, and against which he seems so professedly to guard.

"The restriction on a dissolution of Parliament is perhaps the most important and the most questionable. I see that you are aware of the possible imputations, and of the real difficulties attending it; and you seem to modify that difficulty in your own mind by limiting that restriction solely to the present Parliament. On this subject I differ with you; for I contend, either that you must leave the power as absolute and unconfined in the Regent as in the King, and, in that case, you take from the King the power of waking from his dream again to the exercise of his power, or his opinions, (for you suppose the majority of the House of Commons secured by this means to Mr. Fox;) or you must meet the imputation, and assign reasons boldly for not trusting to the Prince a discretion which would force from the King the means of resumption, either of his servants or his measures, supposing either changed. If we add to this, the advantage with which Pitt would be heard on this head, in a House which has two years' lease to come, I think he need be very little in pain for the result; and he would lead Mr. Fox into a serious difficulty with very many of his own friends, and clearly so with the body of the House.

"I forgot to add upon the subject of peerages, ridiculous as it would appear, the Government in Ireland could not go on without the means of moving commoners into the House of Lords; and in that House we should be beat on the first questions for want of influence, if that only channel of control was taken from us. These opinions you know are not new, and if our Bills are to be the same, they should be well considered as to their operation in both kingdoms. I am alarmed at one part of your letter in which you express your doubt, or rather the doubts of some other persons, upon the necessity of such a Bill in Ireland. I need only refer you to the restrictions now proposed, or to any of them, and I will ask how it is possible to enforce them here but by Irish laws? and how it would be possible to convince Mr. Grattan that this is not a direct resumption of internal legislation, if the restriction under the British law could be valid. That part of your letter which supposes a direction to the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland to assemble the Houses, must likewise, for the reasons which I gave you two mails since, be given up; for it would be impossible for the Council (I do not say for me) to obey such an order, coming from a power not recognized, directing them to do an act in itself illegal, and unjustifiable to my ideas by any urgency of the case, which, I again repeat, does not call for the same *immediate* provisions as in Great Britain, where there can be no *legal executive power*. These opinions are warmly supported here, and should be very well weighed with great allowance for Irish prejudice; but whatever becomes of the question of Pitt or Fox, let me implore you to take care that I am clearly understood to wish to put the government *legally* into any hands who may be named to me by the Prince; but, long before I open the Parliament, I must know fully the ground on which I stand; for you will not be surprised at my declining to take any steps in the present moment, except for the very ordinary purposes of government.

"After all this detail, you will be surprised at an idea which is discussed here, and to which (I cannot trace with what foundation) Lord Loughborough's name is affixed; that no Bill and no provisions are necessary, for that the Prince of Wales is *ipso facto* Regent with kingly power, in the same way as the King is guardian towards a subject from the moment that the lunacy is established; that the Chancery power, in the latter instance, is part of the Royal prerogative; and that the spirit of the case must vest the same power as fully in the Prince, as guardian to his ward. I do not mean to say any thing on this silly argument, except that I am surprised to find that it has been in circulation, with the name above quoted affixed to it; and that it is held particularly by those who are most interested in seeing such an arrangement. You have little idea how exactly every part of the King's case is known in this town, and how offensively indiscreet the language of Mr. Ponsonby and the Duke of Portland's immediate friends has been. I should not however have quoted that story if I had seen in any of your letters any intimation of this language.

"The partial or momentary return of the King's reason will, of course, retard the opinions of the medical people, and your consequent proceedings. This will probably delay the official communication of the actual Bill to me till the 15th of December; and, with the necessary lapse of time between London and Dublin, I do not think any thing could be done till the 20th; and you see how near that period comes (allowing fifteen days' notice) to our actual prorogation. Admitting, therefore, that much should be risked for the sake of a great measure, I do not think that the gain of ten days could be considered as so material an object.

"I have now put upon paper, very vaguely, the ideas which have occurred to me on your very interesting dispatch. I am so much worried by the anxiety of others, added to my own, that I have very little the means of weighing all this coolly, and I am so often interrupted that I write less collectedly than I should; but I should not deserve Pitt's regards and yours if I did not state all that occurs to me. Do not let Pitt write an answer to my letter, for, from the moment that he is satisfied of my affectionate attachment to him, it is unnecessary to press upon his time; and I am equally sure that he will be as jealous of my fair fame as I can be of his. The situation and the moment are to him most critical; but I am persuaded that the ground will be cleared to him by the intemperance of those with whom he will have to deal; and though the experiment will, I fear, cost dearly to the country, I have no doubt of the ultimate event, and at no very distant period. I trust to your constant communications, which are indeed invaluable."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, in London.

1788, November 21. Dublin Castle.—"Your accounts of the 16th and of the 17th are just arrived, and have, to a degree, damped much of the sanguine expectations which the Saturday's mail had given us. I cannot describe to you the interest which all ranks take in the news of the day, and the enthusiasm with which the accounts of the amendment were received. Some speculations have, as you will naturally expect, been formed; but the cry of the public has discouraged them very much. I have found no reason to depart from the opinion which I gave you of the propriety of communicating your Parliamentary measure to us, and of the mode in which the same measure may be conducted here; and I can see much jealousy rising from my silence on this subject, which leads some persons to imagine that no step is to be taken by the Legislature of this kingdom. I foresee a question of considerable difficulty, upon which I wish your opinion.

New cipher.

"In case you are turned out as

3517877642927477533928'93'36'46'79'43'347925409917877319377993  
473231494454' 2796606237471216361463911436965949893527385887  
596923254699961238704045717042472512657763481579276461361513  
278179736382174123486480412872147950996663807312687840483262  
2573757'6775482740835080383530373087577573842466354395482836

56

533912748785536275928424837175984764157' 56389764872458909827  
246524986051143394692718967559967373752037295663301396905928  
164861362137932366291921669175729435924496878461261924941592  
212568392356

"Pray believe me most sensible to your kindness, in your constant letters, which are invaluable. Your last cipher is peculiarly interesting, but I wrote you my opinion on the subject of the points which you wish to retain."

The SAME to the SAME.

1788, November 23. Dublin Castle.—"I had intended to delay writing to you on a subject which must be attended to, till tomorrow;

but the bad account which reached me last night of the encrease of the King's fever on Wednesday, added to the private letters of that date which speak most unfavourably of him, have determined me to lose no time in communicating to you the very confidential conversations which I have had with Fitz-Gibbon, on Friday and yesterday. His information is uniformly good on the subject of the King, and upon the news of the day; he still tells me that the Prince will certainly negotiate, but that he does not think him in earnest in wishing for a coalition, except for his private ease; and he confirms most strongly the account of the steps which Sheridan has taken to secure his personal ground, and the jealousy which this has given to the rest of the party, of two of whom, the Duke of Portland and Burke, the Prince has spoken unfavourably within the last ten days. Notwithstanding this, Fitz-Gibbon has no doubt but that he will dismiss us, if the coalition is impracticable. This he says will depend upon Fox; and the idea of some of that party is that Fox will lean to it *bonâ fide*; and that, if Pitt lends himself to it in any degree, he will find Fox by many degrees the most conciliating of the party. I did not, as you will easily believe, tell him that I thought it impossible for Pitt to lend himself to such a coalition, while the King lives; to whom he is so strongly pledged, by every tie of duty and promise, to keep that party out of his Government; but, as it is possible that the Regency may be out of the question by the King's death, I thought it advisable that you should know this language which, in case of a demise, is worth attention. He would not give up the name of his correspondent, but I am pretty sure that it is Anthony St. Leger. In the course of this conversation, I was much surprised to find that he knew of Pitt's communication to the Prince of the intention of adjourning the Parliament, and of the Prince's *cautious answer, which pledged him to nothing except the acquiescence in a short adjournment*; but I now find that this is very generally known, and, indeed, so is every possible event of the King's illness; and many questions on the subject of a Regency of the most delicate kind. Judge however my surprise at hearing from him *in toto*, and from General Cuninghame in part, the whole subject which you have handled with so much caution, I mean the limitations of the Regency, which, he says, are intended by Government; and that intention known (as he believes) to the Prince. He mentioned to me the idea of preventing the dissolution of Parliament and the creation of peers, and he argued much upon both of these questions. I professed not to have an idea of the precise intentions of Mr. Pitt on this great subject; but admitted that it was probable that, in turning over the various means for securing to the King the resumption of his power whenever he should be competent to it, these or other precautions might have occurred; but that I had no reason to believe his mind at all made up on the subject; and that, indeed, I thought I could say decidedly, that his ideas were only settled to the general object of giving an executive government to the country as soon as possible, and of securing to the King the resumption of it. He leant strongly to the idea of preventing this or any future dissolution, and talked very much of the impossibility of Irish government going on without creations. On the first point, I am convinced, upon reflection, that we shall ultimately gain more, and the country will be more quiet by an immediate than by a future natural dissolution; but I think the question of creations is more delicate in Great Britain; and, in this kingdom, I know, the inconveniences where we have no seats, and no means of purchasing, will be very serious in conducting business in the House of Commons; and, in

the House of Lords, where we have no patronage, the bar to promotion will cut from us almost the only influence which we have over them.

"All this was matter of conversation, but he led me to the legal question, which he told me is now much talked over at the Bar, of the possibility of binding Ireland by the act of your Convention; and he desired me to understand most explicitly from him, and from Wolfe, that they would not for a moment support the legality of any Act, vote, or measure, of such a Convention as attaching on Ireland; nor the legality, or propriety, of naming Ireland in such a declaration; and desired me to believe them both the firmest friends and servants of English government, but unable to stand one moment on such ground. Lord Earlsfort had held to me the same language. I must therefore entreat you to state all this most fully to Pitt; and to state to him, on the same opinions, the impossibility of assembling the Parliament sooner than the 20 January; and the same impossibility of admitting any grant, King's letter, or commission, signed by any substitute for the King's name, until that power shall have been here recognized. He desired me to state, most fully, their opinion that my commission must remain in full force till it can be revoked by such power, so recognised; and assured me that the 12 judges would agree upon the illegality of meeting the Parliament by any powers save those in my commission, by myself or *my Lord Deputy or Justices*. All this I state to you, (though I have explained much of it before,) because I think it most necessary that Pitt should be very cautious on these heads; and, with the same view, I wish to send to Lord Sydney's office the enclosed letter, that, in case of any immediate dismissal on the passing the Regency, or on a demise, and of any improper measure adopted towards Ireland by the new counsellors, it may remain as exculpatory to me. I have, however, enclosed it to you that Pitt may see it; and, if any very unforeseen objection arises, you will in that case detain it, and return the messenger to me with your reasons; but I can hardly foresee any which can arise. FitzHerbert has, of course, seen it, and he is very anxious for its appearance in Lord Sydney's office.

"General Cuninghame shewed me two letters; one of them, I knew by the hand-writing, from Sir William Faucitt, (but he would not name him,) informing him of the idea of a limited Regency on the points of dissolution and creations; and I found by the General's language that he conceived such an idea to be in contemplation, and to mean to enforce upon the Prince his father's servants for ever. I disclaimed any knowledge of your plans, but pledged myself that such an idea of forcing on the Prince, as Regent, his father's servants, never had occurred to Pitt; but I think I saw an inclination to turn to the rising sun. He wished to stay till Thursday, and I recommended him to state this to Pitt, and to go on that day, which probably will be time enough. I shall, I trust, hear from you before I can get an answer to this, with an account (detailed if it is to be proposed in the same form to the Irish Parliament) of the measure to be taken by your Convention, in case the lunacy should be satisfactorily established; and, as you will be much engaged during the debates, you will keep Bernard constantly employed in giving me the quickest news. If you have no immediate demand for a messenger, you may as well keep Dawes, who brings this, with you; for, except on emergencies, the mail comes nearly as quick, and your ciphers are very intelligible.

"You think, by your letters, that my apprehensions are quicker than yours. Perhaps they may, but I write what always occurs to me on the worst side of the picture, as I wish you should know my opinions

on the events which may require immediate steps. But, surely, *non progredi, est regredi* either to the question of his life, or his sanity of mind. I think the alarm in this kingdom encreases from the language and conduct of Ponsonby, who hopes to rule, and (if so) with a rod of iron."

"Your long letter of Thursday the 20th is just arrived. I argue very gloomily from the detailed account which you give of the King's health of body and weakness of mind. I forgot to tell you that a letter is quoted here from Dr. Warren to the Bishop of Bangor, pledging the same opinion which you have mentioned; and the medical people here all agree, from the accounts received of the King's lunacy, that there is very little chance of recovery from it. Though your adjournment for a fortnight makes the immediate dispatch of a messenger less necessary, yet I cannot but be anxious that the opinions of Fitz-Gibbon and Wolfe, which I verily believe are supported by every lawyer and, indeed, every man in Ireland, should be known before the plan is shewn to the Prince of Wales; and I am equally anxious, as the subject is much agitated here in consequence of the silence which I had observed on the whole question of the Regency, that my official letter should be sealed, and sent to Lord Sydney.

"Pray let me know, *for certain*, whether my house is let to the Duchess of Gordon, which I rather think cannot be, as I received from them a proposal to new paint the whole, and to receive 600 guineas a year for it, from Christmas last, for three years; and to this proposal I have sent no answer."

W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

Private.

1788, November 27. Windsor Castle.—"Lord St——t's conversation was in a manner perfectly friendly, and decided as to the impossibility of doing anything that should preclude the King's returning to the full exercise of his Government. But he seemed to think it possible that proposals of negotiation might be made in such a manner, as it would be difficult altogether to decline, without hazarding a bad impression on the public. At the same time he admitted the weight of the arguments I stated against union. On the whole I believe his opinion to be really undecided and his intentions perfectly fair. He took some pains to convince me that the Chancellor's intentions were the same, but seemed rather surprised at my mentioning the visit of last night, of which he certainly was not apprized before hand.

"The opinion of the physicians, particularly of Dr. Addington, is favorable as to a possibility and even a prospect of recovery, and clear for removing the King as soon as possible to Kew.

"We had a written message from the Prince by the Duke of York. It related to the King's removal, but was so worded as to require a cautious answer. We did not see the Prince."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, London.

1788, December 1. [Dublin Castle].—"Your accounts of the 25 and 26 came together the day before yesterday, and since that time we have had no mail. The King's situation seems to grow more critical, and, yet, if I am to believe very circumstantial accounts from quarters possessed of very good information, hardly a day passes without some return of reason, varying, however, in duration, according to the manner



in which he has passed the night. This intelligence is the same which I mentioned to you originally as good, and I have always found it authentic in this situation. I have very little doubt that this letter will find you adjourned a second time, though the language held by the friends of Mr. Fox in this kingdom show me plainly that it will probably have been opposed; for I have traced to these quarters several assertions that *the King has been insane for several months; that Mr. Pitt concealed it, and would have kept it secret for the purpose of governing without control; and that all the stories of lucid intervals are false, and only calculated to prevent the interference of Parliament; and that the limited Regency is part of the same system.* I give you these reports, and write to you my conclusions upon them, as your question must have come on before this letter can have reached you, or any one else who might be curious upon the subject of our correspondence; though, I must again say, that I have not the slightest jealousy of your Post office; and, of ours, I am confidently sure. The alarm in this country certainly encreases very much, in proportion as the folly of English connexions, or of Irish patriotism suggests to the public the idea of a total and immediate change. (I use your new cipher.)

92 9088 9588 5239 5877 1928 9988 4386 4628 8295 4239 1073 58 1928 94 23

Ponsonby, Yelverton, and others, say this everywhere.

"My ciphered letter, which you could not make out, referred to the same subject in very few words, which I stated to you at length, by the last messenger. I have found the minds of many people so anxious on that subject, that I have been obliged to say openly that no measure taken by the English Parliament will be construed to bind Ireland, till it is recognised here. When I talk of the minds of men, I do not mean clamour, but sober and friendly doubts.

"My wife has at length given up all thoughts of moving to England immediately; we are therefore fixed here till after January for certain; and, as for the rest, I think the events of the last six months are an answer to any speculation. I write this, though in fact it contains nothing, but I am unwilling to let the mail go without thanking you for your constant letters. O'Beirne, the secretary of the Duke of Portland, was going to England, but is stopped, as I believe, by bad health. Bishop Dixon is gone to solicit from Mr. Fox the primacy; this, at least, is the *grave* account of it from his friends. Bernard has heard from me on the subject of my navy accounts, which hang heavy on my mind; and on the subject of a purchase which I am negotiating for W. Fremantle.

"I trust you have recovered from your headach, but I did not like the very crooked and deranged style of your writing. Pray let me know, very particularly, how you are. The leave of absence for little Tomkins is unnecessary, as I can give it, the day before I leave Ireland, for 12 months, which I will take care shall be done. I shall be interrupted in a moment by company; I have therefore only time to ask your advice what I should do in the following improbable contingency—

18865659728994897561211214612619787498695563859316614570852  
223936291872336987830206339786210447415688797764719299878."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, London.

1788, December 2. [Dublin Castle.]—"Your letters of the 27 and 28 are this morning arrived, and I have determined to send back the messenger who arrived here three days ago, particularly as an express lottery boat is arrived, half an hour ago, with a note from the Post-master of Holyhead, by which I find that no messenger had reached that place last night at ten o'clock from London. Your letter tells me that it is now probable that the new system of government must be brought forward on the meeting of Parliament, and that, by the King's present situation, any further adjournment is impracticable. Judge then a little of my situation, who have not yet received the least intimation of the extent or wording of this plan, so as to consider its political or legal effect towards Ireland; and whatever it may be, am now precluded from the means of knowing it, and giving any opinion upon it, before it shall have been actually tendered to Parliament. I had conceived, from various circumstances, that the adjournment was certain, or I should have dispatched Dawes sooner with the letters, which might have reached you (if the wind had served) on Wednesday. In my present state, I can hardly form an idea of your measure; and I feel considerable difficulty in declining conversation upon it with those to whom I must look for support, in case I should be obliged to carry through the same proceedings in Ireland. These reflexions are much roused by the contents of your last letter, as I perfectly agree with you in the conclusion which you draw from the manner in which the Prince of Wales thought proper to negotiate, or rather not to negotiate, with the King's servants on the subject of the removal. This, and the detail of the message through the Duke of York, is arrived in twenty different letters, and is, at this moment, publicly discussed in my waiting room; and it is stated in the London letters as a decisive proof of the Prince of Wales's intentions. If this construction is right, you will see how difficult my situation must be, not prepared by any communication to form an opinion on your plan, and yet, perhaps, liable to be dismissed, or to be called upon to act by the Prince and his Ministers so soon as they shall be enabled, or shall think themselves enabled, by the proceedings of the English Parliament. Fitz-Herbert has letters from town to this purpose, and he is most anxious that we should see our daylight on this point; as he expresses the strongest doubt and unwillingness to meet our Parliament unless it is clear that we are to remain, as he is very jealous that the Ponsonby connexions will endeavour to make any meeting very unpleasant to us. This, you will observe, proceeds on his belief, which he now strongly entertains, that Mr. Pitt will be out of office as soon as the Prince can compass his arrangements; and he fears that we may be left in the very unpleasant situation of appearing to add to the confusion and difficulty by abandoning the government, or, of remaining here after our friends are out of employment in England.

"I have sufficiently stated to you the legal questions and I shall not again revert to them; but you must see that the folly and precipitancy with which the general removal may be made, and the perfect ignorance of Irish politics and law, may put these questions before me at a very short notice; and especially if (as is reported) the forms of a Bill should not be observed in the measure before Parliament. You will wonder to hear me talk of these reports, but you

cannot imagine how very rapidly and generally all these ideas are circulated. But if it should be difficult for me to arrange my ideas in the contingency of a removal, think how much more unpleasant it would be to me to be called upon by Pitt, and by the continuance of our friends in power, to meet and to carry through our sessions of Parliament, without having been yet able to converse upon these very essential points, except in the very loose terms, which I stated to you, of my conversation with Fitz-Gibbon and Lord Earlsfort. Our business is necessarily at a stand; that cannot be helped, but is the natural consequence of our calamitous situation; but I mention it that you may see how severely my situation and credit must be wounded in any contingency, and how requisite it is to both, that I should have the fullest communication, and the longest time for it.

"Your former letters announced to me the idea of a previous communication to the Prince of Wales. This probably had not taken place on Friday last, for you do not speak of it; and, in that case, I do not see how he or the public can be prepared for it on Thursday. Ponsonby amuses himself with very indecent language on the whole subject; and is now very loud on the point of the limitations to the Regent's power, and says that the Prince certainly will not accept of it clogged with any restrictions or council; and that ministry will not dare to propose any other Regent, upon his refusal. I cannot help thinking, as far as I can form any opinion, that on this head you would meet with considerable difficulties, from the prejudices which people entertain of the inherent right of the Prince to the Regency without restriction; and Lord Loughborough is quoted for this opinion, which Sir James Erskine has certainly retailed every where, during his short stay in Dublin. General Cuninghame and he sailed together.

"The wind has been so variable that I wrote the last sheet in the course of the forenoon for the chance of sending it, but that has proved impracticable, and I must be content to wait for the night's tide. You must not accuse me of peevishness in urging so strongly the misery of my situation thus uninformed; but you must recollect how severely any error or omission may operate upon me, and the very short interval which, in one contingency, remains to me. I am, however, much more uneasy at the other possibility of being left here (owing to this question of law) after you are all out; and in that case I must, and will, decide to vest the government in Lord Justices (if they will name them to me) and come away, for every day shews me the impossibility of attempting to meet the Parliament and to confine their proceedings; but, most of all, I dread my continuance unless the Government recovers its consistence, very fully, and in the course of a very few days. I need not, on this head, point out the very great difference of an English and an Irish Government; your own observation and good sense will have suggested the peculiar inconveniences of the latter; and if I could have forgot them, the solicitations of last week would have amply reminded me. This letter will possibly arrive sooner than my letter of last night, written under different impressions, for I could not conceive that the idea of a further adjournment would so soon have been given up. But I can very easily believe that Pitt is less master upon that point than upon any other.

"Bernard wrote me the enclosed letter, very unexpectedly, by which I see that he is probably at Holyhead. I shall write to him by this messenger to re-dispatch him to London, for he may be of great use to me by writing, when you are too much engaged in the House for that purpose; and you must be sensible that every communication must

be most interesting. I enclose his letter that you may see how cruelly I have been used by Rose's carelessness on the subject of my navy accounts. For God's sake exert yourself, and believe me that my office is not worth a hundredth part of the vexation I shall suffer, if this is left incomplete; and, surely, Pitt owes it to me that every thing which is justifiable shall be done, for he never can compensate to the misery I should suffer in being left to the tender mercies of the new Government.

"I have written to Bulkeley to apprise him of the probability of the great questions coming on immediately, but I find that he trusts to your summons. You will of course write to Jemmy; Fortescue will attend if you want him."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, in London.

1788, December 8. [Dublin Castle.]—"Lord Sydney's messenger brought me the copy of the medical examinations, which, I must acknowledge do not seem to me to do much credit to the parties, who (with the exception of Addington) all speak from the experience and information of others. It is, however, very material that Warren, who is quoted as the great Apollo of the party, should be tied down to the heap of nonsense to which he has put his name; and the evidence of the others is highly satisfactory. I agree with you upon the effect which this will produce upon *Messieurs les rats*; but, still, I think that you must necessarily lose by the delay of the distant day to which you have now deferred the battle. In truth, I have no means of judging accurately on that point, and can only argue from the effect which I see produced in this kingdom, by the various publications on the subject which have been circulated from England, and have produced a degree of change in the language of individuals. Your pamphlet arrived at the proper moment for its operation, and I have ordered it to be reprinted at a very cheap rate of sale. I say *your*, for it is not unworthy of you, and some of the phrases and arguments have a most miraculous accord with parts of a very voluminous bundle, for which I every day most warmly thank you. Our violent easterly winds have so often interrupted the sailing of the Irish mail for a week together, that I do not wonder that you complain of our correspondence not having been so well kept up by me.

"My last letter will have shown you my anxiety on the subject of Thursday, on which day I had expected from your accounts that the *final measure* would have been proposed; and I felt much agitated upon it, as I am certainly very deeply responsible for it in this country. The variety of letters which I have written to you will have put you on your guard as to the wording; and, though inconveniences may occur, peculiar to this kingdom, from part of the restrictions which, I understand from your letter of the 2nd, will be proposed, I am certainly too reasonable to entertain an idea of breaking in upon a system from such partial considerations. Your last letter states the form of the proceeding to be by Bill, and, upon that head, I am answered. Many people have conversed with me upon the general idea, and I always profess to have no idea of the measure, except that I can pledge myself that Pitt never will propose a plan which can have the effect of securing his personal situation by vote or Act of Parliament. I have, however, frequently felt the pulse of those to whom I must look, and particularly of Dennis Daly (who, because he is silent on these points had been stated as doubting,) on

the subject of limitations which should secure the resumption of his powers to the King, whenever he wakes. To this he has given me the most satisfactory assurances, that he feels his first allegiance due to the *birthright* of the King; and that he sees and understands the widest difference between the powers suitable to the situation of the Regent during infancy, and a regent during a short insanity; but if this insanity should be declared incurable, or should hold out very little prospect of any cure, or the certainty of one very distant, that, in such a case, he should vote for the fullest regal powers to a sole Regent. I mention this as the idea of a very sensible and a very high authority, and because such an opinion is most essential to me *here*. He has, however, entrusted it to me under seal, and I have kept it from all but Fitz-Herbert.

"Much has been said, in the course of the last three days, upon the subject of a back-game, as it is called, to which Opposition look in this country, in case the proposed limitations are carried in England. Forbes, who is in London, is supposed to have encouraged the idea of carrying in Ireland the unlimited Regency; and I am told (but I cannot ascertain the fact) that Yelverton has not discouraged the idea. Ponsonby's opinion on this I have not heard of late, but I may venture to say, decidedly, that he will do whatever desperation or mischief from England will order him. It has been put to me in this shape, which is one of the difficulties suggested in my last letter to you. The limited Regency Bill will be passed by the 25th December. If the Prince feels the inclination, and has the power, he may make a total change, which will, in that case, be known, and will be in operation in Ireland, by the 10th of January. I shall then be to decide upon my situation; either dismissed by a doubtful power, or wishing to dismiss myself as soon as may be; but, if I should do this, I throw away the only check which could remain upon such an idea or system; and I should be responsible to the King, as a public man and a gentleman, for neglecting to secure for him the same measures of precaution as had been carried in England; and I should be deeply answerable for that which Lord Earlsfort, Fitz-Gibbon, and Daly term the signal of a separation between the two kingdoms. If, under these impressions, I stand on the point of law, refuse to facilitate my dismissal till the Regency Bill is past, and exert all the influence of government by dismissal to carry this point against the directions of the new Cabinet, and against their influence, I certainly run the heavy risk, under such circumstances, of being beat; and, in all events, I commit with the new Government every servant of the Crown who stands by me (and I have reason to think that very few would quit,) and lay the ground for a scene of internal disquiet and opposition, which this country is so little able to bear; and I am to fight such a question with every difficulty that could be thrown in my way by the venality, the rapaciousness, or the treachery of those who would feel the advantage of such a moment.

"Fitz-Herbert advises the throwing up the game, and leaving to the new Lord Lieutenant the disgrace and confusion of such a measure, in which he would still be opposed, most violently, by those whom either good motives or bad could assemble as a party against such a line of separation from Great Britain. But, I own that I feel so strongly the obligation of the trust I hold, that I have paused very much upon the subject; though, in my last letter, I gave you what I thought a decisive resolution against meeting the Parliament in such circumstances. Add to this difficulty, the impossibility of knowing the intentions of the

future Lord Lieutenant on this head, and the consequent imputation of a resistance on a point so very delicate as that of the operation of the new commission, without sufficient grounds to bear me out with the public; for, of course, I can have no means of stipulating for the adoption of the English Regency, or of throwing this charge upon them, if their prudence should have kept the new Government from committing themselves to me on this question. If the Prince should defer the dismissal of Pitt till the whole is complete, there will be less difficulty, for I should, in case of such an attempt, dismiss Mr. Ponsonby, though I knew that the Lord Lieutenant was waiting at the Head to replace me. On the point of law, Lord Earlsfort assures me that there can be no doubt, and that he is prepared to say so if I will call (when the case occurs) for the opinions of the 12 Irish judges; but that he thinks that Yelverton, Kelly, Metge, and Crookshanks will ride off on the point that mine is an English not an Irish commission; and that the Lord Chancellor will possibly avail himself of such an opportunity of returning me the difficulties which I threw in his way in September last. With this detail (not very flattering to our Irish Bench) I am not much tempted to such an appeal, and should, possibly, rather call for the opinions of the English 12, or abide by those of the Attorney and Solicitor General, who have no doubts upon it. But, in all this, I am very undecided; and must press you most earnestly to converse upon the points, as they draw nearer, with Pitt; and let me have your ideas, so that I may frame mine before the question can occur to my decision.

"Some difficulties will arise upon the mode of communicating to Ireland the materials on which we are to proceed. We cannot examine the physicians; we have no records or precedents; and we cannot even have the Bill before us (by any usual channel) which we wish for our guide. I have directed every search to be made, and it appears that, the English laws having always been supposed to operate in Ireland, no communication of the appointment of a Regency by Parliament, or by any other mode, had been made to this kingdom. Those with whom I have conversed state that these communications are now indispensable; and, as the votes of the English Parliament on the repeal of the 6th George 1st, and the Irish proposition are the only cases to which one can refer under the new constitution, they must be followed; and perhaps it would be best that you should, in both Houses, vote that *a copy of the medical report, and of the report of the Committee of precedents, and of the Bill be transmitted by the Speaker of this House to the Lord Sydney, to be communicated to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.* This follows the only species of precedent, namely the communication from the English Council Board to me of their Quarantine Proclamations, and the evidence on which they ground them; but I rather think that you must not order me to lay them before the Parliament of Ireland; however, on that point I will consult further.

"As, upon frequent consideration, it appears to me that your Bill must necessarily vary in some points from ours, I must again implore and re-urge the communication of it immediately; for it is impossible for me to give too close an attention to it, as the idea of this sort of game certainly gains ground, and would be eagerly caught up by every republican, every discontented, and every venal member, added to the weight of the party which is very sure to assist Mr. Fox's views to the utmost. In the circumstances which I state, it is not improbable that I should be beat; in any other I should laugh at any attempt to

give me trouble in Parliament. Grattan is to remain till the questions are over in England, and Yelverton sails by the first mail. The former has (I hear) expressed himself in favour of a sole Regent; the opinions of the latter are too well known to be whatever is suggested to him by the Duke of Portland.

"You must not think me desponding from this picture of difficulties; on the contrary, I would wish and propose to meet them, even if I had little chance of success, rather than appear to desert my trust on such a point; but I am anxious that you should all know and feel that I cannot trifle with such a subject, and that I have foreseen and prepared for it. I have not named Sir J. Parnell, but you should know that he is very determined to run any risk for the preservation of the constitutional connexion which is involved in such a question. Beresford is canvassing in Waterford, but I am *sure* of him. In such a moment Lord Shannon's conduct would be material, and I always dread his wife's influence, which, in the struggle for the chair, turned him against Government. I have not the means of communicating with him till he comes to town. Lord Hillsborough would not join Ponsonby, nor would Lord Loftus. The Duke of Leinster suspects that Ponsonby means to be Master of the Rolls for life, and is very cordial; but his cordiality would be transferred exactly in the proportion in which his mind was secured on that point. As to the rest, with the exception of a few, they would disdain all opinion on the question save the opinion of interest, and would vote exactly as their speculation on the whole subject, or such parts of it as their half-sense could grasp, would enable them. In the mean time, it is unlucky that much patronage must remain open till the discussion of the Regency; as the Ordnance and Stamp Office vacancies, which open many promotions, cannot be entirely concluded till the Irish Regency is passed, so as to enable me to apply for a King's letter to dispose them properly. Commissions for the army may be filled as soon as the English Regency is completed, as they are upon English stamps, and are entered in the English office as well as mine. You will let me know whether you think there is any impropriety in my transmitting them, as, (independently of my public and private wishes) much serious family distress arises from the delay of the usual and settled system of sale. Pray tell Wilberforce that the very moment I saw his wish in Mr. Cramer's exchange, I put it in its proper train; and though his friend gains considerably by it, I was happy in an opportunity of serving him; and, on Saturday last, I signed the warrant, and directed him to write to Wilberforce and *thank him*."

"Your letter of the 6th is just arrived.

"I think Dr. Willis's name and opinion most interesting, but wish that any further examination may have been avoided. I find the impression *here* is more favourable from these examinations, and that our medical people build much hope upon them.

"I forgot to insert in its proper place, that I see, by the late appointments of Regencies, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland is always a member of it. I mention this, not from personal vanity, but from a wish to be enabled to hold out to this country an attention in the Ministry of England to its local interests. But I conclude that it is already provided for, otherwise much clamour will arise on Grattan's favourite point, the want of Irish responsibility!"

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, in London.

1788, December 9. Dublin Castle.—"This will be delivered to you by Captain Edward Nugent, in whose favour I wrote to Mr. Dundass.

His bad fortune unhappily enables me most clearly to take the oaths required by Lord Clive's establishment, and I should, for very many reasons, feel much obliged to you for every facility to the attainment of this object, which is now likely to be his only reward for the very exemplary and distinguished services which he will detail to you from the Company's records. Let me beg you to put him into the proper channel for application on this occasion, as I am warmly interested for him."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, December 13. Dublin Castle.—"Your letter of the 9th was put into my hands about an hour after Bernard left me. I wished very much to have kept him, partly indeed because I may want him for the same reasons as those which induce you to wish him in England; but I feel that he can be so much more useful with you that I have acquiesced. He will state to you a great deal of general observation which I have detailed to him upon my situation, and the state of this kingdom; and much of what I have entrusted to him is an answer to your proposition in your last letter. It is fitting, upon every consideration, that you should know that I cannot think of making myself responsible, in the slightest degree, for any one thing which the Parliament of this kingdom may do if I should meet them *after my friends are dismissed in England*. You must have seen enough of the interested conduct of individuals to know at once the reasons which operate so as to produce the most equivocal, and even the most indecent conduct towards Government in such a moment. No allowances will be made in England for these reasons; and, if the result should be (as I have every reason to believe it would under such circumstances) an absolute defeat, I leave you to judge how perfectly I shall have disgraced myself, and injured that common cause which is for many reasons so dear to me. I again repeat, explicitly, that though almost all the most respectable authorities in the country may be induced to stand by me on the questions of the restrictions, as explained in the pamphlet which I have reprinted, yet, I have *no doubt* that the new Ministry of England would be fully able to divide against me, on such a question, half the servants of Government in Ireland. I must therefore conclude that, by meeting the Parliament, I risk every thing which is most dear to me, with very little, if any, hopes of success; but I again assure you that if it is considered as a point of personal duty to the King, I will put my hand into that fire rather than incur such an imputation. If, on the contrary, I offer to prorogue the Parliament if necessary to the 1st February, which still leaves time for the Money and Mutiny Bills, and to put the government into the hands of any Lord Deputy or Lord Justices who shall be named to me, I shall, by that means, give the means and time for them to meet the Parliament; and I cannot yet persuade myself that they will be so wild and so criminal as to propose to separate the two kingdoms by breaking the only link which holds them together. But, in all cases, the odium and the real danger of such a measure would in that case remain with them, and not with me, who would, in the other alternative, be answerable for what I have not the means of preventing. You know upon the subject the merit which is claimed from having uniformly supported English Government; and you must feel how strongly that sort of reasoning would be urged against me upon such a measure, by those who would mean to court the rising sun.

"I had written thus far when your letter of the 10th arrived. Indeed I should be very ungrateful if I did not acknowledge the very



affectionate attention which you have shewn to me in your constant communication and correspondence; and I have but ill expressed myself if you could conceive that my letter of the 2nd pointed at a charge on you so ungrounded and so unkind. My difficulty *was*, and to a degree *is*, the want of such official communication as I may quote or talk upon with individuals; for I have been very cautious on such information as I gain from you, and have always dreaded speaking on any data except those which I have had from other quarters. My wish for the form of the Bill was founded on the necessity of endeavouring to shape our arrangement accordingly, foreseeing many great difficulties which may arise in debating the subject, though the object (of agreeing with Great Britain) might be the same. Every respectable person with whom I converse confirms me in the assurance that the question is only understood in this kingdom as a personal struggle between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, and that the generality of our House of Commons will only look to the profit which they make upon the decision. Lord Tyrone will certainly stand by us as a *party question* affecting the *King*, and will attend in London, though very ill, if he is summoned. Lord Shannon is, *entre nous*, very much hampered by his persuasion that the King is irrecoverable, and told my informant (whom I can trust) that he owed his peerage to the Duke of Rutland and not to Mr. Pitt, and that his leaning was to the Duke of Devonshire and his friends. Under these circumstances, the application for his proxy which I sent to Castle-martyr last night, will distress him very much, and I am delighted with the difficulty. You will, however, trust all this only to Pitt, but it will prove better than a thousand arguments that I have not an inch of ground to stand upon against the new Government once formed.

"All this makes me pause very much upon writing any letter, which may commit me to His Royal Highness, in an offer to meet the Parliament; for I feel that I can do no good, and that the Government would be infinitely more distressed by throwing upon them the task of proposing a Regency differing from that of England, than by offering our system, and leaving them at liberty to oppose it. Lord Earlsfort and Fitz-Gibbon still stand firm, but I find them entirely unacquainted with the probable temper of the House, and perhaps (though I mean to give them all due merit) part of their firmness is owing to their political situations, which they acknowledge to be desperate with Mr. Fox. These are some few of my cursed difficulties, which are not a little increased by the indifference with which Fitz-Herbert sees them, from an opinion which he has conceived on the subject, differing materially from mine. God forbid that I should suppose he will for a moment deal unfairly by me, but I cannot describe what I suffer from want of confidential intercourse upon points which prey so much upon me. I feel that I do not shrink from my trust, but I would not for the wealth of Ireland meet her Parliament unless the members understood the King to be recovering and Mr. Pitt secure. Beresford told me this morning that he thought this the most unprincipled Parliament he had ever known in Ireland; and, though firm in his professions, begged me not to be the dupe of any one who could propose to me to fight the Prince of Wales and Mr. Fox, in *power*.

"I find the minds of the public much quieted by the pamphlet, but it may be necessary to propose a sort of responsibility in Ireland, (which may agree with your plans,) upon the only part of Irish Government which is material to them, the King's letters for money, which are now grown to a most enormous extent, and which certainly

appear too unlimited. Supposing the power of the Regent to be amenable to a council in Great Britain, Ireland will complain that she has no control over that very material part of her expenditure, and I cannot help thinking that, in any contingency of government of Regent, it might be wise to subject all applications for King's letters for money, made by the Lord Lieutenant, to the check of a countersignature of three out of seven officers to be named for that purpose, the Secretary of State, Chief Secretary, Chancellor of Exchequer, Vice-Treasurer (if resident in Ireland), Deputy-Vice-Treasurer, Teller of Exchequer and Chief Comptroller of Revenue. This idea is not new, for, at this moment, no money warrant can be paid in Council which is not countersigned by the Lord Chancellor, chief Judges, Chancellor of Exchequer, Secretary of State, or Master of the Rolls. The restriction could never operate against a good Government; and it would reconcile the people here to the general idea of a limitation to the Regency, from the prospect which it would hold out of enabling them to make this check perpetual, which, for many reasons *I should very much wish*; though it certainly ought not to be proposed as part of the present measure. I feel that this may shock you at first impression, but I wish you to think it over, for I think that it may be very material; and S. Hamilton, to whom alone I have opened it, sees with me many advantages from it as a permanent regulation, many advantages from it as a temporary arrangement in the spirit of your Bill, and no one inconvenience. You will understand this to extend to applications for King's letters, for pensions during pleasure, grants of leases and of all monies; excepting always grants for life, grants of lands below their value, and grants of monies without services done for them. On this point I have explained myself with Bernard, and must refer you to him, and he will tell you why I am so little sanguine in my expectations from the virtue of our Parliament. I must again repeat that Pitt or Fox are equally uninteresting, and that no testimony will be given by them except to the Minister actually in office.

"Your accounts are, after all, the only solution to which I can look with comfort. They are indeed most prosperous, and will contribute most forcibly to the support of Government; but, if the King should be checked in his recovery, we shall proportionally lose ground. Do not think from this that my Government is weak, for it is the strongest of any yet known; and do not think this defection founded on personal dislike, which I believe is equally unfounded; but such is the nature and temper of our Parliament.

"The accounts from Opposition are wonderfully sanguine; they have pledged themselves to their friends here to dissolve both Parliaments. Sheridan told me that they could not go on with the old one in England, and that the choice of a new one in Ireland would give them a lasting advantage, *which is true*. I do not know whether I told you that Lord Rawdon told me that the armed neutrality would never act with Fox, or support him; he quoted the Duke of Northumberland as having joined them. I found that he supposed Ireland to be His Grace's object. If you can get his support and seats for it in the new Parliament, why not promise him my old shoes, for you will easily think that I will not a third time resume them. . . I do not complain, and least of all of you whose correspondence is my only source of satisfaction; but my mind is sore, and I trust that I have explained what pressed upon it."

## The SAME to the SAME.

1788, December 18. [Dublin Castle.]—"Your letters of Sunday and Monday have arrived this morning by the same mail; the north wind having detained them at Holyhead, while the north-east winds kept Barnard in Dublin exactly a week beyond the time which was fixed for his departure. I mention this, as I would wish you to believe that I would not have detained him where he can be of so little use compared to the services which you can intrust to him in England. His mystery was a desire to save a year's absentee tax, and to avoid his wife's lying in; and for these ridiculous reasons he had left London, proposing not to return!

"My mind leant very much (as you will learn from him) to the idea of a letter of the nature which you propose, and I would have returned it to you by this messenger, but that it struck me that a few hours must put me into possession of the debate of Tuesday, and that the style or rather the turn of it might be affected by the news of that day; and, in all events, I do not see that it can be material to risk these few hours, as you would, in case of any unforeseen termination of the business, always hold yourself at full liberty to make such communication in my name to Lord Stormont, (who has I hear, *avowed* the Home Department,) as may be suggested by the necessity of the moment. I should, for every reason, be too happy to quit this country as soon as you are all dismissed, for every day convinces me of the very great difficulty, and indeed impossibility, of contesting the Irish Regency with the new Ministry when they shall be once seated; and I still think that they would be more embarrassed should they attempt to propose *as Ministers* a different form from that adopted in England. I still *doubt* whether it would be possible for me as a man of honour to propose (in obedience to His Royal Highness's commands) such a new form, if they should be disposed to direct me to open the Parliament, and to recommend it from the throne; for, although I should be justified in point of law, yet I can hardly think it reconcilable to my duty or personal feeling. Upon a point, however, so important, I must wish for advice; for remember that I have not one person here in whom I can trust; but it appears to me that a letter so very general as that which Pitt and you have suggested, certainly pledges me even to that very strong and very interesting extent. The very respectable authority of Lord Thurlow would make me pause upon the law question of my commission, if I could conceive that the lawyers here would admit the principle of the English power of revoking it. Yelverton has, I understand, said that the commission is purely English, and revokable therefore by the operation of English laws. I do not comment upon this new doctrine further than to say, that I believe he will as readily support this doctrine, for the sake of his friends, as Fox would the hereditary claim of the Prince, if it were palatable; but I am anxious to know the English construction of this point, because I feel that it is in England that the question may be agitated more gravely, and because I must, in fact, be amenable for misconduct there, and not here. It has therefore occurred to me that it would be right, if I am intemperately removed, to desire that the opinion of the 12 English judges may be taken upon that point, before the Great Seal is put to the new commission; and, in the mean time, I wish that you would endeavour to learn Thurlow's reasons, and those of Lord Kenyon or any other great lawyer. As to our Irish law I have told you that I do not doubt the opinions of Lord Earlsfort, Fitz-Gibbon, and Wolfe; but, for the opinions of our 12, I would not give a farthing for them in point of weight,

nor would I trust them with such a question. I do not however think that Opposition will venture to stir such a question, if they can by any means avoid it.

"As to your intelligence of the resolution of the Princes of the Blood, it is certainly the language of the party, for Conolly told me that G. Byng had sent him word of it, but I will not believe it till I hear the avowal of it; and whenever that shall have been made in the House of Commons, I shall then think the measure of intemperance nearly full, and shall look for some overt act as the probable consequence of such a corollary to Mr. Fox's claim on behalf of the Prince of Wales.

"Your last invaluable two lines in cipher have removed much of what would otherwise press most heavily on my mind, in such a tremendous alternative; but, *le vin est tiré*. The game is gone far beyond the moment in which forms are sufficiently important to attract the public attention; but, in point of form, I think Pitt's line is clearly the only proper answer to a letter such as you describe to have been sent. *Order* and *require* seem indeed rather premature; and if (as I trust has been) the correspondence should have been introduced into the debate of Tuesday, Mr. Fox's previous question will not stand upon very defensible grounds, after such an apparent *assumption* as these words and the declaration of the joint determination of the 4 Princes seem to infer. The whole of that subject, the assertion of Fox, the threat of Sheridan, and the recantation of both, have lost them many of their coffee-house admirers here. I think that it will have been useful to our objects. Lord Shannon and Lord Tyrone have sent their blank proxies to England, and I have taken care that this proof of their unbounded confidence in Mr. Pitt should be known universally, for the good people of our Parliament certainly look to the conduct of those who are supposed to be deep politicians. The language of the Prince's refusal is very universal; the idea of an offer of the Regency to the Queen or to any of the other 3 Princes has escaped the penetration of most of our *quidnuncs*; but they seem fully determined, in case Pitt is elected *Regent*, to call for the choice of *Lord Charlemont*; such is the nonsense of Dublin. The sense still wishes that England may settle her government before the 20th January, and seem disposed to admit and support my power fully till the new measure shall be taken; but they do not know that, upon an accurate estimate, the Money and Mutiny Bills may be passed in time even if Parliament should be prorogued to the 10th February, which I am ready to do if the British Parliament and His Royal Highness do not agree; and if that should not proceed, it seems wished by the very few with whom I have conversed on those lengths, Lord Earlsfort, Fitz-Gibbon, Parnell, and Daly, that we should meet, that I should be addressed to continue the government, to issue money warrants by the advice of a council of 7, and to pass the Money and Mutiny Bills by vote for 3 months, which should empower me to give the Royal assent to them in case no form of government is settled in England. I trust however that no such difficulty can occur.

"Lord Lifford is arrived, expressing the highest indignation against Mr. Fox's doctrine, and against Lord Loughborough, from whom he supposes it to proceed. He told me of a long visit from that noble lord, who gave as his opinion that a lawyer, to reconcile the *forms* and *essence* of the constitution to the present case, could only abide by one general axiom, that the King never could be *insane*. You will easily see what is meant by that axiom as a legal point; but I do not think it very reconcilable to his new law, but he said *that he had given*

*this as his advice to His Royal Highness.* I have not yet had the means of touching Lord Lifford except on very general points, a wish that Ireland should adopt the same thing as in England, and that we should prorogue if the question was not settled by the 20th. Lord Camden, his Magnus Apollo, must write to him from time to time to keep him steady.

"I wish that you would endeavour to know General Pitt's line of opinion; he is our Commander in Chief, and, in case of any confusion, I must be to decide either to wish him to come over, or to remain in England; and you will see how material it would be that he should return here in a moment of suspense if his opinions are right, of which I can know nothing.

"Ponsonby still canvasses for the chair, and Foster tells me that he has every hope if supported by Government, and none if opposed by the Lord Lieutenant; and in that case he is determined to go into the most violent opposition. Parnell has *entrusted* to me his intention in that case of acting with Foster; so will Fitz-Gibbon, unless they promise him the seals; all this has been specifically stated to me, and I have no doubt that they will so far succeed as to make the country pay bitterly for the ambition of Ponsonby's Whig party, who mean to govern Ireland.

"I do not think that it is right to give them any encouragement; Foster however desired that he might be considered as owing all to Mr. Pitt, as fearing all from Mr. Fox, and determined to fight to the last drop if attacked. I am now winding up my public business, and in a few days shall be prepared to meet the Parliament with the usual Bills, and with the new improvements for various parts of the Revenue Department. Corry and Pakenham transmit to me a report of the state of the Ordnance, and a memoir upon it which, in some shape or other, shall come before the public, and shall be transmitted to England in an official letter as my reason for a new establishment; and I shall be prepared to quit at a week's notice. My wife's situation is, however, so critical, that no *inducement* shall make me leave her till she is in her bed, which she expects in the course of the next three weeks. I mention this to you that you may not be surprised at my remaining here incognito, after my dismissal, till I see her safe."

"Pray request Lord Chatham, as the only naval favour which I will ever ask from him, to make John Talbot (who has passed) a Lieutenant in the navy. I cannot say what I feel for this family; and pray tell him that I would write to him, but that I think your personal request will have more weight."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1788, December 22. Dublin Castle.—"Judge my impatience at having seen so many anxious days pass over without any news of your victory till this morning at eleven o'clock. I know nothing of the effect produced on the friends of Mr. Fox in this kingdom, but from the confidence with which they circulated the number of 250 as the least estimate of their strength; in short any bet would have been offered as late as ten this morning that Mr. Pitt was beat on this question. I shall endeavour before tomorrow night to know more of the reports of Dublin. Your numbers are indeed miraculous, considering the defalcation of Lord Lonsdale, the Duke of Northumberland, and the armed neutrality; the first will I think veer about, the second is to have the Ordnance (as Conolly told me,) and the third will, I fear, oppose on the restrictions; at least I guess so from the letters which

Lord Rawdon writes over here. The letters of Opposition are sanguine to the extreme, and profess to fight every step; but I think that the idea of the Prince's refusal of the Regency, when limited, loses ground very much; but they are still very confident of beating you on the restrictions. The Duke of Leinster is, I think, inclined to stand by us; his brother Lord Robert has much weight with him, and is very warm with us; he is in town, waiting for his Paris appointment, which is not *signed*, and which he understands he is not to have from the new Ministry. So much for the chit-chat.

"As to your questions and advice, I will speak to the doubts upon my commission first, by stating to you that nothing can act more fairly than Fitz-Gibbon; for, upon my stating to him explicitly my wish to refer to him, and to Wolfe, those questions which must arise out of the English appointment of a Regent, and out of a subsequent revocation of my commission, he professed himself fully prepared to consider, and to report in writing his opinions, in order that they might be officially lodged in England. We agreed that the questions should go to several general heads, on different suppositions, whether I can name Lord Deputy or Lord Justices, without directions for the names, *as has been usual?*

"Whether I can quit the realm without licence, *as has been usual?*

"Whether the Regent named, as you propose, can by letters patent revoke and determine my commission?

"Whether the Regent can, by the said letters patent, authorize a Lord Governor to exercise the powers belonging at common law to the said office?

"Whether he can authorize to execute the powers granted by specified statute laws to the *Lord Governor, and not to the Crown?*

"Whether he can authorize to assemble, meet, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve the Parliament?

"Whether the two Houses so met, by a Governor so appointed, are a *Parliament?* *Nota Bene.*—Here our proceedings and yours must vary.

"These questions have occurred to us, and he is gone to consult Wolfe on the wording of them, and on the others which may be necessary; but it is essential to us that we should know explicitly the form which, under your Regency, would be given to the writs or commissions under the Great Seal in the essential parts of them, . in the greeting and the teste. Your resolutions seem to imply by the words *in the name and on the behalf of the King* that the commission will run in the usual form; and if so, much of the doubt will be solved at once; but if *the Prince of Wales, Regent or Custos Regni, sends greeting*, and if the teste is in *his name*, he seems to think that the question will lead to the most essentially dangerous consequences to the peace of both kingdoms. You must therefore lose no time in knowing explicitly how the Bill would operate in these points, for until we know *this*, it will be impossible to frame our queries or answers; and I should not, for very many reasons, wish that any point should be unnecessarily agitated and referred to them, and afterwards sent to Lord Sydney's office. He seemed to think that a commission *not reciting the Regency*, but authenticated by the King's greeting, teste, and seal in the usual form, might revoke my appointment, and might universally be admitted; but of course he desired me not to build upon this, as the idea was entirely new to him, he having hitherto considered it in another point of view. Upon the whole I have no doubt of his firmness, but I should not like our judges, and prefer above all a little of Lord Thurlow's and Lord

Kenyon's law if you could get it for me, which I again beg you to endeavour to do.

"Another very serious question is brought forward by the delay, or rather length of your proceedings : I mean the meeting of our Parliament, now fixed for the 20th January. I have repeatedly written to you to state the very great difficulties and almost impossibility of my agreeing to meet it, except in the contingency of the continuance of Pitt's power. Every day convinces me of this, and I will not repeat the arguments which I have so often used upon it. But having every reason to believe that they mean to remove me as soon as possible, (for so says Mr. Sheridan, *entre nous*, to me,) and thinking that the question of unity of government is safer in the hands of the new Lord Lieutenant than it would be in mine, for the reasons which I explained to you in a former letter, I shall certainly wish to avail myself of any *pont d'or* which they may offer to me, and I wish to give them all the time for such an arrangement which would be consistent with the safety of the kingdom ; and in no case could I, or could any man, be mad enough to meet our mischievous Parliament, before our Government is finally settled. I have conversed with the Lord Chancellor, Lord Earlsfort, Fitz-Gibbon, Forster, and Parnell ; and they all agree on the wisdom of proroguing it for fourteen days more, as soon as it shall be clear to every one that the British measure is not likely to be complete, or the Government under it not likely to be settled by the 20th. I wish you therefore to state all this to Pitt, and let him talk to Lord Thurlow upon it. I cannot state it officially to Lord Sydney, for I have the power to do it, and did it in the course of the summer, and cannot receive on that point directions except in the King's name ; but I much wish to know that they see no objection to it, and that they will support me in doing it. You will observe that a prorogation to the 3rd February leaves 50 days for passing the Money and Mutiny Bills, which are always completed and passed within that period. If things turn out as I calculate in point of time, I shall wish to do this about the 4th or 5th of January.

"You have taken no notice of my questions to you about the means of communicating the illness and the proceedings to the Irish Parliament ! If you do not like the idea of a vote of both Houses directing their Speakers to transmit to me a copy of the reports of their Medical Committee, of their Precedent Committee, of their Resolutions, of their Bill, and of their Resolutions for the Commissions for opening the Parliament and for the Assent ; I should think that they might be officially sent to me from Lord Sydney's office, and the Council examinations should likewise be sent from Lord Camden ; but you must not add any directions in your vote for laying them before the Parliament of Ireland, as that would raise jealousies, which would be avoided by the communication of them by their Lord Lieutenant, in the form of a message. However, pray let me have them from Lord Sydney's office, that I may have some authentic document of them, even they should be extracts from the votes."

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1788, December 30. [Dublin Castle.]—"Yesterday brought us *five* mails, the want of which had left us in a suspense not to be described, arising from the confident insolence of the letters from Mr. Fox's friends in London, and from a story from a Liverpool trader who had made her passage good, and reported 73 majority for Mr. Fox. I had begun to form a paper for communication with Wolfe and FitzGibbon, when

I was interrupted by a claim . . . from my good woman: she . . . was safely delivered of a boy about two o'clock.

"My mind has been too much agitated to allow me to consider the very interesting letter which I this day received from you, or the draft of a speech which you enclosed. I will therefore only say, in general terms, that every one to whom I have spoken thinks it essential to maintain that we meet in *Parliament*, and not in *convention*. My patent states, *And also to summon, and cause to be summoned, and to hold a Parliament according to the laws, statutes, and customs of our kingdom of Ireland, whensoever it shall seem most expedient to you; nevertheless our consent in that behalf, being always first asked and obtained;* and also to prorogue and adjourn the Parliament as often as necessity shall require, and fully to determine, dissolve, and put an end to the same. My instructions state, *you are nevertheless hereby directed and required not to summon a Parliament without our particular directions.*

"All this refers to the first summons or calling a *new Parliament*; the powers of proroguing, adjourning, and dissolving being absolutely left unrestrained by commission or instruction. It is therefore *clear* that on the 20th I may meet, prorogue, or adjourn the *Parliament*, and that no indisposition of the King can make it less a *legal Parliament*; but it happens that Lord Sydney's last official letter on this point gives me the King's pleasure that the Parliament shall be prorogued to the 20th January, *then to meet for the dispatch of business*. But, as attempts may be made to suppose it a convention, I must in the first words of my speech address them as a Parliament, by stating *the King's commands to meet them in Parliament*, and then I may proceed.

"This I have stated as an essential point on which there can be no dispute; but the others are much too important for me to venture to give you any answer yet upon them. I will, however, add that no considerations of personal ease shall interfere on the question of meeting the Parliament; and I trust that Pitt and you will do me the justice of believing that public considerations alone have weighed with me in entertaining the idea of a prorogation. I have not yet found one person *here* who has not warmly pressed it, and who is not fully sensible of the hazard of meeting the Parliament before the English measure is known. But your opinion and Pitt's have great weight with me; not because they have convinced me, for I still differ widely from you, but because I hold it a duty to endeavour to lean to opinions of those so nearly connected with me, as far as my conscience will allow me; but, if I give way, I must stand excused (not to the public, for I will take my share of the burden,) but to you both, and to myself for the consequences.

"As for pledging individuals to the Queen's regency under the general terms which you have mentioned, I must again repeat that, though individuals will pledge themselves loosely to the adoption of the same measures here as in England, yet no pledge of this sort will bind them, if they think that they see a clear interest in the breach of it. My language is that of allegiance being due to the existing Government, and I have held it in very strong terms, so as to imply the penalties on the failure in that allegiance. I have writ this at ten different times, and it is very incoherent. My wife is, thank God, very well at this late hour of eleven."

"I open my letter again to state a ridiculous point of mock importance. The King and Queen are usually sponsors to the son of a Lord Lieutenant. In the present moment I only wish to do what is right, and it occurs to me as a proper mark of respect, that the usual



application should be made to the Queen, and her leave asked to use the King's name. You will easily think that I care not a farthing for all this ; but if there is a propriety it should be observed. Pray therefore enquire what I should do, and, if it is as I have stated, will you put it in the proper train, or send me word (which I should like better) that the point is absurd, and not worth a thought."

The SAME to the SAME.

1789, January 3. [Dublin Castle.]—"Although I had so repeatedly considered the questions which have so much engrossed our thoughts for some weeks past, I have found so very little assistance here that, when I attempted to put upon paper the several queries which seemed necessary, they multiplied so fast that I was afraid of drawing inaccurately a paper of such infinite importance ; and I was the rather tempted to delay the case, as I was employed in following a line which my own law and observation had suggested to me ; and which, to my infinite joy, I have brought to bear in such a manner as to get from the Attorney and Solicitor a clear and explicit opinion on the legality, and as clear an opinion of the expediency of the mode, which you will see traced in the case and opinion which accompany this letter.

"The questions upon the powers of the Lord Lieutenant were simple and easy ; but when I considered those powers as attaching upon Parliament, the case grew more complicated ; and, in framing the questions, I determined to examine the progress of the different steps which, in any contingency, might be proposed whenever the measure came forward, in devising the means of perfecting the exercise of the Royal authority. You will remember that, [at] a very early stage, I pointed out to you the very material difference in the cases of the two kingdoms, in one of which the Royal authority was wholly suspended except where the fiction of the law kept it entire, while in the other it remained entire, except in very few cases excepted from my patent. That which obviously was the most essential, (I mean the Royal assent,) seemed as unattainable here as in Great Britain, where the fiction of the law can only be preserved by the interference of both Houses to direct the application of the Royal authority to the commissions, which are wanted for opening the Parliament, and for giving the Royal assent. To the former of these points I was certainly competent ; and, even if I had not received the King's commands on the subject, you will see that there is not a doubt but that I could legally have opened a Parliament. This will of course avoid all the preliminary steps which the peculiarity of your situation has made necessary in England, and we shall be enabled, immediately, to bring forward such a Bill as you propose in England, *mutatis mutandis*. It was a curious observation which in this stage resulted from my researches ; for I little expected to find in Yelverton's Bill the solution for every difficulty which had arisen in my mind, and I believe in yours. For, I fancy, that your greatest difficulty proceeded from not being able to trace the means of applying the *enacting* power, without the risk of separating the kingdoms, by appearing to resume the power of British legislation in one instance ; or to guide by Irish vote that Great Seal of Great Britain which, by the Irish Constitution, is essential, and is certainly independent of that Legislature. Upon the first impressions of my discovery, I was afraid of committing myself, and consulted with Fitz-Herbert and Hamilton, who both agreed with me, and could in no case see material difficulties ; and, under these circumstances, I have quoted

the Act, and have obtained a clear and decided opinion on the different stages and proceedings, by which you will see that the Bill, having passed both Houses, the usual vote will direct them [it?] to be transmitted to the Lord Lieutenant. From that moment Yelverton's Bill attaches, and directs that *the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland shall certify the same to his Majesty, his heirs, and successors*. The clear axiom of law of the constant capacity of the King will enable him to receive what we *must* certify and transmit; and you will then see that no other proof of the Royal assent is necessary than that the Bill shall be *returned under the Great Seal of Great Britain*; and, being so returned, *it is law*. After I had opened this, and the chain of reasoning upon it to our lawyers, they did not hesitate one moment in declaring that there was a complete and perfect enacting power in Great Britain, from the moment that the Great Seal could be put, in his Majesty's name and behalf, to a commission authorizing me to give the Royal assent to the Bill, to which such commission was to be annexed.

"We are perfectly aware of the objections which may be made to this idea, by those who would feel the national pride humbled by the avowal that the Keeper of the Great Seal is in fact the King or enacting power of Ireland; but, if you will turn to the law, which I have quoted at length, you will see that the words are peremptory and decisive, and that no fiction or forced construction whatsoever is necessary to give to this law the force and operation which we propose. I have as yet only opened this idea to these two gentlemen, who are earnest in recommending the law and expediency of it, and to Beresford, under a strict charge of secrecy; to whom, as knowing more of the Irish House of Commons than any other, I have put the question. He does not apprehend the smallest risk of losing such a line, provided the Government propose and support it, or give it fair play; and conceives that our opponents will be so hampered with it, that they would feel more baffled by this than by any other mode. The two chief judges dine with me tomorrow, and I shall then open the idea to them; and if their opinion agrees, I shall have no difficulty in recommending it in an official dispatch, in very general terms; but, in the present moment, I do not feel quite ripe to recommend the expediency, though Fitz-Gibbon and Wolfe had no objection to state the legality of such a plan in a paper which is to fall into the enemies' hands. Nepean's letter of this day to Fitz-Herbert speaks of a dispatch which has already occupied Lord Sydney two days, and which is now probably upon its road; this is another reason for not dwelling in my dispatch of this night upon the use or uses to which these opinions are applicable.

"So much on that head, which I fear I have but very ill explained, as I [am] worn with fatigue, having been in bed only five hours for each of the three last nights, and labouring under a very heavy cold. The other questions touch upon the points, which have so been so much bandied about in this kingdom, of the power existing in the Regent to revoke my commission, and the power in a new Lord Lieutenant to meet the Parliament, or to continue it. The question on the enrolment is answered directly, but I understand that it bears an argument, and that the Chancellor might refuse; and with this view the real question was added, in order that it might be known by the Prince and his servants that the Lord Lieutenant had *not* the power of compelling it. Upon the power given to me of departing the realm, and of naming Lord Deputy or Justices, they had no doubt; but you will see that all these are worded so as to imply on my part the most earnest wish to give every facility to the new Government; and your caution upon that head (though kind)

was unnecessary, as I was aware of the propriety of such an arrangement of my questions ; and my statement of them, in the letter to which you alluded, was peremptory and offensive, because I meant to state to you more clearly the object of them. As to their present form, Fitz-Herbert gives me great credit for them as being very civil, and, as he terms it, the most insidiously hypocritical statement he could have conceived. The last goes to the power of a further prorogation under the supposition of the King's commands to meet the Parliament, and you see the result. The question of the expediency is indeed a great one ; and I must refer you to my former arguments as my reasons for still wishing most eagerly to adopt the measure ; and to my last letter for the assurances, which I do still flatter myself are unnecessary, that I do not shrink from my duty. But every person in this kingdom takes it for granted that if the Bill is not carried through in Great Britain, the Parliament of Ireland will be prorogued, if the chance of receiving news of the completion of it within a few days can be assigned as the reason ; and, in the other case, let me assure you that no common sense, no speculation, will prevent the discussion of the propriety of an address to the Prince to take on himself the Regency ; and however sanguine I may be on the event, I do again protest that I dare not be responsible for the turn of such a set running loose as our House of Commons. You will likewise remember that, if we prorogue to the 1st February, we shall know before that day, whether or not His Royal Highness accepts the regency ; and if he should, I need not point out to you the advantage of arguing for restrictions already accepted by him in Great Britain. However, your arguments have great weight with me, and will certainly prevent me from taking any step of that sort till I see more clearly the state of progress of your Bill. But it is essential that you should send to me a calculation of the probable time which will lapse before it is finally concluded, for very much will depend upon that part of the question ; and, above all, I take it for granted that I shall not receive any *order* upon that subject from the Ministers. I mention this, as I do not think Lord Sydney's is always a safe pen to trust to.

"As to your idea of a party who would pledge themselves to me, and to each other, to support the Queen as Regent, I must not flatter you with the smallest hopes of my being able to trust one moment to such assurances, and to Lord Hillsbro' least of all ! If the case should occur, I have no doubt of being able to make a very sturdy battle ; I should not expect to lose the question ; but it is impossible to answer for the event, unless it was clearly carried through in Great Britain ; and, in that case, *I do not doubt our success* upon the same profligate principles, which I verily believe would lead them to any treachery in behalf of the rising-sun, or to any line of conduct which might forward their interest. Two lucky deaths, Lord Clifden's and Sir W. Montgomery's, have put much into my power ; and you will judge the use I make of it when I tell you that, by removes, I shall gratify at least ten Members, besides securing Lord Loftus by Lord Clifden's place, whom Ponsonby is striving to detach from Government to a close party union. You will be astonished to hear that, before Lord Clifden was dead, I received from Mr. Ponsonby a letter, in a very curtly haughty style, asking for the union of the two offices into one in his favour. I answered it with civility, and very coldly stated the advantage derived in Great Britain and here from the separation of them ; but I can hardly reconcile to my feelings to treat such a request with civility. A meeting of the six or eight independent oppositionists, Montgomerys of Cavan and Donegall, Griffith, Todd Jones, to about 10 in number, met on Thursday and

agreed to support Pitt's claim of parliamentary right against the hereditary claim; but I doubt their steadiness. Lord Charlemont is a convert to the right divine. Conolly pauses; and notwithstanding young G. Byng's exertions, he still wavers; but I think he will ultimately vote against us, whenever Ogilvy returns with proper instructions. Good night, my pen drops from me . . . I think people more steady since Pitt's success, which I have in conversation attributed to the opinion entertained, and not discouraged by him, that he would turn out all rats whenever he had the power. This hint of mine has been taken! The general outline of your Speech is good, but it is earnestly suggested to me by Fitz-Gibbon and Wolfe, to recommend in the Speech to adjourn (if I do not prorogue) by some very general phrases, which may enable them to state more strongly the propriety of it, as there does not exist an instance of such a recommendation being refused."

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1789, January 8. Dublin Castle.—"The wind has been so foul for three days, that I have not written what must have remained in the mail bag. The letters of Monday are just arrived, and have brought us the accounts of the division which has placed you in the Chair. I perfectly agree with you in the propriety of your acceptance, and in the flattery of such a public situation, and I equally agree with you in the propriety of your quitting it at some future period; in the mean time, I think you may materially assist the same fair objects which are uppermost in all our thoughts.

"I am now to state to you one of the most knavish and unpleasant transactions that could have occurred to me; you will startle when you read the *defection of Lord Earlsfort*; who has picked a *querelle d'Allemand*, and without any one ground whatsoever, has told Fitz-Herbert that his attachments are to Lord North, and that he looks upon himself at liberty to withdraw himself from all communications with us, upon a refusal to give him an office of 800*l.*, in exchange for one of 500*l.*; contrary, as he knows, to absolute and positive engagements. I do not dwell upon this, as every letter which I have written to you will shew you the confidence which I reposed in this man; and, however it may be possible that he may repent his language, and may return whenever he sees his game ruined, I cannot give him the slightest encouragement, and have not a wish to retain one who has acted so disgracefully to me. He passed the whole of Sunday evening expressing the warmest approbation, in the presence of Lord Chief Justice Carleton, of the idea which I opened to him upon the opinions of Wolfe and Fitz-Gibbon, and on Tuesday morning this phrensy took him. I mention all this that it may be known (if he persists in this line, for as yet it is not known,) that he and not I is to blame; but as this materially interferes with our arrangements for the House of Lords, where he and the archbishop of Cashell were leaders, and as, for very obvious reasons, the latter cannot be trusted, I have sent a messenger to Lord Carysfort to implore his attendance on the 20th. This will sufficiently answer every purpose, but if I find it necessary to make terms with the Chancellor, (supposing our continuation of power) so as to induce him to support, I shall hold myself at liberty; and, in truth, I will run every risk rather than permit such a man ever to enter my room, except to apologize for his treachery and ingratitude. Once more read my letters, and they

will shew how little I could be prepared by his opinions and advice for such a treachery.

"I have not drafted my Speech, and am now glad that I had not shewn it to Lord Earlsfort; some little variation must be made, but the outlines are agreeable to the hints which you transmitted. I have at length, against my own opinion, and against that of every person to whom I have opened it, made up my mind to meet the Parliament on the 20th, and I do it wholly trusting to Mr. Pitt's judgment and yours, and thinking it essential to sacrifice to such opinions though contrary to my own; but remember, I prophecy mischief from it, and am confident that no alarm would have been raised *here* from a prorogation, and that the acceptance of His Royal Highness would have given us for the 2nd February such an argument, independent of the King's health, as would have settled the question. I now propose that the address shall simply echo the speech, and that we shall adjourn to the 2nd February. Lord Sydney's letter was ridiculously unimportant, but it leaves me in the dark on the most essential point, the duration of the restrictions. I trust no change has been made on this head. Pray take care that I have the copy of *all* the medical reports as soon as may be, for I have none officially, save that of the Privy Council.

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1789, January 10. [Dublin Castle.]—"After I had finished the enclosed, and had sealed it, I again considered the effects which such a rupture would produce upon the King's service, by the encouragement to further defection, in consequence of the treachery of one so near to me, and, having consulted FitzHerbert, I have agreed to swallow a most bitter pill by acquiescing to demands so unreasonable; and, in consequence of it, FitzHerbert has this morning received from him the most unbounded professions of *attachment* and of support. This, you will easily believe, has not contributed to put me in better humour with my cursed situation, and the language of every day presses upon me the necessity of some efficient form of government which may direct and restrain, for I feel that I have no authority whatsoever. The prorogation is still uppermost in my wishes, and is warmly pressed (perhaps for the reasons you have assigned) by every person whom I have seen. However, I shall not give way, except some very particular circumstance should intervene. Grattan is to support not the right but the pretensions of the Prince to the Regency without restrictions. In this state I have thought it advisable to finish the enclosed and to transmit it. I trust that it is civil, (to my successor) decent, and explicit; but, if I am to carry the bill through *after you are dismissed*, it will be necessary for me to receive instructions to dismiss any rats, and the most explicit assurances that they shall not be restored, for, upon no other terms, can I engage to remain for their convenience.

"I had written thus far when I received yours of the 7th. I sincerely deplore these delays, as they certainly tend to keep open the question so as to put both Parliaments under the necessity of agitating it at the same moment; and you will easily see the very serious difficulty of arguing the restrictions in this kingdom, as a question of propriety, without the additional argument which we should build upon the practice adopted by Great Britain. In truth, for every reason it is fit that we should follow your line; but this is indeed a very different proposition; and the event of it will involve my personal character beyond

the possibility of redemption, if, as I should suspect on such a statement, the question should be carried against us on a motion to address the Prince to assume the Regency. Your calculation of time puts it beyond the reach of adjournments, or even of a prorogation, and I doubt whether we shall not be obliged to devise some means of gaining time as the only solution to such a difficulty; but in this we must be cautious, for the sake of our Money and Mutiny Bills."

The SAME to the SAME.

1789, January 15. Dublin Castle.—"I have received your letter of Saturday, and am much distressed at the very unpleasant accounts (which I have received from other quarters more circumstantial than yours) of the proceedings of the committee. The reports sent hither are that Warren and Baker have specifically stated their opinion that the King is not better, and that the chance of his recovery is considerably diminished: Pepys is said to have stated the King to be somewhat better, but not advanced towards convalescence; Reynolds and Willis very sanguine, and Gisborne very doubtful. The story of the Queen's interference is stated with much acrimony, and the Chancellor is said to have supported Warren in his claim of an apology. Your short account does not enable me to judge upon the whole or the parts of this, but I find that the impression here is that Fox will gain with the public by this committee. I still swear that Pitt is the dupe and not the duper if the King is not better, but I find the language of our Irish attenders in your House of Commons is very sanguine. In all events, I think they will have involved Government in very considerable difficulties by fighting the same points in the two Parliaments at the same moment. In this kingdom the address to the Prince will be immediately moved; but, after much deliberation, we have proposed and settled a measure which will hamper them in point of form, and will confine the Houses to one day's debate. My two first paragraphs are to stand as before; my last is altered so as to imply a stronger recommendation to adjourn, and will run nearly thus—

*"Under these circumstances, and reposing the fullest confidence in that spirit of loyalty, and that temper, prudence, and zealous concern for the united interests of the empire which have appeared in all your measures, I shall recommend this melancholy subject to your consideration as soon as I shall have received all the information which may be essential to your proceedings.*

"Our great object by this is to establish our ground of unity of proceedings with Great Britain, and to lay the foundation for further adjournment, if the information should not be ready by the 3rd of February. We shall, however, in that contingency, be cruelly hampered by the difficulty of being obliged to get forward in our money Committees, in order to save the Bills in time. I need not state to you the hell of my situation, if, by that time, you should not be sufficiently advanced to enable us to proceed; and of that I think there seems much doubt. You say that on Wednesday the restrictions were to be opened by Mr. Pitt. I know so little of your measures, that I cannot guess how you are to proceed an inch in your Regency Bill, till your Parliament is opened; and if you give eight days for the vote to enable the Chancellor to put the Great Seal to a Commission, and for the acquiescence of the Lords and the subsequent steps, this will bring you to the 20 or 21st; and we cannot flatter ourselves with the certainty hearing of your measures later than those of the 26 or 27th; we shall

therefore be obliged to proceed upon such information as we shall then have, unless the Houses will agree to adjourn the proceeding on that point till we hear from England, going on always with the public business. Of the difficulties attending such a scene, I need not speak, for I am sure that you will see the utter impossibility of my saving my own credit or that of Government ; for, in an attempt to postpone this consideration beyond a reasonable time, I have no doubt but that I shall be beat, and every measure of intemperance carried. The question therefore depends to a degree upon yourselves, and it is fitting that you should know that, though you derive advantages in Great Britain from delay, the disadvantage of it operates most severely in Ireland.

“ I will not describe to you the difficulty with which I have resisted the unanimous advice of every one to prorogue. I have not met with one person who felt any difficulty in the measure, and if I have acquiesced, it is because I thought the object seemed essential to Mr. Pitt ; but the resolution is clearly against my opinion. Daly, Parnell, Fitz-Gibbon, and Foster all pressed me to it as late as last night, and have almost quarrelled with me upon it ; though they have pledged themselves most decidedly to me to follow England. Lord Shannon, Hillsbro’, Tyrone, Loftus, Duke of Leinster, Longfield, are all steady, but it is very difficult to induce them to leap in the dark, and therefore I am obliged to state, as far as I can understand them, the restrictions proposed. I have been obliged to have my intentions whispered of dismissing every man who votes against me whilst I remain chief Governor ; and it is stated that Mr. Pitt has declared that he never will take office again with any one who now abandons him ; and I am persuaded that both ideas are useful ; and, in truth, if Ponsonby opposes the adjournment, I shall in that case carry my threats into execution ; at least that is my present idea, and in that alone can I see the least prospect of future success.

“ They dwell much upon the idea of moving an address to the Prince of Wales instead of that to the King ; and as it seemed possible that some fools might be caught by the silly argument of the necessity of such an address to accompany that to the Lord Lieutenant, we have agreed to *resolve*, in both Houses, their thanks for the speech, their condolence for the King’s illness, and their resolution to adjourn and to lay their resolution as an *address* before the Lord Lieutenant. Of this there are many precedents, and it will save the many steps of an address, and the second day’s meeting, which, in any contingency, we wish to avoid ; and it will be stated as more respectful to the present situation of the King to decline the address of compliment to the Lord Lieutenant. In the mean time the form of our proceeding is still obscure, for I have not, except from you, a word of communication, and your letters do not open more than the object and not the form of the Bill ; yet this must be considered with as much caution for Ireland as for England ; and the calculation in the former part of my letter will not give me 24 hours for that purpose. Let me then earnestly entreat you that I may not be thus kept in the dark upon a point so interesting to my personal character, which I fear will be sacrificed by the different *contre-temps* which have occurred upon this business. My present idea is that it will be sufficient for the purposes of our *Regency*, to authorize the Prince of Wales to affix, on his Majesty’s behalf, his Majesty’s name to such papers, orders, warrants, and to enact an order to all persons to obey it ; then the restrictions might follow. This would put by the question upon the Royal Assent, as the King’s signature is never put to it, and I have not yet found any branch of exercise of the Royal

power which would not be provided for by such a Bill ; however upon all this I can only speculate.

“Lord Earlsfort and I carry on our mutual opinions with great smoothness, and probably with equal sincerity ; I doubt whether the archbishop of Cashell will support ; I rather think not, as I refused him Lord Clifden’s office for his nephew. Lord Loftus’s appointment is materially useful to us, for Ponsonby, who had asked for the whole, is very angry at this appointment, and has broke off a project of close union with that powerful connexion. Lord H. Fitz-Gerald votes against us, the others will be with us.

“I now wish to state to you my anxiety upon an idea which you have stated to be doubtful in your two last letters : I mean that of the continuance of the present Government till June. I first begin with expressing my full belief that the Prince will not hesitate a moment on our dismissal ; but, if he should, let me earnestly hope that Pitt will not think of sacrificing his fair name by so paltry an attachment to office, as will be presumed upon such a step. He cannot surely, after what has passed with the Prince, hesitate on his resignation ; but I must point out to you most explicitly my *determination* not to remain here from the moment of the appointment of a Regent, unless I clearly understand myself to be a permanent Governor, and not a *locum tenens* to the Duke of Norfolk. Perhaps my situation may differ from that of Ministers in England, but I cannot entertain the idea of exposing myself to such risk and disgrace as would, necessarily, follow any attempt to carry on such a government. For God’s sake think this very well over before you answer me ; for I cannot say how much I am startled at the very idea of it, and how fully I should deserve all that I should meet with if I concealed from you for a moment the very warm feelings I entertain upon it. If I am beat on Tuesday, (which I do not expect,) I shall then think immediately of appointing Lord Justices, but I certainly shall do nothing till I hear from you. I am not alarmed at the prospect, but I do not meet the battle with the slightest confidence in my Switzers ; and, if I succeed, it will be by alarming their fears and from no other consideration.

“Be so good as to send me every evening, constantly, from your secretary the latest accounts of the debates in the House of Commons, for Nepean sends them imperfectly ; and if they are written about 7 o’clock, they are in time for the mail coach, and such information is often most material.”

*Postscript.*—“Ponsonby says that Fox has bought all your newspapers except one, and that the cry of the mob will be turned against you.”

#### The SAME to the SAME.

[1789, January 18–20? Dublin Castle.]—“I refer you to the enclosed despatch for the state of our proceedings for the last three days, and for the reasons which are stated for the proclamation which I have signed, at this late hour, for proroguing the Parliament to the 5th February. Very much of what is there stated is the real reason, but I have not chosen to state that it is avowed here that they have instructions from their party in England to press every thing to an immediate decision ; and as by a victory we should gain no permanent advantage, and a defeat would be the utter loss of the whole business, I cannot reconcile to my feelings to put this momentous question upon such a



chance as that which I must run from not having seen half the members who have been brought to town in the course of the last three days.

"I had written thus far, and was proceeding in a long and anxious letter, when I received Lord Sydney's of the 13th, which has relieved every anxiety. I send the first written dispatch, because I wish the King's servants to see how laboriously I must have passed my time, and because I wish that the opinions of all these people may be committed in the Office; and, in that point of view, my anxiety for the last four days will have been turned to the best purpose. In truth, they were all frightened out of their senses at the prospect of real difficulty, and I found none in pledging them. I shall now cut short my letter and go to sleep, which I have hardly done for the last four nights."

"Pray excuse Hobart to Pitt for non-attendance. I have kept him here by force, as every vote was more essential here then, I flatter myself, it could have been in England. No mail arrived, the roads in Wales all choked, and the patriots in the snow."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1789, January 25. Dublin Castle.—"I have delayed to this day writing to you upon the subject of my prospects in Ireland, because I was still sufficiently sanguine to hope the best. I can safely say that every exertion has been made by Fitz-Herbert, and by me, to engage those whom we could influence to promise their support of the English measure. Many would have voted for putting off the discussion till your Resolutions were brought forward; but I told you long since that the difficulty in pledging our Members to vote for the English Bill (whatever it might be) was infinite. The outline of the restrictions on the Prince of Wales were long since known, and the use of his name was very soon felt, the whispers which reached me having put me upon my guard, and induced me to press individuals whom I suspected. Within these few days, the language of placemen and of expectants has taken a very different turn; and, in the moment in which I write, I do not think that I have any chance of carrying the restrictions. You will remember that, many weeks ago, I ventured to prophecy the certain consequences of meeting such a Parliament as ours without the power of control; and stated repeatedly the strong reasons which occurred to me for mistrusting the support of the House of Commons, though the Government was stronger than it had been at any period in Ireland. This mistrust was not founded upon the specific discontent of individuals, but upon the general system of treachery and venality which has pervaded this Government, and has taught them an absolute disavowal of principle or political opinion. It was not possible to meet such a system in the manner which I should have most wished, and which possibly might have retarded the evil moment; for the King's letter is necessary for so many of the essential dismissals, and the removal of insignificant and petty opponents would only have marked my weakness instead of producing any considerable effect. By these circumstances, all the influence of promise and of protection has been taken out of my hands by the Duke of Portland's friends, who, in the name of the Prince, have been lavish in their engagements, and in their comments upon my total want of power.

"I have held out every possible intimidation which could be grounded upon the King's recovery, and upon the re-appointment of Mr. Pitt, and have even dropped the idea of my returning to Ireland with the determination of marking those who now abandoned us. What has

been the result of all this, and of my exertions? I will not give you the low names, and histories of obscure individuals; but I will name you the Duke of Leinster, whose declarations to Fitz-Herbert (whom I sent to Carton a fortnight since on purpose) were direct and explicit to the support of the restrictions. Those declarations were repeated on Saturday the 17th, to a person whom I employed to sound him on the report of his wavering, and were repeated in terms of the strongest regard to me, he not knowing that the person was so employed by me; and on the Tuesday morning he declared that if the House had met he would moved the address to the Prince of Wales. On Wednesday I directed Fitz-Herbert to see him again; he shuffled an excuse of illness, so that it was not till Friday morning that he could summon resolution enough to see Fitz-Herbert, and to announce his intention of supporting His Royal Highness's wishes to the fullest extent. Lord Loftus, on receiving the Post Office, made to me the most explicit professions, and still continues to assure me of them; but I have *certain intelligence* that he has promised his support to Ponsonby, and I doubt much whether he will not carry on the farce of treachery to the last moment, though Fitz-Herbert and I are both to see him tomorrow. Lord Shannon, upon his arrival in town, after being detained ten days in the snow, told us, on his first interview, that he saw no necessity for the restrictions in Ireland, disclaimed all obligations to Mr. Pitt, told me that his friends were dissatisfied, that I had only given offices to two of them in the course of the year, and professed the strongest regard and personal gratitude to His Royal Highness. I saw him again next day and rather staggered him, and he left me assuring me that he had not finally made up his mind, and that he would see me again. He is now gone to Ponsonby, and tomorrow he is to see Fitz-Herbert, but in the mean time it is said that he votes against us, and that report operates like wildfire on the minds of those who are disposed to follow his example. I shall write to you tomorrow the result of his interview, but I have very little hopes from it, having for three hours touched every string which was likely to affect him.

"With all this I have the comfort of meeting a noble and manly support from some of the most respectable persons, whose abilities will defeat every thing except such a combination; Daly, Fitz-Gibbon, Wolfe, and Beresford declare they will divide with us even though they should be left by every other vote. Foster and Parnell are not quite so strong, but I have no reason whatsoever to doubt them. Lord Hillsbro' is firm, so is Lord Tyrone, who is desirous that Pitt should know that he feels what he owes to him, and that he will support him *personally* in every thing. Longfield is violent, and absurdly loud in my favour, but I think him a very slippery being. Under all these circumstances I again repeat that I cannot hope for success, and the object recommended to me is to endeavour to gain time, and to hamper by forms, as soon as they shall have amended the Address which is intended. The object of this delay is, that the appointment of the Regent in England should enable me to insist upon the support of Government (if it should be changed,) or upon leave to appoint Lord Justices; and as it is understood that they mean to push their Address forward most violently, you will easily see that it is much more easy to object than to propose. We shall therefore, in the first place, address either by Resolution or Address, and profess our readiness to empower His Royal Highness, in the words of your first Resolution. This will be amended and carried up to me, perhaps with an Address to His Royal Highness praying him to take upon himself the Regency, and desiring me to transmit it. Upon this I shall probably demur,

and shall state the reasons why I cannot transmit such an Address without submitting to His Royal Highness that he cannot take upon himself the Regency of this kingdom until he shall be enabled by law so to do. We shall then propose the Committee on the state of the nation, and propose our first Resolution which will be in the words of yours; and I doubt whether we shall move the restrictions in that Committee or defer them to the Bill; for, as I am almost sure of being beat, I am at least anxious to save the connexion between the kingdoms; and I have some hopes that several of these converts would wish to support a Bill in preference to such an Address, and that we may disunite them.

"I have now endeavoured to state coolly and dispassionately my ideas on my present situation, and the probable consequences of it; let me now add, in the bitterness of my disappointment, the misery I feel at the prospect of such disgrace and humiliation. I shall suffer in my personal credit for the bad motives which have influenced these bad men; and the ferment in this kingdom will be attributed to my misconduct. In such a situation nothing remains to me but the consciousness of my own integrity, and of the purity of my Government; but I clearly see that the clamour against me in England will be as violent on the part of Pitt's friends, as the triumph will be great on the side of his and my enemies. I do not write to him because I know that every thing will come from you with the utmost advantage, and you must therefore point out to him the whole of this history, from my first ominous prophecies to the final (though latterly doubtful) event of them. Let him remember that, in a country and in a society selfish, interested, and treacherous, I have fought the battle for him, though without hopes of credit to myself; and that I shall have been able to secure to him the testimonies, not of the contractors for Parliamentary support, but of the first characters for honour and abilities; that I am still ready to be guided by his advice, and to fight this conflict in whatever mode shall best answer his wishes, which I know to be inseparable from the public service; and that, whatever becomes of the quiet happiness and comfort of my life, I never shall repent having rejected the advice which would long since have relieved me from this persecution by the appointment of Lords Justices. By persecution, I do not only mean the scenes to which I am hourly exposed, but the prospect of every question and every hardy assertion that can be levelled at my public conduct or my character in this kingdom, and the prospect of the impression which will be produced in the minds of my friends, of my enemies, of the country at large, and lastly of the King, if ever he wakes from this sleep of madness. I profess here to laugh on the subject, but I am indeed deeply wounded; and the rather because those who have first abandoned me, are those whom I have first preferred or provided for.

"As to the possible events in the public proceedings, it is impossible to argue upon what depends so little on political wisdom or integrity as the measures of my opponents. My conduct must be temperate, and shall be firm; and, at least, if I cannot save the constitution and connexion of this kingdom with Great Britain, I will not sacrifice them, or let them go by without taking such a part as may vindicate me to posterity. After all you will say that I treat this too seriously, and perhaps you will kindly endeavour to relieve my anxiety by undervaluing this event. I shall, however, always deeply feel it; and the brilliant success of Pitt will only serve to inflame those in England who

either do not, or will not, know the truth of the conduct or character of those to whom I owe my defeat."

"Bolton Street house is yours on my terms, that is that you pay me no rent ; but you will find a heavy expense necessary. I must keep the small stable for my saddle horses."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, January 27. [Dublin Castle.]—"Every exertion is made to stem the torrent which carries every thing before it. The name of the Prince of Wales is used in every company, and even in coffee-houses, to support the declarations that all placemen of all descriptions will be turned out the moment that the Regent is appointed. The treachery which naturally results from this declaration is encouraged and countenanced by the desertion of the Duke of Leinster, which is avowed ; and that of Lord Shannon which is known, but not directly avowed by him. He is miserable beyond description, which convinces me that he has engaged himself notwithstanding his declaration to me of last Saturday ; and you will see how perfectly this agrees with the accounts which I transmitted to you of his language six weeks ago. His proxy to Pitt, (which I entreat may be entered on the first day, and inserted, with great praises, with that of Lord Tyrone in the newspapers,) wounds him severely ; and I still think that he would be glad of an opportunity of getting back, but I have no reason to think that any thing would induce him to return but the change in the Kew notes ; for, as late as this day, he said (not to me) that he had no idea of the King's recovery, and that his doubts upon his conduct were founded on the persuasion that the sun was set. In short he has proved himself a very very rat. Lord Tyrone is steady, so are all those whom I named in my last, and I have no doubt of fighting the question well in point of argument ; but of the book of numbers I have, for the reasons stated in every letter and particularly in my last, no prospect of success ; though many independent men and particularly northern members support me, amongst others the famous Montgomery of Donegal who is most violent. Latouche is most explicit with me, and, upon the best calculation, I do not dare to hope, though I cannot say that the game is wholly lost. I employ every person whom I can persuade to exert himself : Cooke is most active, so is Lees. We shall, in the course of a day or two, have several more newspapers in pay ; and I shall not spare my private purse for the purpose of exposing both in Great Britain and in Ireland the abominable attempts of the English faction.

"In the mean time our plan of operations must change. If I had the prospect of carrying my measure, I would, in the Speech, state the King's incapacity, and call upon the House to act upon that communication ; but, in the present moment, I wish to delay without appearing to do so, in order to have an opportunity of opposing their measure which, from intemperance and ignorance, they will bring forward prematurely ; and you will easily see that it is more advantageous to fight their measure, particularly if it should be that of an Address, than to propose and defend our own. I am sure at least that we shall be stronger on the one than on the other. I enclose to you the new draft of a Speech, by which you will perceive that I assert no incapacity. I shall then lay before both Houses the 800 pages of examinations, and move that they shall be printed, and fix a day for

a Committee on the state of the nation. Our proceedings will then stand as follows:—

Thursday 5th, Speech, Address moved.

Friday, Address reported.

Saturday, Presented to me.

Monday 9th, Papers presented moved to be printed; and Foster will propose Monday 16th for the Committee on the state of the nation, on the ground that the papers cannot be printed before that day. You will not hear of the event of that day before the 20th, by which time your Bill will be nearly passed, and therefore all effect will be done away which they could hope for from this disgraceful attempt, as influencing the British measure; and the period of the appointment of the Regent will approach so near, that I should have hopes of protracting the measure nearly to the time of the English appointment; and I shall transmit to you a letter directed to Lord Sydney, but without a date, ready to be delivered on the moment of the change of Government, desiring that His Royal Highness would name Lord Justices to me for my appointment, in order to enable me to quit this kingdom. But, in the mean time, if any address should be delivered to me of the nature of that moved in Great Britain to the Prince of Wales, I shall refuse to transmit it, if it attempts to give by Address that power which can only be given by Act of Parliament. This is a delicate business; but as I now know that every proceeding is suggested by their friends in England; I wish that those friends may be disgraced by my charging the measure as directly tending to separate the two kingdoms. I am told likewise, and I think upon good information, that the directions from England have pointed out the necessity of worrying and disgracing me by every personal motion and censure. On this head I am not sore; first, because I do not think they could carry it, and, secondly, because I should not care one farthing whether they do or not. And you may depend upon it that to the last moment of exertion, and of my residence here, I will, in every contingency, uphold the right (according to the Irish Constitution) of the Legislative assent, or of the negative in the British Great Seal. In truth I feel animated by the difficulty, and after the depression necessarily consequent on the first discovery of this treachery, I feel more eager and more careless of consequences than before this discovery. I have seen every day more instances of swans turned to geese; but there are cases in which Pitt and I have personally met with the most cordial and honourable support. I have now, I think, made up my mind not to dismiss any persons from their offices; for, although they richly deserve it, I should not gain a vote by such a measure, and my forbearance will give me the fullest ground for criminating the conduct and language of my opponents.

“Write to me as frequently as you can, for although I know your weight of business, yet I cannot describe the comfort of your correspondence; and, above all, support me with Pitt and his friends as one sacrificed by the knavery of these people, and reduced to hear of a victory which I not only cannot share, but hear of it in the moments of personal disappointment and humiliation, as far as the treachery of others can work my disgrace.

“Lord Loftus follows Lord Shannon, after professions most unbounded, *the restrictions having been explained by me to him*. We shall be beat in the House of Lords in consequence of the timidity of the Peers, who will not fight the Commons; but upon this point I care but little, as they are not of weight to produce any effect. I enclose to you two proxies; pray send one of them to Lord Carysfort, as I fancy that William

Fremantle, in sealing up my letter to him, did not enclose one. I have sent to Lord Fife, Mornington, Courtown, Clanricarde for theirs. Altamont and Montalt have sent theirs. I do not know of any others in England who have taken their seats, but you will keep one in case it should be wanted . . . The Prince's letter to Pitt was sent by the Duke of Leinster to the printer of the *Hibernian* yesterday!"

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1789, January 30–31. Dublin Castle.]—"The mails of the 24 and 26 are just arrived, and brought me a dispatch proposing me to prorogue again which I have answered; and have determined to meet our Parliament. I think the ferment encreases, and that we shall have much strangely collected support against this Aristocracy, but still we shall, unless by some strange chance, be beat by 30 at least. Indeed you all owe me much for this hell which, in all its points, is more intolerable than any I could have conceived; but I am stout, and will support the British claim to the last moment. Bernard is just arrived."

"The Duchess of Rutland has written to Hobart to attend in England; pray tell Pitt that he must explain to her that I have detained him, thinking him at present more essentially useful here."

THE SAME to the SAME.

1789, February 5. [Dublin Castle.]—"Jacta est alea, and the Parliament is opened; I enclose to you a copy of my Speech, which is purposely guarded to give them no information, but to compel them to seek for it from the documents which will not be presented till tomorrow. It is very difficult to collect the intentions of Opposition. The prevalent language is that they are to postpone the Address to me, and to move one without documents to the Prince of Wales, desiring him to assume the Regency. I cannot persuade myself that they will be so wild; but I rather suspect that no plan is formed, but that they wait for the *Saint Esprit* which, under the care of Messieurs Ogilvy, Forbes, and *Pelham*, was to be transmitted from Burlington House. A violent and steady gale has cut off our four last British mails, and has fixed this venerable trio at the Head. I am therefore wholly at a loss as to any guess at their proceedings. As to the majority, I think it decidedly against us in *both Houses*; and I expect every thing violent in their measures and language. Grattan certainly means to uphold the necessity of *creating* a Regent, and by *Address*, as a proof of the independence of Ireland; and part of his language (but he is very silent) leans to the creation of an Irish responsibility. I am not without hopes of separating people from him on that point, and particularly Lord Shannon, who is certainly ashamed and frightened, but is as certainly pledged to support the Prince of Wales as Regent without restrictions. It will, however, be very material if I can induce him to support my Bill in preference to their Address; for, as Paddy does not always distinguish, he will conclude that Lord Shannon has changed sides, though he will vote against the restrictions of my bill.

"The Lords and Commons both up! not a word in opposition to a vote for an Address to me, which has passed *namine contradicente*. This Address to be prepared and reported tomorrow. The Duke of Leinster has moved the Lords to be summoned for tomorrow, and Mr. G. Ponsonby asked a few questions about the documents. It is now understood that they are to bring on the Address tomorrow in both

Houses, but certainly in the House of Lords, and that the Duke of Leinster moves it. We have, however, laid the foundation for our regular proceedings, and it is not impossible that we may beat them, if they take the full extent of wildness which is attributed to them. Whatever be their line, I trust my language and conduct will be dignified. Nothing has been yet said; it is however probable that I may individually sustain much of the abuse tomorrow, as the *Duke of Leinster*, *Mr. Ponsonby*, and *Lord Loftus* affect to complain *personally* of my conduct towards them. If this is to be their line, it is singular that nothing was this day said in answer to the panegyric of Lord Fairford and Mr. French in the Commons, and of Lord Longford in the House of Lords; but whatever becomes of me, I conceive myself sacrificed (I do not complain) for the sake of both kingdoms, to a scene of misery and of persecution; and I only trust and hope that those whose battle I fight here (for no other consideration should make me stay here a moment) will support my character where alone I wish to see it supported and maintained. As to the refusal to transmit the Address to the Prince of Wales, I am more strengthened in the idea by every hour's examination of the question; and I am persuaded that the measure is maintainable both upon English and upon Irish ground. I enclose to you an extract of my oath of office, which may be successfully quoted on this subject; and, to say truth, in proportion as my hopes of support here diminish, I feel inclined to take upon myself the fair constitutional line without regard to the question of majority or minority. To my ideas these principles are incontrovertible;

"1st. That the spirit and letter of the Act of Henry 8th. cap.— and of the Recognition Act of William and Mary, engage Ireland to the same executive power as is created in Great Britain, leaving to Ireland the right and duty of *enacting* such powers as are necessary to enable that executive power to discharge his office.

"2ndly. That the Act called Yelverton's Act vests the power of legislation in the British Regent, because he alone can command the use of the British Great Seal; for, supposing the King, by two commissions, to appoint two several Regents for the kingdoms, the Irish Regent cannot by that law legislate, but must refer the Bills to the English Great Seal.

"3rdly. That the commission of a Lieutenant-Governor being an English commission, can be only granted by the British Regent, and not by a Regent created by Irish *law*, much less by Address.

"And, 4thly, because no declaration from the Lords and Commons of Ireland can, by law, suspend the prerogatives of the Crown without the consent of the 3rd Estate; that consent certified under the authority of the Great Seal of Great Britain, controlled by the laws and by the executive power of Great Britain.

"Much of all this can be taken out of the opinions already given me by the Attorney and Solicitor-General, and the remainder is most clear; but I have very little doubt of being able to pledge Lord Chancellor and Lord Earlsfort to it upon paper; but my mind is not prepared, and you will easily believe that I mean to be very well prepared, before I put them under the necessity of sending over Irish ambassadors with their address.

"Once more, I do not complain, but I feel that every thing which I prophesied three months ago in my most gloomy moments is come to pass; and that all the affection of those for whom I suffer can hardly repay me a thousandth part of my misery; but remember that I would have risked anything rather than have met a Parliament

under such circumstances as the present. Let me, for God's sake then, find fair play with those friends whom I mean to serve. I am not dispirited; on the contrary, I am most indifferent to any possible event which can befall me here; but I am most anxious for my fair fame elsewhere; and for the justice which is due to my unwearied attempts to struggle through my difficulties. You will see by this letter that I have received yours of Thursday last, written in a hurry and enclosing one from Pitt, but have not yet got that which you promised me for next day. If Lord Carysfort is with you, pray thank him for his proxy; his attendance and that of Mornington would have been invaluable, but I fear that I have no chance of them, and perhaps the tide runs so strong that their support would not have stopped it. Under all these circumstances I can only look to my release, and I am preparing a letter which I shall send to you to be dated and applied in the exact moment of Pitt's dismissal, *for after that period I will not stay 24 hours, whatever be the consequence.*

"FitzHerbert is frightened and disgusted with these people, but is fair and firm in his conduct; as to the rest of the scene it is almost heart-breaking."

"I still persist in turning out no one, and I think that I gain by this appearance of moderation."

S. BERNARD to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, February 6. Dublin Castle.—"I was obliged to close my letter of yesterday before I had finished what I had to say, else I meant to have added that, notwithstanding the appearance of temper and coolness in the Houses yesterday, the opposite party seemed very confident of their strength, and sanguine in their expectations of success. My hopes are that the first question or two may be such as to induce some of the great interests to divide with us; and a division or two in our favour in the outset would soften the effects of a contrary event upon the main question; and would deter the party from afterwards attempting any question of violence towards Lord Buckingham, which has at times been whispered. Yet, after all, what I am most anxious about is, that people in England should know how it is that the same majority does not follow Lord Buckingham's government here that has followed Mr. Pitt's in England; and that this is owing to the disposition of the great men and placemen here, always to follow the English party in power, be it what it may, so as to secure to themselves the patronage of the country and a continuance in their offices. I am told that the Speech is very generally approved of, as saying just as much as it should, and no more. Some persons thought that their particular hobby-horses whatever they might be, (Charter Schools, Linen Board,) ought to have been mentioned, but should have known that this could not have been with propriety. It is thought that there will be long debates in both Houses to-day, and that there will be divisions in each. I own I wish there may, so long as the questions are of the nature I have above alluded to. No packet is at present on this side of the water, but one may come in before evening; and in that case the Mail will go at an early hour, 7 o'clock; so that you may probably hear no account of to-day's business by this post."

The SAME to the SAME.

1789, February 7. Dublin Castle.—"The hopes which I expressed to you in my letter of yesterday of a preliminary division in our favour



are, by the event of last night, entirely vanished ; as, on a question respecting the day of taking the physicians' reports into consideration, we were beat by a majority of 54; the numbers being 128 to 74. We had much the greater share of the independent members with us, and were beat solely by the combination of the Shannon, Ponsonby, Loftus, and Leinster interests against us, which interests are guided by the Prince's party in England. I wish this matter may be fairly represented on your side of the water, and may not reflect any discredit on your brother's conduct in the eyes of people there. Some people spoke with great violence, particularly Sir J. Blaquiere, who delivered a studied invective with the greatest possible bitterness, being incensed by pique and disappointment. But he was very well answered by many of your brother's friends, particularly Toler, Fitz-Gibbon, Parnell, Coote, Hewitt, and Mark Beresford, as you will see in the *Freeman's Journal*. The Addresses came up to day ; a respectable but not a very full attendance. Our situation begins to grow very unpleasant, but we consider ourselves as suffering for the common cause.

"I am told that in the House to-day, the triumphant party would not permit any public business to be brought forward ; and they talked of adjourning till Wednesday, when the committee sit on the state of the nation.

"I have been told that some people were against us on this question (being averse to delay) who will be with us on the main question of the limitations ; but I do not know how to credit such language."

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, February 7. Dublin Castle.—"The division in the House of Commons last night too fatally confirmed all my apprehensions ; and by leaving me in a minority of 74 to 128, has entirely incapacitated me from indulging any hope whatsoever of being able to assist your measures by any co-operation in Ireland. It was known that the party formed by Mr. Grattan meant to oppose the Address, and this attempt opened with a most virulent attack by Grattan upon my character, manners, and conduct. This was supported by Curran, and by Sir J. Blaquiere, who was very little measured in his expressions, and as little in his facts. The charges from Grattan were the appointment of an enormous office to young Mr. Beresford of 1500*l.* *per annum* (declared to be false), the Police Bill, the rejection of the Pension Bill, and the reversion given to you. My battle was fought by Fitz-Gibbon, Wolfe, Parnell, Corry, Lord Kilwarlin, and many of the *Dii minores* ; and at length they did not dare divide, Lord Shannon and Lord Loftus having declared that they would vote for me. They therefore contended that the language of the Address was not strong enough to the King, and we instantly adopted their amendment. Fitz-Herbert was then called upon for the papers ; and presented them, moving for Monday 16th for the committee. This was opposed by Grattan, Ponsonby, *Hely Hutchinson*, and many others as unnecessary delay, and urged by Fitz-Gibbon, Parnell, and Wolfe as necessary, *no bill having passed in England for the establishment of a Regency*. They admitted the expediency of not ultimately deciding the appointment of a Regent till he should be possessed of the British Great Seal, but contended for the propriety of ascertaining their independency, by *offering* the nomination before the British Act was complete. Upon this curious argument they have carried the question for Wednesday, Mr. Grattan having uniformly assumed the tone, manners, and professions of a Minister.

"This day Parnell moved the supply, and they put it off till Thursday, pledging themselves to sacrifice forms in the Money and Mutiny Bills if necessary; and Grattan stated that he trusted that on Wednesday the question of the Regency would at least be considerably advanced. It is very difficult to know truly their intentions, but I rather think the Address is rather meant to declare what they will do, than to make the absolute tender, or to affect to convey the right; if the latter I shall take my ground decidedly; if the former, I must transmit it with such observations to His Royal Highness as the case may suggest.

"I enclose to you my dispatch to Lord Sydney, which you will send to him, and another, with a blank for the date, which I will request you to keep until it is wanted. You see that it is written to compel the Prince of Wales to give me an immediate answer, for I need not repeat that I will not for his convenience remain here one hour after you are all dismissed; and it should be sent to Lord Sydney, in order that it may meet the Prince's eye (or rather be sent to him) so soon as the removals are certain. On the personal question they have not been able to fasten upon me a single charge, and nothing can be more handsome than the support which I have received. In truth I can say that I quit Ireland with much gratitude to many; no resentments, but infinite contempt. This still keeps up my spirits, but indeed my task is not easy. I very much wish that an official letter may be writ to approve of my conduct; it is the only return which they can now make me."

"Grattan evidently assumes the *role de ministre*; he pledged himself to the gallery to repeal the Police Bill, and to intend to limit the Pension Bill to grants by address from Parliament. The aristocracy are certainly afraid of each other, and nothing but mutual treachery can save the country from the convulsion which will inevitably follow this assumption of power, and the steps which will be taken to secure it by Mr. Grattan and Ponsonby. The language of the former is avowedly that of the Cavendish party, and I am told that he now avows himself a party man, and, as such, his attack on me is most easily explained. If any thing is said in England about us, I wish that he may be stated as the puppet moved by the wires of Burlington House to the measures of that party. I know that a serious attack of that sort would have much effect, if it were strongly urged."

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1789, February 8? Dublin Castle.]—"William Fremantle, whom I have sent to England for your information, will detail last night to you. I am not disappointed, though the conduct of our supporters, with the exception of Fitz-Gibbon, has been paltry in the extreme. Upon his conduct in every point, whether public or private, I cannot say enough. Wolfe was afraid of speaking after the burst of fire and of legal eloquence with which the Attorney had spoken. Parnell spoke but tamely, and *Daly was silent*; in short I did not dare attempt to resist the question, or any question, without promising that there should be no division; for, if I had not, the Bench would actually have been left to my Secretary and the Attorney General, as every one had declared their intention of quitting the House, rather than divide against the new Government; for whatever my conviction had been of the knavery of these people, I must acknowledge that their conduct has gone beyond any idea which I had conceived. The address will be transmitted *through me*, and I must employ the intermediate time in examining my ground, and deciding whether to refuse it *in toto*, or to transmit it to His Royal Highness,

after sending a message to both Houses declaratory of its illegality in its present shape. I am advised by Fitz-Gibbon to the latter as less hazardous to the Government, for he is afraid of establishing a precedent of any communication from Parliament to the Crown, except through the chief Governor; but he fully agrees with me in my ideas upon it. I need not add that I feel most sensibly Mr. Pitt's assurances, and his confidence in me. In truth, I feel how very impossible it is for him to give me any advice, and how much I must act upon the impressions of the moment; and how many collateral circumstances I must collect as grounds for my conduct. If there is any leaning in my mind it still turns to the absolute refusal, but I do not wish you or Pitt to build upon it, for, I protest, I vary every moment. Fitz-Herbert is warm against it. The Chancellor, Lord Earlsfort, Lord Longford, and Lord Bellamont, are stout in the House of Lords, and will, I fancy, give the Address a very hearty dressing; but we shall lose it beyond a doubt.

"Adieu, I am hardly awake and the packet presses. I shall write again immediately, but I must thank you for your affectionate attentions to me. I have exerted myself most warmly by every means in my power, and, though sure of defeat, I am not depressed, but, on the contrary, more animated by this scene of difficulty."

#### W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1789, February 10-12. Downing Street.]—"The account is in nothing worse than I expected. In what is personal to your brother, I think he has obtained a victory; and it is impossible the defeat in the other question can be ascribed to any but its true causes. I hope to ride soon after twelve, and, if you are gone, will join you in the park, if you will ride there."

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to LORD SYDNEY.

1789, February —. Dublin Castle.—An official letter of resignation, retained by Mr. Grenville.

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, February 14. Dublin Castle.—"Last night the debate came on in the House of Lords; we had no mail from England of a later date than that of Thursday the 5th, and consequently no copy of the Bill or information whatsoever of your proceedings. Yesterday morning I received, *via* Waterford, a printed copy of the Bill sent by Young, and it immediately determined me to endeavour to gain every moment of time, least our final Address should come over before you had ultimately settled your Bill, which contains a great deal of new, and consequently debatable matter. You will have seen from my last letter, and have heard from Fremantle, how very low my hopes have been for some days past of doing anything to serve you in the teeth of such a majority. The violence in the House of Commons could not be conceived, and nothing but Fitz-Gibbon's steadiness prevented the instantaneous vote, without even the shadow of an argument. To his firmness, to his steady friendship, and to his very superior powers, I am more indebted than to any man in this kingdom; and Great Britain is not less indebted to him as the only Irishman who would fight her battles in such a moment. I trust that [in] every situation, he will meet from Pitt that affectionate support which he so fully deserves. His speech

has had a wonderful effect on the minds, but not on the votes of the members, and it certainly has shaken the confidence in Grattan.

"I had some difficulty in reconciling some of our friends in the House of Lords to the motion for adjournment, as they wished to endeavour to negative the Address; but I knew too well my weakness to trust to that, and we therefore fought an adjournment for Tuesday, fearing that a more distant day might alarm. Lord Chancellor spoke very ably. Lords Earlsfort, Bellamont, Glandore, Hillsbro', Tyrone, Carhampton, spoke with us; Archbishop of Cashel, Duke of Leinster, Lord Farnham, Perry, and Portarlington, against us; our numbers and names I enclose to you; but, though defeated, we have carried our point to a certain degree, for we made it so late that we forced the adjournment to Monday. On that day they will probably force the Address through the House, but we shall endeavour to embarrass them in form. If however they succeed, they must send a message to know when I will receive it, and I shall certainly not name a day sooner than Wednesday, and shall then return them the answer which I have enclosed. You will see that the latter words are not well chosen, but they are the words of the Address.

"It had occurred to me, and I had prepared a sort of manifesto, but so much of it necessarily must have attacked their assumed independence, that I thought it more advisable to take words which would give to me and to you in England the use of every argument, rather than go, without a single friend save Fitz-Gibbon, into a conflict with the House of Commons upon Irish rights against English. My words enable me to assert the King still to be King, and therefore King of Ireland by the 33rd Henry 8th; they enable [me] to fight the question of the 3rd Estate of legislation of Ireland as vested in the crown of England; and, lastly, to assert that the mode of doing this by Address, in contradiction to the mode of proceeding by Bill, is illegal. All this I mean to state at length to Lord Sydney for His Royal Highness's information, and shall refer him to the opinions given by Fitz-Gibbon and Wolfe; and, by this proceeding, I shall put you in possession of your ground for any measures which you may think advisable in Great Britain. My intention is to remain here till the Regent is appointed by English Bill, but not a moment after; and in this resolution no intemperate vote, which I am told I must expect, shall shake me, unless they proceed to vote away my commission; and, in that case, I have had thoughts of *avoiding* my commission, and preserving the Money and Mutiny Bills by the provisions of last year; but, though I mention this last idea, I do not seriously entertain it except as a step to which I may be driven.

"I enclose to you a newspaper in which Sheridan has printed his speech; it is worth reprinting with comments to mark the *shop* from which it comes. I have stolen from my business, and from the moments of my wife's departure, to write to you by the yacht. I do not write to Lord Sydney, as I do not like leaving more in his office than is necessary; but I trust that I shew to Pitt how fully I fight our joint battle, though with every discouragement that can be given by every diabolical feeling; still however I am kept up in spirits by the sense of the propriety of my conduct. . . Every member of both Houses, except Fitz-Gibbon, now gives up the battle of restrictions."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, [February] 18. Dublin Castle.—"We have no mail of a later date than the 11th, but the accounts of that and of the preceding days

were so good, that a very material change has taken place in the faces and language of our rats. The division however in the Lords has not varied, and the enclosed will give you an accurate detail of our proceedings. I cannot yet make out the meaning of Lord Charlemont's amendment, for it certainly was not intended (as I had conceived) to gain time; and I cannot think them sufficiently feeling to see the glaring impropriety of their first Address. They certainly have wished very much that we would amend it, by inserting a reference to some future Bills; but, for very obvious reasons, I have prevented it; and it will now come up to me with all its imperfections on its head. I enclose to you the draft of my answer as it now stands fixed; and if you hear of me flung into the Liffey, you must not be surprised. In truth, I am persuaded that they will go every length they dare, and will endeavour to halloo the cry upon me; but I am so sure of my ground, and so sure of the effect which all this will produce in England, that I am as eager for my martyrdom as I should have been for a large majority if things had gone quietly. I have fully weighed the idea of quitting the Government in case of a violent vote against me, and I have rejected it *in toto*; conceiving myself tied to a situation which I cannot quit but into the hands of the King or of the Regent, and, *coute qui coute*, I will stand it. I have changed the style of my answer, first because it is more strongly put in its last shape, and, secondly, because it relieves me from the task of compiling a *memoire* to His Royal Highness upon the subject, and leaves him in the hands of Messires Erskine and Pigott for his law, assisted by that friend to Irish claims, Lord Loughborough. All this however shews to you the utter impossibility of my remaining here an hour after the appointment of the Prince of Wales; and indeed, in case the King should recover, it is necessary for me to state thus early and thus explicitly, that I could not carry on the Government from the sort of scenes which never can be forgot or forgiven by the individuals who know their treachery to me. I dread the possibility of the King's *immediate* recovery for this reason, and for the possible delay to the appointment of a Regent, or of a power competent to pass our Money and Mutiny Bills, which must be transmitted, to Great Britain by the 18th March; and if no Regent should be then appointed, or no King competent to give the Royal assent, the consequences might be most fatal. I state all this not because I think it probable, but because I wish, at this distance, to provide for every contingency.

"I cannot say how much I feel the kindness of your last letter to me, and how happy I am that the style of my dispatch of the 7th has so completely expressed what I meant, a very cool and dignified contempt of Mr. Grattan and Company. I trust that I never shall forfeit the credit which my temper and steadiness has gained to me even here; but I cannot describe what I have to contend with from the difficulty in deciding in the teeth of every timid and treacherous adviser. The Chancellor has stood most firmly, and has drawn a most manly protest. I cannot get it copied for this mail. Lord Earlsfort shuffles. Lord Mountmorres, Hillsborough, and Glandore have done most fairly, but the rest are very bad. Fitz-Gibbon is *ipse agmen*. I wish that Pitt would write him three lines of flattery, for I am confident that he will ultimately quarrel with the new Government, even if they offer to leave him his employment.

"Bernard and I received your Aylesbury news on Saturday night. He could not be in time for his election, and, in the present moment, I have not any one in charge of my papers, and I cannot trust any one else with variety of most essential details which at this moment are of

the utmost importance. I trust to God we shall be able to assist him in his election object, for which he feels so anxious. Long before this I trust my dear wife and sweet infants are safe. She will indeed be most happy to see you; and I hope that next mail will give me a little daylight as to the day of my departure.

"Pray ask once more what has been done about my Navy office balances, for I shall feel very bitterly any neglect of Rose's upon that subject; and yet I fear that it has been lost. However, in the present moment I only think of my game in this cursed country, and am only anxious to deserve well from my country and my friends. I feel Pitt's assurances and affection most strongly, and can only return it by doing my best."

*Enclosure.*—"My allegiance to the King, and my duty to the Prince of Wales oblige me to decline transmitting this address. For I know not of any power or authority under which His Royal Highness can take upon him the government of this realm, and can exercise and administer in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty all regal powers, jurisdictions, and prerogatives, until he shall be enabled by law so to do."

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, February 20. Dublin Castle.—"Your letter of the 15th found me in the midst of the enclosed despatch to Lord Sydney. I do not repeat to you the arguments which have decided me, for they are too long; but they are to be collected from the opinions of my Irish lawyers contained in the answers of the Attorney and Solicitor-General, from the arguments and quotations in my correspondences, and from the different protests which I enclose to Lord Sydney. My oath is, as you will see, peculiarly strong to the case in point, and was kept entirely a secret to the moment in which I brought it forward. I was fortunate in being able to receive the two Houses with my whole suite round me, and with great appearance of attention to them; and to the last moment the secret was kept so as to astonish the very numerous attendance which they had purposely collected. I repeated it with the firmest and most peremptory tone, and with an animation which they felt very severely; and for some time they did not recover it. Upon the return to the House of Commons, Grattan seemed evidently much disturbed and at a loss how to proceed, and pleaded the temper of the House (which certainly seemed very much inflamed) as a reason for an immediate adjournment. They are now met at Mr. Ponsonby's, and I am persuaded that the resolutions will be very intemperate, for their feelings are much irritated by the prospect of the King's convalescence. In all this I feel that I had only a choice of difficulties, and I have endeavoured to decide by what I deemed most consonant to your English line and to my own character; but I ought not to conceal from you that the consequences of it must be fatal to the idea which you suggest to me, and which indeed seems almost desperate in your mind, I mean the idea of my carrying on the government in any *contingency*. If the Prince dismisses you I will not stay one moment, but will appoint either his Lords Justices, or my own if he names none. If His Royal Highness retains Pitt, I must still retire, immediately, for the very obvious reason which you give, that I cannot retain nor he dismiss those who have betrayed me; and that they are masters of the country; and I am, in every personal hazard, without a friend whom I can safely trust except Fitz-Gibbon, either upon public or personal questions; and that

I cannot make advances to those who have abandoned me. If the King recovers, the latter argument equally applies, and would render the government less easy to Pitt in mine than in any other hands; and the certainty of a quarrel with both Houses of Parliament, who will vote every thing that is most offensive to me tomorrow, must make it wholly impracticable.

“In such a contingency as that of the second case which I have stated, I would appoint Lords Justices, the Archbishop of Dublin and any other respectable peers (the Lord Chancellor having *declined it*), for much of the present ferment would subside upon my removal; the present impression being very strong that I mean to remain for the purpose of punishment to those who have voted against me. And if that ferment subsided, the usual business might proceed; but whether it did or not, I am very sure that my continuance is productive of every inconvenience to the King’s service, to the ease of Pitt’s government, and to my personal comfort; and I do not know any one advantage which I possess, but many real and essential disadvantages. I do not think that any libel in the shape of resolutions can drive me away from Ireland *before the Regent’s appointment*, which I suppose will be about Tuesday; but I shall, for the above reasons, hold myself at liberty to avail myself of those votes, (if they are as hot as I expect them to be,) as a justifying plea for my appointment of Lords Justices whether Pitt be retained by the Regent or not. This is the result of a long conversation with Fitz-Herbert; he is alarmed, but is, I think, cool upon the subject *now that the step is taken*; but it was against his opinion, and he was much agitated by it, and will dream (if he sleeps this night) of the horrors of tomorrow. Indeed I cannot describe to you what I have gone through; let me however still retain the kindness of those whom I fight for, and I am very little anxious as to the event of this sort of bear-garden scene, of which I am so sick.

“Pray tell Pitt that I have not time to answer his letter, but I send him enclosed a letter which will enable him to do what he will about the Duke of Gloucester; it cannot be dated beyond November 4th 1787, the day of my appointment. It is a cursed business, but Pitt seems so eager, and I can see so many good reasons for his eagerness, that I have not hesitated upon it. As to his Mr. Sutton I can do nothing, for I have not even got a living for poor Dr. Little, for whom I am so much interested. Pray thank him most warmly for his assurances of affection and of support. I have now thrown upon His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales the task of an answer to the address, *after I have declined it*; and it is Pitt’s business now to watch that answer. I have enclosed a separate letter to Lord Sydaey about a communication of my answer to His Royal Highness, if it should be judged necessary. It strikes me that something of the sort should be done, but I do not enough know your ground; you will therefore talk it over with Pitt, and you will examine the notification (if any should be sent) before it is transmitted to the Prince of Wales. I have sent you another letter of resignation, because the Chancellor will not be one of the Lords Justices.”

*Enclosure 1.*

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO LORD SYDNEY.

Separate and Secret.

1789, February 19. Dublin Castle.—“Whilst it was uncertain what address might be agreed to by the Lords and Commons of this kingdom,

I could not with propriety desire that the opinion which I had formed upon the general points which had occurred to me, should be communicated to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. But after the singular event of this day, it is probable that the Address will be immediately tendered to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; and the King's servants will possibly agree with me in thinking it proper that an humble communication should be made to His Royal Highness of my answer, together with a general statement of the grounds upon which I have felt myself obliged to take that determination. And I must entreat your Lordship, at the same time, to express to His Royal Highness the assurances of my duty and submission; and my humble hope that I shall not be considered, by my answer to both Houses, to have failed in the respect which is so justly due to him."

*Enclosure 2.*

ADDRESS of the IRISH PARLIAMENT to the PRINCE OF WALES.

[1789, February —. Dublin.]—"To His Royal Highness George Prince of Wales.

"The humble address of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled.

"May it please your Royal Highness,

"We His Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to approach your Royal Highness with hearts full of the most loyal and affectionate attachment to the person and government of your Royal Father; to express the deepest and most grateful sense of the numerous blessings which we have enjoyed under that illustrious House, whose accession to the throne of these realms has established civil and constitutional liberty upon a basis which we trust will never be shaken; and, at the same time, to condole with your Royal Highness upon the grievous malady with which it has pleased Heaven to afflict the best of Sovereigns.

"We have however the consolation of reflecting that this severe calamity hath not been visited upon us until the virtues of your Royal Highness have been so matured, as to enable your Royal Highness to discharge the duties of an important trust, for the performance whereof the eyes of all His Majesty's subjects of both kingdoms are directed to your Royal Highness.

"We therefore beg leave humbly to request, that your Royal Highness will be pleased to take upon you the government of this realm, during the continuation of His Majesty's present indisposition and no longer; and under the style and title of Prince Regent of Ireland, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, to exercise and administer, according to the laws and constitution of this kingdom, all regal powers, jurisdictions, and prerogatives, to the Crown and government thereof belonging."

S. BERNARD to [W. W. GRENVILLE].

1789, February 21. Dublin Castle.—"I scarce ever spent a day that was so uncomfortable in the preceding part of it, and so pleasant in the close of it, as yesterday. My anxiety on the subject of the Aylesbury election was at its height, and, added to late sittings up for some nights past, either at the House of Commons or writing despatches, had produced the most unpleasant effect upon my nerves, which was not



mitigated by the croakings of every body about me respecting the consequences to be expected in the two Houses that evening, from Lord Buckingham's having refused to transmit their Address. No one of his Cabinet here would have thought of suggesting to him that step; and of those to whom he mentioned it, only the Chancellor and the Attorney General were hearty in it. And when he talked of it to me, I was only restrained from murmuring at it by knowing that it was an object to English party, and that you had advised and pressed it. When Lord Buckingham delivered his answer on Thursday last, great chagrin manifested itself in the countenances of those who had acted with Mr. Grattan; and if a succession of English news respecting the King had not since damped their spirits, I believe that this chagrin would have shewn itself in the most unpleasant and violent manner. Your brother delivered his answer with dignity, and great appearance of temper, and will have acquired immortal honour by his firmness throughout this business, in which he has met with every discouragement from people here, and has I believe only been supported by the decided opinion contained in your letter; excepting indeed that the Attorney General has on this, as on every other occasion, stood by him in a very decided and honourable manner. The good news however which arrived from England, and the dislike which the House seem to have to any personal attack upon him, prevented their going the lengths that were talked of last night. And as on every question which they tried, they lost ground in proportion as it was directed more against him, I should think that they would venture to go no further, and would not take up the subject of your reversion, and that of the arrangements in the revenue, which Grattan had shewn an intention of bringing forward, by moving for papers respecting them. The same ground will be to be gone over in the Lords, but I apprehend they will be very tame upon it, and the Archbishop of Cashell and others mean to shirk it.

"Thus all their threats came to little or nothing. And as for their resolutions, though the last is strongly worded, nobody regards it, or lays any stress upon it; and, as a consolation, it has been a means (with the help of the good news) of making a difference in the divisions of above 20 members. In addition to my satisfaction on this head, I had the pleasure in the course of the evening to receive your letter, with one from Aylesbury, announcing the favourable event of that election, with which I am most extremely gratified. Lord Buckingham says that my setting off immediately is out of the question; I must therefore defer it for a week or two. I think however that I ought to behave in the handsomest manner, both in regard to personal attendance, and expense to the Borough, as well with a view to my next election, as for the general benefit of the party in that quarter."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, February 21. Dublin Castle.—"The enclosed despatch will give you the events of yesterday. The triumph in the House of Commons was very great in point of argument, and you will observe that we gained progressively in our numbers; perhaps much of it is owing to the bulletin of the King's *convalescence* which I received, and sent into the House of Commons at 10 o'clock last night. I do not however think it is possible for me, in any contingency, to go on with the government after the violence of the last three weeks, and after the votes of last night. I have, however, cautiously withheld from all but Fitz-Herbert the communication of that sentiment, and the doubt leaves the

delinquents in the greatest misery. Parnell, who for some time has been jealous of Fitz-Gibbon, and angry at the confidence reposed in that very steady and honourable friend, took umbrage last night and voted for the first question, but against the two last; he has only hurt himself, but I am sorry for it as I have a regard for the man. The House of Lords are to proceed this evening, but the mail sails so early that I am obliged to write this in the morning. They are (I conclude) to vote the same nonsense as the Commons. The question is then at issue, and must be discussed in Great Britain, if the Prince of Wales accepts of the Irish Regency as conveyed by this address. That subject is for your consideration, and although I do not wish to inflame for motives personal to myself, yet I trust that after the bold and laborious steps which I have taken, I shall be supported on this very delicate ground which I have fought at every risk. As far as I can collect grounds for my opinion, I am inclined to think that His Royal Highness will be advised in Great Britain to compliment this Parliament with every expression of regard, and that he will accept the Regency as conveyed *fully by the Address*. If so, I hold his adviser impeachable, and yet this is the language of *my* Mr. Sheridan.

"I now dread nothing so much as being obliged to remain in this country. I join therefore most anxiously in your wish that we may be instantly dismissed, but I fear that some good genius will whisper to this young man a counsel more salutary than what he has hitherto followed; and if that should be the case, I cannot paint to myself a scene of misery more deplorable than that of my situation. Fitz-Herbert is wholly unequal to any exertion either of language or of mind; and the recovery of the King's government requires the most decisive and the most active measures; and, above all, it requires a systematical restraint on these great men who have betrayed me; for I beg that you will observe that I have never been beat by more than 56, and these four great rats, Lords Shannon, Loftus, Ponsonby, and Duke of Leinster, carry 42, and therefore make a difference of 84 on the division. In all this cursed scene I am indeed delighted with Bernard's success. He cannot stir at such a moment from me, but I shall hope that a few days will close this scene of misery, which is almost too much for me . . . Another attack is to be made upon your grant.

"I wrote this in the morning, but I found it impossible to finish my despatches, and therefore I stopped the mail. This enables me to add that we have adjourned both Houses *sub silentio*, and the arrival of your letter of the 18th may assist us still further in numbers, but I am not sanguine as to any decisive effect. Your accounts are very vague, but I think that there seems no doubt but that the Report of the Regency Bill will have been postponed on the 19th; and if the Parliament is directed to the supplies by the King's *personal* commission on the 25th, I shall endeavour to look my situation in the face, though the prospect is indeed that of a hell upon earth, and very doubtful indeed as to its success. If I should feel it impracticable, I shall fairly state it to you, and shall press an immediate change; and, in that case, I must hold myself bound, upon every public consideration, to press Pitt to name Hobart as Secretary to the new Lord Lieutenant, from that thorough knowledge of the country which no one possesses equal to him, and from a conviction in my mind that his talents are equal to it; so much so that, if I now had him for my Secretary in the room of my very worthy but very unequal friend Fitz-Herbert, I should still risk the attempt to restore this kingdom to the state in which it ought to be. If I retire, could not Lord Chatham be persuaded to come with so very

able a coadjutor as Hobart. I have kept him here, for, if I should retire (naming Lords Justices) from being unable to carry on the government from the combination of these great powers, and from the inability of breaking it, I should leave him as their Secretary. But perhaps this may clear up in the course of a few days, so as to enable me to judge further of my proceedings; but, in all events, I wish Pitt to keep Hobart in his eye, for I am persuaded that years would not give even to me the local knowledge which this young man has of these worthless people.

"As to the censure, I am wild with satisfaction at the part which I have taken, and at the wretched game of my opponents; and even Fitz-Herbert is now reconciled to it. I am very proud of the words of my answer, and I see that it agrees with your ideas. You must, however, in Parliament, or some way or other, support me, as these people are anxious to know whether I shall be avowed or not. I am in hopes that you will take up the answer from the Prince, if it professes to accept on the grounds on which it is offered. Conolly and O'Neil told different people this morning, and amongst others the former told Fitz-Herbert, that if he did not find the Prince Regent of Great Britain, he would not present the address. I think it would be possible on this ground to alarm them all, and I have therefore thrown out to Lord Sydney the idea of notifying to them, from the King's law servants, their danger. You will see that the protest of the Lord Chancellor, and the speeches of the Attorney and Solicitor have sufficiently laid the ground for you; but, for God's sake, as I have begun the battle in the face of their fire, do not give way in Great Britain. You will see in my letter marked *secret*, my idea of extending my patent so as to avoid any Regency Bill in this kingdom. You clearly understand that *private instructions* will limit me in the use of all those powers, but, in the present moment, I can carry no Regency Bill. I am anxious that the power of Royal Assent should be retained, *and then* our executive is complete in Ireland."

*Enclosure.*—List of placemen and pensioners (specifying emoluments) in both Houses of Parliament who had voted against the Irish Government.

THE MARCHIONESS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, [February] 23. Stowe.—"*Mr. Speaker though t's late*, and that I am just arrived after a most fatiguing journey, I must thank you for your very kind and welcome letter; you could not indeed have made me happier than by your account of the King's health. God grant him a long continuance of it, but I must add one article to my prayr—that this happy change may not operate in keeping *us* in our places. Lord Buckingham has indeed been in a most trying situation; his health, thank God, has hitherto held good, but I am sure if he continues long in the unwholesome air of the Castle, and worried as he has been, a return of bilious disorders must be the consequence; however, the justice that is done him by those whose good opinion he most values, added to the consciousness of having done his duty, must make him full amends for the ingratitude he has met with from my dirty countrymen. I hope it is needless to tell you how much I long to see you, and to present your godson to you, who is the very image of you (all to your wig;) and that you will believe me (with all the respect due to that same wig) your affectionate sister."

## The MARCHIONESS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1789, February 25. Stowe.]—Thanking him for forwarding a letter to her. *Seal of arms.*

## The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1789,] February 25. Dublin Castle.—“I refer you again to the enclosed despatch for the news of this day. The division in the House of Commons exceeded our sanguine expectations; for as to the arguments on such a business they are wholly out of the question at a moment when party runs higher than ever was known in this kingdom. An association has been drawn up and signed by the Duke of Leinster, Lords Shannon, Loftus, Drogheda, Granard, Ross, Ponsonby, Bushe, Langrishe, Doroughmore, Lord Charlemont alias Duke of Armagh, and *multis aliis*, declaring that they will oppose *any Government* who turn any one man out of employment for the vote respecting the Prince of Wales, or any vote in consequence of it; and that they will not accept of any office which shall have been so taken away. I have conversed with many persons upon this subject, and I do not entertain the smallest doubt that this combination *must* be met, and may be broken; but it is necessary that I should know from Pitt, very explicitly, his ideas upon the *data* which I assume.

“1st, I cannot undertake (nor can any one) to carry any one point for English government, and my whole plan proceeds upon suffering them to bring forward any wild nonsense which they may think proper.

“2ndly, I shall immediately secure (which I think I can do without doubt) a majority in the House of Lords, who will throw out any Bill which I do not think advisable to be passed.

“3rdly, I must be enabled to attack the bull by the horns in the persons of Duke of Leinster, Lord Shannon, Loftus, and Mr. Ponsonby, and the *Provost*.

“You will naturally start at this list, and you will tax me with utter madness at conceiving such an undertaking; and the first question which you will ask is whether I will undertake it. I must answer that I have for some months past given up every private feeling to the most mortifying and dispiriting impressions, which could only be born[e] by the firmness with which I have met every attack, and have followed the fair line of duty at every personal risk.

“My object in this has been to support the British interest in this kingdom, and to assist, to the extent of my faculties, the opinions and the party of my friends. I have discussed with the same fairness as I should in the case of an indifferent person, the advantages and disadvantages of my continuance in the government. And if my opinion should not be supported by that of Pitt, or, if, in plain English, he thought that his business could be better administered in other hands, I should be the first to implore him to send over my successor. But the situation of the Government has so materially altered in the course of the last four days, many opinions change so rapidly, and this desperate association has so much varied the grounds of my attack and their defence, that I do not hesitate in stating my wish from every public feeling and from every personal consideration, (perhaps not the most laudable) to meet it to its full extent, under the full persuasion, that in three months I shall be able to deliver into my successor's hands a majority founded on the dismissal, and, I trust, on the subsequent

annihilation, of this party. Lord Shannon had endeavoured to give to his desertion the plea of personal complaint; but I know for *certain* that this measure has been in contemplation for upwards of three years. He had settled to have played this trick to the Duke of Rutland, and he abandoned it, because he could not trust the certainty of a majority against Government. You will be surprised to hear that his plea at that moment was, at it is in the present instance, the want of sufficient power and patronage. He declared, as late as yesterday, (on a report that Lord Chatham was at Park Gate on his road to succeed me,) that he thought well of Mr. Pitt, but that he did not care who was Lord Lieutenant unless the *principles* were admitted upon which alone he could support government, namely, that he should always have the nomination of one bishop, one judge, and one commissioner of the Revenue, besides office for himself, inferior office for his dependants, and the whole patronage of the county and city of Cork. These very terms he had thrown out to me, and I received them as a sort of manifesto declaratory of his purpose of making war; but I now know that he is serious in the proposal, and that he will not recede so long as he conceives that there is a chance of his success. The terms of Mr. Ponsouby are equally high; those of Lord Loftus would possibly remain where they are; and in fact he and every dependant are provided for. But you will probably agree with me that a Government would be disgraced beyond the power of redemption, that took such a being into its confidence and protection.

"I acknowledge the attempt in the teeth of all this to be hazardous in the extreme; but it appears to me essential to the very existence of all government that the battle should be fought. I have hitherto stood the fire of both Houses, and have met fully every imputation which falsehood or malice could suggest. And I am perfectly indifferent to any one resolution which they may now pass, fully confident that none can affect my character. And that the only object of keeping open the Parliament is to have the means of compelling Parliament to sit till Mr. Grattan shall have brought forward some of his speculative measures, which he has thrown out in debate. I think I am now tolerably sure of the majority in the House of Lords, and, in a few days, I shall have little doubt of it. This will enable me to prevent any mischievous effect from their Bills; and ultimately the sessions of Parliament will close by the lapse of time, which will compel them to bring forward the second Money Bill, unless I should be fortunate to carry that measure, which is not impossible, early in the sessions.

"Here I would wish to end my labours, and to put the government at that period into the hands of my successor, who would be enabled to improve six or seven months which must lapse before the Parliament re-assembles. I have purposely avoided hitherto the question of dismissals. In the 1st place, you will recollect that I have not the *data* of the King's health later than the accounts of the 19th. And the whole of this turns upon that 1st question of his Majesty's recovery; the expectation of every one is on the stretch; perhaps if the accounts of the adjourning or rejecting the Bill had arrived, I should not have been this night in the minority. Till those accounts arrive, I cannot speak to any one person upon his objects and his future conduct; and I have not yet declared my intention on the subject of dismissals. I feel, however bitter the pill, that I must swallow the mortification of leaving some culprits in their employments, particularly those who have hitherto returned, and those who first run from the association. With the others an important question arises respecting the mode and time of

their dismissal, so as least to revolt the feelings of Parliament, which, you will easily imagine, will be worked upon in order to raise a popular cry in favour of the martyrs.

"On the other hand, the inconvenience, indeed the utter impossibility of suffering many of them to hold some of the most confidential and lucrative departments, are sufficiently obvious. And many of these dismissals must originate in the King's commands, and I have not yet heard sufficiently what is the idea upon the subject of the personal exercise of the Royal authority. I have already stated my earnest wish that, in order to avoid any question in this country which we are sure of losing, his Majesty would retain in own hands the power of the Royal Assent; and I pointed out to you the solution by which the Royal authority might be completely administered here, without taking to myself one *iota* more *real* power, *independent of the Cabinet of Great Britain*, than that which I now hold. But if the power of passing the Bills is not reserved to the King, and if it should be necessary to enable any one to assist him by Bill, I must remind you that the only assistance which the Parliament of Ireland would give to the King is that of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Mr. Pitt will recollect that I have not yet, from public and private reasons, suggested one *iota* which could distress him in his proceedings, but that I have endeavoured to adapt my language and our proceedings to whatever line he has taken; but, on behalf of the Crown of England, and of the connexion between the two kingdoms, it is necessary for me to implore that this consideration may have it's due weight in deciding on the line which it will be necessary to take for assisting the King. I have opened this idea to the Lord Chancellor and to Fitz-Gibbon, who are both eager for the proposal. But I dare not entertain it, much less act upon it, till I know the actual state of his Majesty's health.

"You say nothing in your letter on the subject of re-examination of the medical people. You remember that those reports are before the Irish Houses of Lords and Commons as proofs of the King's incapacity; proper evidence on this head must therefore be transmitted for their information. You understand me then clearly to offer to retire this moment if Pitt wishes to relieve me; and you will understand me to hold it only to the end of the sessions of Parliament, by which time I trust that I shall have made my ground so far as to enable me to deliver a majority to my successor without the odium of dismissals. But my 1st object has been to endeavour to secure such assistance as alone can enable me and, I verily believe, any other man to proceed; I mean the assistance of the old stagers in the practice of managing this respectable Legislature. I have applied to Mr. Lees, who is cordial and sanguine; to Cooke, who has offered to quit his clerkship in the House of Commons for Sheridan's employment, provided he can be secure in the difference of about 4 or 500*l.* a year, by a floating pension. And lastly, I have engaged Hobart to remain in Ireland, with every exertion in his power, under the promise of giving to him Fitz-Herbert's situation if he should [quit, which I now think probable; and of my recommending him most warmly to Pitt, as one who can materially serve my successor. When I talk of Fitz-Herbert's resignation, I do not mean to imply the slightest blame; but he feels that he is wholly unfit, in point of nerves, for the vigour and activity of the present moment. I do not disguise to myself that this combination naturally appals the stoutest heart. And, in my conscience, I believe that nothing enables me to face it but the greatest resentment, and the most sovereign contempt, and the most perfect indifference to any one thing

which the House of Commons may think proper to vote. Our numbers in the worst of times were not lower than 74. Of these about 66 might be depended on. Several rats have run back to us; and, on the division of this night, two or three voted against us who had joined us against the vote of censure. Some few were absent by accident; I think therefore that I may safely trust our present numbers to be 85. The majority will therefore depend upon the conversion of about 15 persons, many of whom have held out every symptom of their wishes, and only wait for that final account which we had flattered ourselves we should have received by this mail. In the House of Lords our prospects are more certain. Two Peers have joined us since the last division, and many more are running round the door of the rat-trap, waiting only for the bait.

"I have conversed with Fitz-Gibbon very much at large upon the question of fighting this battle in my hands, or in those of my successor; perhaps from friendship he is partial to me, but he wishes earnestly that I should remain till the session is closed. He is sanguine in the prospect of success, and declares, very roundly, that he never was so well supported by any Chief Governor; and that if this battle is not fought, he will never fight another. It will be necessary for every reason to make him Chancellor when Parliament arises, Lord Lifford having declared his intention of resigning; and in truth he has now earned his pension. I must be held at liberty to propose some immediate advances and creations; and, while I am on this head, I must add that I shall accept Mr. Pitt's nomination of Sir John Aubrey as soon as he thinks proper to make it. But, of course, he will not load our cart at a moment when it behoves me to endeavour to be popular. And I fear that this popularity may be a little put to the test by some of my batch, exclusive of Pitt's Jew.

"Once more let me beg of you to impress Pitt with my readiness to retire, and with my determination not to slacken one moment in that animation which, in spite of the omens, advice, and long faces of every person round me, has constantly risen in proportion to the difficulties with which I have struggled. I am very impatient to hear the reception which my answer has met in England. Remember that I have staked my whole credit on that issue; I do not know what use you have to make of it; but I trust you will make it popular in England. In this country it undoubtedly gains ground.

"I have now stated to you, very much at length, my situation. My project depends, as you will see, 1st, on the King's recovery; 2ndly, on your not proposing to me to carry any British measure in this kingdom; and, 3rdly, on being supported by every assistance of power and patronage; and by a clamour to be raised in England as well as Ireland against the insolence of this aristocracy, and the danger and indecency of such a combination. On all these points let me hear from you immediately; and be very explicit upon the manner in which it is proposed to assist the King in his government until he shall be entirely recovered."

"We have battled the Committee of Supply again this day, and are beat only by a majority of 15; we are in the highest spirits, and are in the utmost anxiety for the arrival of this mail, which is so cruelly delayed. Fitz-Gibbon has leant most heavily on Grattan, who has avowed the association; the former has reminded him of every association of whiteboys and others, and of his *own* Bill for suppressing such associations by the penalty of *whipping at the cart's tail*. I mention this as a proof of the exultation of our friends, and of the

depression of their party. But after all, every thing depends upon the King's health. Could not Pitt be persuaded to compliment Fitz-Gibbon in the English House of Commons, if any mention is made of this strange proceeding? I am very anxious that he should find that he is supported by *our friends* in England. I do not know what you will do upon the Irish proceedings, but I cannot think that you should be quiet upon this claim after my solemn refusal."

"I am anxious that some notice should be taken by Pitt of Fitz-Gibbon; indeed he deserves it."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, March 2. Dublin Castle.—"You will see by the enclosed how much I have been tortured by the westerly winds; and how cruelly I have been deprived of that comfort which your letters always give me. You will, long before this, have received my long details of the state of this Government, and of my determination, in all events, to abide the chance of this political war till the session closes, unless Pitt thinks that the Government would be safer or easier in other hands. I have felt myself obliged to state to you every consideration which ought to guide his judgment, but after having done so, I am *firm* to abide by the lot which Providence has given to me, and to continue to meet the difficulties which are inseparable from my situation. I am told that much change will take place in the opinions of people, but I do not yet find it to any *great* degree. I shall however anxiously look forward to the next division, and, in the mean time, I have every engine employed to detach individual members from this wicked combination; and have been tolerably successful, particularly in the House of Lords which, I trust, is tolerably secure. But I should feel singularly fortunate if the state of public business could allow Mornington or Lord Carysfort to come over and assist me in it, for I feel miserably dependant upon the caprice and jealousy of individuals in that House. In the House of Commons, while Fitz-Gibbon is with us, I feel strong and at ease, and I must say that I have the most unbounded confidence in him. He is delighted with Pitt's letter. I have not touched in my letter to Lord Sydney upon peerages, but I must repeat (what I told you before) that I must have a *liberal* allowance on that subject, for creations and advancements; as it is a most essential object for the present and future Parliaments.

"We must give some Marquisates, Lord Tyrone, Lord Hillsborough, and (I fear) Lord Antrim, and Lord Clanricarde; but the two latter have no male issue. Lord Shannon is still stout in his professions of his opposition to Government, but *falsely* puts it on personal grounds to me. I again repeat that I cannot treat with him; and I do not doubt the event of the struggle, but it will be long and arduous. As to the time of dismissal, *that* must be doubtful; but if I can get an adjournment (after our Bills are passed) I should think that might be the moment; however, on this head I must think further. I find a real relief in Hobart's zeal and activity, and am confirmed in my determination to take him as my Secretary as soon as Fitz-Herbert's arrangements can be made up. He presses me to let him go, feeling his total insufficiency; and I should have acquiesced in this some time since, but that I do not like the appearance of his desertion or quarrelling. He told me this day that he understood the Hague and Vienna to be open, and that he wished to go to the first upon Harris's appointments, or to Vienna *upon the same appointments as at the*



*Hague.* He is very poor, and I much wish you would let me know how far Pitt could or would assist him, for I feel that I owe much to his zeal and affection, and am very anxious for him. But, in the present moment, Hobart's appointment would be valuable to me, and invaluable to my successor whoever he might be. Write to me at large upon all this.

"I feel your kindness in pressing an immediate arrangement for the King's resumption of power ; it is indeed indispensable for Ireland; and I have explained to you and to Lord Sydney the reasons of my earnest wishes on this head, and particularly on the legislative power, which I again *implore* may be resumed and exercised by *prerogative*, so as not to require any assistance which our Irish Parliament would undoubtedly cavil at in their present wildness; and they are now so sufficiently disgraced, even in the eyes of their countrymen, that I wish to leave them thus grossly wrong and abandoned, rather than give them new ground.

"I do not know whether I am wrong, but removed as I am from the means of seeing the King, I cannot but wish some more flattering testimony of the King's approbation than an Office despatch, and if I could receive from him at any time an acknowledgment by letter of my unwearied zeal, I should feel very happy. But having been unfortunate, I am a little jealous of the opinion which he may entertain of my proceedings; and as I shall never plague him for any other reward, I much wish that he could write such a letter. My health has suffered by the agitation of my mind. I must however beg you to keep this from my dear wife, who would be uneasy upon it, and I have deceived her in hopes that exercise and quiet will restore me; but I am not well. Yet in every moment my ardour and zeal are the same, and my spirits have, thank God, never failed me. Grattan has now got upon a little petty warfare of hunting jobs which he wishes to attack, but this is too trifling to deserve notice. He is wild with vexation and with malice."

"I trust that the newspapers will have laughed at our embassy; you know that this nonsense is material in Ireland."

The SAME to the SAME.

1789, March 4. Dublin Castle.—

Government

Opposition.

115

to

106

"Joy to you, joy because you will feel for me, but joy because you have been, through my demerits, the subject of this night's debate. Grattan has moved a resolution upon your patent, but covering it under an abstract question. It was fought in the manner the most offensive to Grattan, by stating that you was paid by a miserable contingent reversion for completing that which Grattan had blundered, and for which he had been paid 50,000*l.* This threw him into a frenzy of rage, and the lie direct was mutually given between him and Mr. Parsons, who first stated it; this cleared the House, and three hours were wasted in the utmost violence. We did not dare push it too far, not knowing our strength; but at length they were reconciled, and the same line of debate, interlarded with much of compliment and much of abuse to me, was continued till 11 o'clock, when we beat them by *nine*.

"This triumph is unexpected, for every thing which could be mustered by Duke of Leinster, Lord Shannon, Loftus, Clifden, and Ponsonby,

was there, and voted against us. I do not however think it decisive, for many country gentlemen voted with us, and will probably leave us on any hard vote; however I shall gain strength by the junction of more rats. I have not hitherto engaged myself to pardon more than some few insignificant stragglers, not one with office above 600*l.*, but have principally recruited my ranks with persons who had formerly opposed, and are now in hopes (from promises) of part of the plunder. One peerage *only* is promised, and that *must* be made good by the opening of the new Parliament. It is to Mr. Alexander, who gives us two votes *now*, and two seats for the next election. To this I have ventured to engage, for the time admits no delay. The old five promised by the Duke of Rutland, Gardiner, Browne, Gore, Lawless, and Stewart, should be done as soon as may be; and Lord Tyrone and Lord Hillsborough *must* be Marquesses. This will, I fear, involve Lord Antrim and Lord Clanricarde in the same promotion, as they claim the King's promise, but they have no sons. I look upon *this last* as absolutely necessary, and you must get me an answer upon it, as Lords Hillsborough and Tyrone are very warm in the pursuit of it, and have been very steady. I have promised no reversion, no grant for life, and I shall be able to escape any engagement of that sort: and, upon the whole, I claim very great merit for the most unwearied attention, in which I have been seconded by Hobart with a zeal, a clearness, and quickness, beyond my most sanguine hopes. For God's sake facilitate Fitz-Herbert's arrangement for me, as it will relieve me from very serious difficulty. I cannot say how much animation has been shewn in the service of Government by individuals who have assisted me, and the greatest part of my merit is, that I have left a scene of wild transport to share my joy with you. Adieu. Pray see Pitt, and let him open all this to the King as soon as it may be proper. Lord Shannon is outrageous at the defeat.

"Pray let the London papers be ordered immediately to celebrate this defeat of the Aristocracy. You cannot conceive the advantage arising from the squibs in your papers against our embassy. Pray let it be continued against the Aristocracy.

"I must have the King's answer as soon as may be; cannot he be persuaded to acknowledge my zeal for him?"

"The Chancellor has been seriously ill, and has claimed a pension at the end of the sessions. He has fairly earned it, and Fitz-Gibbon ought to have a specific promise of it. I have assured him of my best wishes."

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, March 9. Dublin Castle.—"Your letters of the 5th of March arrived yesterday, and are very fully satisfactory upon the points in my long letter of the 25th ultimo, and upon the state of public business. I trust that no *contretemps* will now intervene to check the message intended for tomorrow, and that we shall be relieved from the wretched uncertainty which has torn this country for the last three months. The accounts of the King's relapse are most confidently supported, and are intended to operate upon the division of this night. Our last majority of nine was composed, as I told you, almost entirely either of old and steady friends, or of country gentlemen who have undertaken our support most cordially. They will however, from their situations, be under the necessity of supporting some popular questions, and with the view of shaking those numbers, Mr. Grattan moves this day his Bill for limiting

the pensions, and incapacitating placemen and pensioners from a seat in Parliament. We dare not meet it, and therefore we are under the necessity of putting it off (if possible) by proposing a future day, which may enable our country gentlemen to support it at a moment more proper than the present. We hope that this will gain us a few votes, but I still think that the chance of our success is (notwithstanding every exertion) very desperate. However, I have the comfort of having secured an *absolute and decided* majority in the House of Lords, who will reject the Bill whenever it comes to them. By every degree of personal attention, and the unwearied activity of two or three confidential agents, we have gained several decided votes of our former Opposition; and I have received to mercy some very insignificant rats, whose penitence and poverty will protect them. This practice has disengaged some few wretched followers from the great leaders, and I have reason to hope that I shall be able to separate some from Lord Shannon and Lord Loftus. Every day shews me the impossibility of suffering this combination to escape the punishment so justly due to them, and, without that punishment, the King's government never will be re-established. Upon this point I have consulted Fitz-Gibbon, who is clearly of the same opinion; but I wish to delay any decisive measure for a few days, because I have hopes of breaking Lord Clifden from the Round Robin, he having writ to press for leave from Welbore Ellis, and his people have avoided all the personally strong questions with a view of making their peace; and because I think that we may be able to get an adjournment of three weeks as soon as the Money Bills return to us, and I should wish to employ that time in the business of dismissal, which would be unpleasant during the actual sitting of Parliament. I should then proceed to dismiss Ponsonby, Lord Loftus, and those whose commissions can be recalled by my warrant; and to notify to Lord Shannon, Duke of Leinster, Lord Drogheda, the Commissioners of Revenue, the pensioners, and others my intention of recommending to his Majesty successors to their employments, and the determination of their pensions. I am confident of our ultimate success; but even if it should be absolutely necessary that the Parliament should ultimately be dissolved, I should not fear the popularity or the wisdom of the measure, in the course of the summer.

"Bernard will leave me on Tuesday next, and by him you will be more informed of my ideas and wishes than you can from volumes of correspondence. I depend however fully upon Pitt's honour for the completion of those promises (very few) which I am obliged to make; but he will remember the peculiarity of my situation, which obliges me to act from one moment to the other without the possibility of communication with him, or with Lord Sydney. I wish therefore to have from the latter an official document of the King's commands that no pains or exertions should be spared to put the Government in a situation of resisting the effects of this combination. Perhaps I may be jealous without reason, but I cannot but feel it extraordinary that I have not a scrap of official paper signifying to me the King's thanks or approbation of my conduct, though two Office letters state him to be well enough to allow his Ministers to take his commands. Surely I have deserved well from him; but what I chiefly look to is my own security in wishing to receive a testimony of his approbation of my very difficult and very critical measures; particularly as letters are written by the Irish Embassadors (and *even by the Prince of Wales stating that the King is very ill pleased with me*) stating that the King has promised Lord Thurlow, who has spoken to him from the Prince of Wales, that I shall

be recalled. This, as you will believe, makes no impression upon my conviction of the support which Pitt gives me; but it is painful not to be able to say that the King has approved my conduct. Pray turn this over, for it makes me uneasy; particularly as it is possible that the King, comparing the events in Great Britain and in Ireland, may think that the proceedings in the latter are the consequence of my incapacity or inattention. I again repeat that I do not wish to press upon him for any reward, (however dearly I may have earned it,) but that three lines from him would repay much of the misery which I have undergone.

"Hobart has been every thing to me that I could wish, and if Pitt can take Fitz-Herbert off my hands by sending him to the Hague or Vienna, I shall be happy in the relief which I shall find by placing him in my Office. He is, by many degrees, the best servant that can be employed here by Great Britain, having quickness, parts, and the most intimate knowledge of every man in Ireland. I am sorry therefore that Pitt should doubt of recommending him to my successor, but of that he will be to judge; and he does wrong in his choice, if he conceives that an angel from heaven could do as well as one who has passed ten years in this kingdom. His talents in bringing over people in the last fortnight have been very conspicuous, and equalled only by his discretion. I have had no answer to my idea, stated in my letter to you of the 25th, of an immediate promotion in the peerage, as a mark of grace to our supporters; be so good as to know whether it will be accepted. I take it for granted that the same signed message which is sent to the British Houses tomorrow, will be transmitted here for our Irish Houses, unless the King shall have thanked the British Houses for their care of his prerogative, which I trust he will not feel disposed to do towards our Irish Parliament; but whatever it be, a *message* must be sent, and I trust that it has not been forgot, as I have repeatedly stated this subject.

"Grattan is more angry and sore at his defeat, and at the beating which he got from Parsons than you can imagine. The *lethalis arundo* appears to have rankled in his side from the moment of passing our Bill of Renunciation, and the truths on that subject have been pressed to the full advantage. I enclose to you a specimen of the anodynes which are occasionally prescribed for him. I hope you have seen a most excellent correspondence between Weltzie and Blaquiére in the *Freeman's Journal*; those sort of squibs are very useful to us. The cry of the country is, I am persuaded, with us, but every means is taken to procure votes and addresses of the grand juries at the approaching assizes, in favour of their vote to the Prince of Wales.

1789, March 10.—"I missed the mail by delaying it too long. 22 country members who had voted for us, turned against us as we had foreseen, and we lost it 98 *v.* 130. Our difference therefore was not material, but if any thing rather in our favour, for most of these will return, and will make at any time the difference of 44; we are safe in the House of Lords."

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, March 12. Dublin Castle.—"I have so violent a headach that I am obliged to use Fremantle's pen to inform you that late last night I received by the messenger your letter of the 7th, together with Lord Sydney's despatch, and the copy of the speech proposed to be made by the Lords Commissioners. I feel so strongly the necessity of not losing a moment in re-establishing in the minds of people that authority to

which they must look for their reward or punishment, that I passed much of the night in framing the very interesting communication which I am announce to them, a communication rendered more difficult by the peculiar circumstances of my situation. In the first paragraph of the Speech I have not varied from the English model, conceiving that, in a message from the King to his two Parliaments reciting the same fact, it was neither prudent nor decent to make the slightest alteration. The second paragraph was very difficult, and after turning it in many different ways, I have omitted the whole, finding it impossible to save the dignity of the Crown, the dignity of Parliament, and my personal honour by any thing which I could say upon the subject of their late proceedings. I therefore proceed to call for the usual supplies; and then pay a tribute of applause, which is indeed very justly due, to the people at large for their loyalty and attachment to the King's person; and conclude with expressing my confidence that the Lords and Commons of Ireland do not yield to any of his Majesty's subjects in their sensations of joy at his recovery. This Speech reads well, appears to conciliate by looking forward without a comment on what was passed, and will be answered by a very full and affectionate address to the King. You will easily believe that we shall pledge them to the usual supplies, and that, upon this subject, we shall proceed as fast as possible. I do not apprehend any opposition strong enough to negative the usual supply, and I am confident that every hour has weakened that abominable conspiracy which must be resisted by every means, and at every risk. Many disputes have arisen between these people, and variety of negotiations have been attempted; but I have positively refused to listen to any which affects to treat for the whole body as connected by that association; and although I should not be disinclined, for the sake of the King's government, to sacrifice my own personal feelings to Lord Shannon, yet I have positively refused to hear any proposal from him except for himself, and the members immediately dependant upon him. In this line I mean to persist, without any hopes of a permanent steady majority, for I cannot trust the country gentlemen. But in the House of Peers I am decidedly able to throw out any measure which may be proposed. With these impressions, I feel relieved by your assurances that Great Britain has no objects to carry in this kingdom; and I am perfectly able and equally willing to act on the defensive, and to protect the Crown by the intervention of the Lords, as well as by my own firmness and temper.

"I am now going to open to you a very singular business which will require very great deliberation. We were beat, as I wrote you word, upon the Pension Bill; the principle of it having been combated particularly on the statement made by the friends of it. When it got into the Committee, Lord Shannon and Ponsonby are supposed to have taken fright at the complexion of their own child; but whatever be the cause, our friends were purposely kept silent whilst it was amended to a principle and to a system so totally different from that which had been announced, that if it comes up into the House of Lords as clearly defined as we now understand it to be, I am advised by every servant of the Crown to adjourn the second reading to some distant day, a fortnight or three weeks, in order that I may have time to communicate with the King's servants in England upon the subject of it. The civil and military pensions at this moment amount to one hundred and three thousand pounds, of which the Royal family have twelve thousand; and the pensions granted by his Majesty under the addresses of both Houses amount to as much more. You know how invidious the whole subject is, and the difficulty in

persuading the majority (though they may vote with Government) to defend the measure in general, or their own approbation of it. The particular state of the Royal family will necessarily call, at some period perhaps not very distant, for a very large charge for the maintenance of the King's younger children; while, at the same time, those already granted to the Royal family will probably not fall in soon, nor would they supply one half of the demand which must be called for. I do not know whether the Bill, which we have abandoned entirely to its patrons in the House of Commons, will be altered upon the report; but if it is not, it will have limited the pension list to the annual sum of 80000*l.*, with the exception, in favour of the Crown, of all pensions now granted or to be granted to his Majesty's Royal family, or those which shall be hereafter granted in consequence of the address of both Houses of Parliament. By this arrangement the right in the Crown, which has hitherto been always disputed, and often with much acrimony, will be established to the undisputed grant and control of a pension list of 80,000*l.*; to a new and unlimited pension list as a separate and distinct charge for his Royal family; and to a third pension list in favour of such persons as shall have been approved by the address of both Houses of Parliament. The restrictive clause which precludes all pensioners from sitting or voting in the House of Commons, is, as you well know, waste paper in Great Britain, and will not operate more harshly here. I give you these few outlines, but you will easily imagine that no step will be taken to commit the Government until I can have full communication with Great Britain upon this important subject; but, in the mean time, I earnestly wish that you would press Pitt to detain the King's letter for the Duke of Gloucester's further pension, until this subject shall have been decided. I am very anxious on that point, and implore you to attend particularly to it.

"The next measure of Opposition is personally aimed at a borough interest belonging to Beresford; but it is masked under the name of a Bill to prevent revenue-officers from voting at elections. We are in hopes that it will be lost in the Commons, as there is reason to imagine that Lord Shannon dislikes this, and the repeal of the Police Bill; in truth he has lost so much character by his infamous desertion of his former opinions on the subject of the Pension Bill, that he is miserable at the proposal of doing the same thing on these other measures. In truth they are all hampered by their round-robin, and though all wish to desert, no one dare show the way. On a careful review of the House of Commons, I begin to entertain doubts whether we should not materially gain by a dissolution in the course of the summer. I throw this out, not as a measure which requires immediate determination, but only with the intention that it should be kept in view.

"You have said nothing more upon the subject of the promotions which I have pressed in the Peerage, than to state that I have *chart blanche*. That power I wish to exercise immediately in favour of four Marquesses, four Earls, of whom three are included in the Duke of Rutland's list, four Viscounts, and the Duke of Rutland's five Barons, Gardiner, Lawless, Browne, Gore, and Stewart; to whom I would wish to add the name of Lord Chief Justice Carleton, whose integrity and abilities are well known; and having no son, that title will merge, as well as Mr. Gore's for the same reason. This would enable me to make my arrangements for the next Parliament, by holding out a more immediate prospect of success to those to whom I have made

arrangements for Peerage at the ensuing Parliament, whenever it may be; for, from these whom I have named, three seats only can be obtained, all which had been specifically promised by Mr. Orde. I feel that this may appear matter of difficulty, but Pitt must remember that from these promises I have derived no advantage in this critical moment, and that nothing but the most firm and decided exertions can save the country from this profligate combination. I am encouraged every hour by those whom I most trust to persist in the line which I have taken, and it is my intention to take an early opportunity (perhaps not till after the Money Bills are out of the House of Commons, which may be expected in a fortnight,) to call the delinquent members, beginning with Lord Shannon, to a separate and specific explanation of their conduct. I wish however to see the measure of dismissals begun in Great Britain. I once more repeat that I have not the slightest apprehension for any thing which the Opposition can now do to the prejudice of the King's government. But it is essential to my peace of mind that I should know how far the King is or is not satisfied with my exertions for his service. Your last letter entirely omits the slightest notice of this very interesting question which I put to you; and Lord Sydney's official despatch, though very civil, does not give me the least intimation of the King's pleasure upon this subject. The report of the town tells me that Pitt supports me, but that every other member of the Government is loud in their complaints of my general government, though they give me credit for my answer to the Irish Parliament. I trust that upon all these points you will be very explicit, for very much of my conduct must depend upon the knowledge of these truths. And in all events, I trust that Pitt will not suffer me to be betrayed into a forfeiture of my personal faith to those who have supported me, and those to whom I am engaged.

"You tell me that the solutions which I pointed out for FitzHerbert cannot be, and you hint at some other. Pray remember how much I suffer in the interim. Hobart is invaluable to me, and I feel hourly the advantage which I should derive from his ostensible appointment to that situation. Pray therefore do not lose a moment in explaining to me your ideas of a solution for Fitz-Herbert; but I own that I fear very much that it may not be such as to enable him to quit me with honour; and I cannot (indeed I would not) let him leave me discontented or disgraced, for he is a very honourable and steady friend. It is the only favour I will ask, and surely Pitt must feel interested in a point so material to my situation and private comfort."

#### THE MARCHIONESS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1789, March —. Stowe.]—"The loyal town of Buckingham has been before hand with your wishes; as the Mayor and Corporation all wear wigs, of course they foresee events long before other people, and therefore never act but upon grave and mature deliberation. They have been planning an illumination for some time, as also the roasting a cow; *so much for Buckingham*. Now as to myself, I defy any one to be more transported with joy at the King's recovery, but should have been very likely to have overlooked the ox without your hint. I thank you therefore very heartily for it, and in the heat of my loyalty should improve upon your ox, and roast a bull in honour of Ireland, but that my aunt gives me *her anor* she would not touch a bit of it, whether from prudery or patriotism I know not. I should suspect the former, as she

joins very cordially with me in rejoicing at the glad tidings I have just got from Lord Buckingham of Mr. Grattan's defeat."

S. BERNARD to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, March 12. Dublin Castle.—"Though I have not written to you myself for some time, you have seen such frequent accounts in my handwriting of what is going on here, that I have thought it unnecessary to intrude upon you with letters from myself particularly, as nothing occurred to me to mention beyond what either your brother's letters or the newspapers would detail to you. We all remain in good spirits, being confident that our adversaries can do us no mischief; for although we may be beat in the House of Commons on most popular questions, yet we feel strong enough there to carry through any material business, and prevent personal attacks, as we shewed you on the night on which Mr. Grattan moved his resolution against your reversion.

"Besides the Pension Bill, there remains another question, *videlicet* the Repeal of the Police, upon which we are likely to be beat in the House of Commons. But one half of the Opposition would not vote as they do on these measures if they were not sure that they would be thrown out in the House of Lords; in which House we shall have a majority of about ten or a dozen, and perhaps more, if the Irish Ambassadors do not bring over some fresh proxies with them from England; for which I hear they have been canvassing, though I am not aware of any peers that have taken their seats, who have not already been applied to by one party or the other.

"William Fremantle returned about ten days ago; and I should have set off before this, but I could not be spared immediately; and I have had a good many concerns of my own to attend to previous to my taking leave of this country, to which it is probable I may not return again. I have fixed to sail next week, probably on Wednesday the 18th, and shall come to town immediately to take my seat; and then go down to pay my compliments to my electors.

"*The Morning Herald* says that the Castle is surrounded with guards to protect the Marquis from the fury of the populace.

"There are no other guards than the usual sentries; and your brother drives out in his coach continually, without any other attendants than an *aide-du-camp* and two footmen.

"*The Public Advertiser* says that he shuts himself up from the world. The fact is that he sees all sorts of people from eleven o'clock till five every day; and has either had company to dinner, or dined out, almost every day for some day past."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1789,] March 14. Dublin Castle.—"I have only time to tell you that my Speech has been universally admired, and by all parties admitted to be one of the best ever framed, considering the peculiar circumstances of it. The consequence was unanimity in the Addresses to his Majesty and to me, and a profusion of compliments from Grattan upon the speech, the address, the movers, and the subject. Lord Kingsborough moved, D. Latouche seconded; Lord Hillsborough and Lord Glandore in the Lords. When this was done, it was proposed that, as a mark of loyalty on such an occasion, the report of the Committee should be instantly received, and the Address presented, contrary to their uniform practice which puts one day between; this was instantly



acceded to, and I have received that from the Commons, and am waiting for the Lords, who are coming up. The real object of this is to prevent the report of the Embassy, with the Prince's answer, (which is expected next tide) appearing in the Journals as a part of our business. This I thought most essential in a constitutional view; and therefore, though I did not receive the messenger till 12 o'clock, I went down, having prepared all things, and seeing a manifest advantage in securing to the Irish Embassy the same ridiculous circumstance upon their return to Dublin, as upon their arrival in London, that they came one day after the fair.

"I cannot say how much I am made uneasy by your account of the difficulties attending Fitz-Herbert. It is surely a point in which Pitt is as much interested as I am, and being senior to every Minister of his rank, I cannot see how he can be put by in favour of any one junior without injury; particularly as I have no idea how he can be imagined to have quitted that line. As to his pension, he is surely *entitled* to it, not *ex gratia*; but I shall be miserable if he does not receive a mark of the King's favour in consideration of his very handsome conduct during the struggle for the Prince of Wales, with whom he has always kept his connexions, having been put into his first family by the King; and yet I cannot imagine that Pitt will oblige me to keep him here, where he cannot serve the public or me as he would wish, and where he feels himself as rather dis-serving, though with the honestest intentions. I need not add more, for you feel for me; but indeed this is no common application, and I must think that few difficulties ought to stand in the way of such an honourable solution to him as Vienna, which is the point on which his heart is fixed.

"I am very well satisfied with Lord Sydney's last despatch, which is full to the assurances of support in whatever I may find necessary. And on that head, I have nothing further to wish; but is it not singular that no signification of the King's approbation has yet been sent to me. You know my wishes upon this subject.

"As to dismissals, that field is very wide, and I have not yet made up my mind to the time or the extent; but it seems certain that *they* will persist in the round robin. The Pension-Bill is now gone through the Commons, and, exclusive of all that I stated to you in my last, I have now to add that they give to Government by it, the power of vacating seats by giving *any pension*. This principle is new and has always been much wanted. I enclose a copy of it to you, but as I am not prepared with an official letter upon it, I cannot write to Lord Sydney by this mail. I wish you to consider it well with Pitt. Fitz-Gibbon is eager to pass it."

#### THE MARCHIONESS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1789, March] 15. Stowe.—"On Thursday, which was the day that the post brought us the joyful news, I obeyed your commands; and flatter myself it was done not only according to the letter but also to the spirit of them. Our ox, accompanied by loaves, was divided *regularly* to above two thousand people; the rest was a scramble as you may imagine, though, considering that we were not sparing of our beer, there was very little riot. The north front was very thoroughly illuminated; that, with the ox roasting in front, made a grand shew, and all the quality of Buckingham came to see it. As I had had a hint that might be the case, I had provided accordingly; we had a supper in the hall, and made a Ranelagh of the saloon, which all ended with an

impromptu dance in the dining room. All the fat would, however, have been in the fire if old Woodward and Parrot had not perceived that the Corporation (who mean to give a fete on Tuesday next) had cast an eye of envy on our ox, who happened to be double the size of the one they had provided. It has therefore been decided in our privy council that an ox of the proper size should be given to them. All that I am anxious for is that whatever fault I commit in my regency may be of the right side."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1789,] March 21. Dublin Castle.—"I enclose to you two letters which you will seal and transmit; they will explain my present state, fully determined to reject all attempts to treat with the round robin *en corps*, but ready to receive individual submission. This line is made indispensable by the extent and the influence of the combination, which, sooner or later, must be (in part at least) taken into the King's service on proper terms of subjection and restraint. I have tried the professions of the country gentlemen who have, as you see, left me completely in the lurch on the Pension Bill; and have, even this day, insisted on thanking the Prince of Wales for his answer, though in the teeth of decency, precedent, and order; and I am by no means clear that they will support me (notwithstanding their professions) on the question of the long Money Bills. Notwithstanding this, I should have trusted to time, and to chance, and my own exertions, but for a communication, which I know to be authentic, of the closest connexion offered by the English Opposition, through the mediation of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to this round robin, provided that they will break off instantly all idea of negotiation with Irish Government, and act under their orders and to their purposes. I confess that this has staggered me, as I know that it is intended by many persons, particularly Lord Charlemont and Grattan, to press this compact which has hitherto been only opened to a few persons; and I do not hesitate to say that such a combination, supported and guided by the Prince of Wales, and Mr. Sheridan, and the whole English party, would convulse this whole kingdom. Lord Shannon is frightened, and through him I shall possibly dissolve the whole; but I fear that I may be obliged to leave them in possession of their employments, though they do not even expect any power, patronage, or other favour. If this line be strictly adhered to, a few months would enable me to pick out the most obnoxious upon the first quarrel; and they certainly cannot exist without their jobs in their counties. After all, however, I do not like this business, and I am not sure that I shall not ultimately break it off if I can see any other solution to it. Fitz-Gibbon is warm and eager for the negotiation. Adieu. I write seldom, for I am worn to death, not having left this room except for dinner since 10 o'clock this morning; and this is my practice almost constantly, my anti-chamber being crowded with every species of jobber."

"Pray write to me about my Peers, for I am frightened at the idea of my engagements being all personal, and not avowed by Government."

The SAME to the SAME.

1789, March 22. Dublin Castle.—"Since I wrote last night, we are advanced nearly to the conclusion of our negotiation. Lord Loftus earnestly deprecates the humiliation of a resignation, but offers a message

which is to state his earnest wish to be able to remove by his future conduct all unfavourable impressions from his Majesty's mind. The Duke of Leinster has not quite decided. Lord Clifden is too happy to return, and Lord Shannon most eager and loud in his self-condemnation. Under all these circumstances Fitz-Herbert and Fitz-Gibbon earnestly pressed me to let Lord Loftus off without this previous humiliation, and I have agreed; and have now the singular pleasure to inform you that Mr. Ponsonby is to oppose, and is consequently to be dismissed with all his suite. This will enable me to gratify many expectants, and will mark that abominable connexion, which, I am convinced, would in 48 hours have been acceded to by the whole round robin, and would have overthrown all government in Ireland, save that of Mr. Fox.

"I once more hope that you will conceive my reputation saved, the King's honour preserved, and the Government secured by this arrangement; but indeed I stand in need of Pitt's acquiescence for my own gratification, though it will be too late to alter the measure. I go down to the House as soon as the last set of Bills arrive, and we shall then adjourn by consent for a fortnight, to complete our arrangement. You will understand that all the placemen in the round robin, except Ponsonby, and the Duke of Leinster, have acceded; and I think we shall secure Conolly; but of this I am not sure."

"Pray give the earliest notice of this to Pitt. I do not write officially, because it is not quite concluded, though I have no doubt upon any part of what I have stated to you."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

[1789,] March 22. Dublin Castle.—"Nothing can be more satisfactory to me in every point of view than your letter of the 17th, which I have just received. I owe to your kind affection a thousand thanks for every pains which you have taken to relieve my mind from the jealousies which the reports from England had suggested to me. They were not wholly unfounded, as I have now *seen* the copy of a letter from Lord Townshend to Lord Shannon, quoting Lord Thurlow's opinion of the necessity of a perfect amnesty to all our offenders, and the inexpediency of having neglected this in the first instance. I only mention this desiring that it may not be repeated, but to vindicate myself from the imputation of peevishness on such a subject.

"You will have seen my last night's anxious letters. I do not write to Lord Sydney this night, because I am unwilling to commit any thing to writing in so doubtful a moment; but to your private ear, and for that of Pitt, I can now state with *tolerable* confidence, that the round robin is dissolved, and that the majority in both Houses of Parliament is consequently clearly ascertained. The extent of the amnesty is not quite ascertained, but I have every reason *to know* that Lord Shannon certainly returns to a submission, not only unconditional, but personally humiliating, inasmuch as the round robin is to be burnt before I will receive any message from him. He is then to send a message begging to be stated to his Majesty as one earnestly anxious to remove by future conduct every unfavourable impression from his mind; and a particular exception has been admitted by him against the exclusive patronage, (or even any share as of right) of the employments in the city or county of Cork. Lord Loftus is to do the same, and to begin (at least it is so proposed, and he has not hitherto objected) by resigning his Post Office, and begging that it may be kept open till his Majesty is satisfied with his

conduct. Lord Clifden will (probably but not certainly) accept the same terms as Lord Shannon; and, to my infinite joy, it is almost certain that Ponsonby will hold out, and will oppose under the engagements with the Prince of Wales which I stated to you last night. The Duke of Leinster will probably oppose, and I shall endeavour to make him do so. I am under an *implied* promise not to dismiss any of the minor defaulters so long as they heartily support the King's government, and therefore the Provost will have a respite till he prances again, which, from the contempt with which I shall treat him, will (as Lord Shannon prophesies) be in about six weeks. They are all bound to approve, and warmly support *by speaking*, every increase on the pension-list and establishment, necessary for discharging my engagements into which they have driven me; and if the whole takes place, as I hope and think it will, in the course of tomorrow, I shall have had the happiness of settling the Government on such a footing as will secure present peace without humiliation, and future obedience, if the advantage which I have gained respecting patronage for their elections and for their followers is strictly adhered to; but as this is not finally concluded, I must implore you to open this only to Pitt, assuring him that I have sacrificed every *private feeling* to this object; and that the opposition of Mr. Ponsonby will materially and decisively strengthen this government, by relieving it from a clog and difficulty which has, in the course of the last three years, thrice shaken the power of the Crown and the personal situation of the Lord Lieutenant. I will not describe to you the trouble and difficulty of this negotiation, which was indispensably advanced by the certain knowledge of the engagements proposed to these leaders from England, and the impossibility of dissolving them, if once settled, but by a struggle and expense which is hardly to be described. In all this I have felt bitterly the difficulty of being obliged to decide without communication, as the time presses; but I think the event (if it should take place) highly flattering and advantageous to the King's service, and my personal character.

"With respect to the peerages, I feel every difficulty which you suggest most strongly, and beg to remind you and Pitt that, of the list which I now enclose, only one (Lord Chief Justice Carleton) is of my engagement; every one of the others having the most positive assurances in Mr. Orde's handwriting, and being stated to me under the head of *promises* in that cursed list which has crippled every movement of my government. I have reduced it as low as I can, at the hazard of offence to some whom I have omitted, who had from Mr. Orde *great encouragement*; and I do not think that it is possible to lower it consistently with the good faith, which at every risk, I have endeavoured to keep; and it must be remembered that every one of these has gone steadily through with me in every division from the first to this moment. As to the Marquesses, you know Lord Hillsborough's and Lord Tyrone's claims; and those of Lords Antrim and Clanricarde stand on the Duke of Rutland's positive assurance to them in the King's name; they have no male issue, and the first will not live three months. As to the time of their creation, much will depend on the question of dissolution. If I am still to fight the round robin in its full vigour, I feel that I shall be obliged to propose to dissolve in the summer; but, if (as I now hope) I shall break it, I must then look to the present Parliament, and shall cheerfully put off the *creations* (though I wish the *promotions* immediately) to the end of the sessions; but you will agree in the propriety of immediate recompense. My other *absolute engagements* are only to take place whenever a new Parliament is

summoned; and amount to two Baronies, Mr. Pery nephew to Lord Pery, and Mr. Alexander; and to one Viscountcy, in favour of Lord Belmore, a penitent Baron who had Orde's solemn promise for the first batch, and is now to wait, and to purchase his promotion with one seat which he gives me. The others give me *each* two votes at present, and two seats in the next Parliament.

"Surely all this is not extravagant, especially when you will recollect what a storm has blown, and how little my engagements have born proportion to those of any of my four immediate predecessors. I will order the list to be made out of all their promotions and creations, that you may see them; but, in the meantime, pray let me know what you think of these promotions which I think ought not to be delayed.

"I must now thank you, and through you Mr. Pitt, in the most affectionate terms from relieving me from the most anxious uneasiness by the arrangement which he has proposed for Fitz-Herbert. He feels it with every degree of gratitude, and is too happy to take the Hague on the terms proposed; rather wishing that Eden may ultimately wish to change, but overjoyed to take either, and at your orders any time at a week's notice. You will therefore desire that he may receive directions upon this subject, and, immediately upon his resignation, I shall name Hobart as his successor, who has been indefatigably useful to me, and will, I trust, be a material card, from his abilities and future situation, to Mr. Pitt."

"The King's approbation might have been more gracious if he had felt as I had hoped he would. On Pitt's side every thing has been most affectionate."

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, March 23. Dublin Castle.—"Just in the moment of concluding my agreement which I had opened to you in my two last letters, I received, as a reward for every anxious moment which I have passed for the last three months, the enclosed letter. I will not press upon your feelings by stating how deeply I feel this repetition of the July outrage offered to me, after I had then received through Pitt assurances of the King's disposition to favour Colonel Nugent at another opportunity; and offered precisely at the time in which it is most essential to support the appearances of my credit with his Majesty, even if no other consideration had occurred to him on my subject, of the many which I flattered myself I have deserved. But Lord Sydney has notified it as a *step taken*, and communicated to me by the earliest opportunity for fear of a *misunderstanding*.

"I do not mean to quarrel with him, because I acquit him of any share in it; but no consideration shall induce me again to submit to so marked a proof of the King's inattention to me as this is under all its circumstances. Consider that the person put by is my nephew; a *Lieutenant-Colonel* put by a second time in favour of an obscure *Major* from the English establishment, preferred to three senior Irish cavalry Majors, two of whom have the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and one of whom is in this very regiment. But I have done with complaints upon the King's conduct to me on the subject of army commissions, where I find that every rule of seniority and regimental succession has been constantly urged against me, and as constantly overlooked for every English job, either of personal or Parliamentary favour; and with such an indignity I will not attempt to carry on the Government; but shall receive it as I ought, and only take care of

my own personal honour in the steps which I shall take to resign the Government to any one whom his Majesty may be less inclined to insult. I do not know whether Lord Sydney has shewn his letter to Pitt or to you; if he has not communicated the subject to you he is much to blame. I hardly know what I write, but indeed I little expected such a return from the King. We are now adjourned to the 13th April, and there is time to send over a new Lord Lieutenant, for I never will meet the Parliament again with such a blow in the face; and if I were paltry enough to attempt it, I could not be useful after every impression of credit is so entirely removed. I cannot say how much I am wounded, and sincerely feel for the concern with which you will receive this letter; but the King leaves me no alternative."

"I enclose you my letters of this day.

"Lord Sydney's *early notice* arrived two days after I had heard this from the agents of the 7th Dragoon Guards, and of the 8th Dragoons, as a thing announced; but I own I did not credit it, though every officer in Dublin knew it from letters received on Saturday morning

*Enclosure :*

LORD SYDNEY to the MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Private.

1789, March 20. Whitehall.—"I have the King's commands to acquaint your Excellency, that his Majesty intends to remove Colonel Gwynne from the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the fourth regiment of Dragoon Guards to that of the third regiment of Dragoons on the British establishment. His Majesty has long had it at heart to provide for Major Taylor of the Queen's regiment of Dragoon Guards, and meant to avail himself of this opportunity. However, as the Major of the fifth of Dragoon Guards is a Lieutenant-Colonel, he thinks it may possibly be proper to avoid putting into that corps as Lieutenant-Colonel an officer so much his inferior in rank, and therefore leaves it to your Excellency to arrange that matter in any manner that you may find most convenient among the corps of cavalry in Ireland; reserving a Lieutenant-Colonelcy of one of them for Major Taylor. There are very particular reasons which have induced his Majesty to take this step, and I have his commands to apprise you of it by the earliest opportunity, for fear of any misunderstanding."

W. W. GRENVILLE to W. PITT.

[1789, March 27–28.] Whitehall.—"I have this moment received the enclosed, which I must beg you to return as soon as you have read them, in order that I may seal the letters for Lord Sydney and send them to him.

"I feel and sincerely partake of the concern with which you will read them. The moment at which this unfortunate business occurs adds to the pain which it would give me on other accounts; but I know that you have too much justice not to see it in its true light, and to acknowledge the impossibility of its having any other issue than that which Lord Buckingham states. I shall be anxious to converse with you upon it, relying with the fullest confidence in your friendship and affection to Lord Buckingham and myself; and being desirous on every account to endeavour, if possible, to find some solution for this business, such as may not be inconsistent with Lord Buckingham's honour, which I am

so much bound to consult, and to which, I flatter myself, you are not indifferent." *Copy.*

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, March 27. Dublin Castle.—"My enclosed will show you what has been done.

"I am most happy in the event, which has justified my speculations, and I trust has done all that can be wished. I am pledged to *nothing* to these people, but to amnesty, and not to any future views of any sort. I am half dead with fatigue and anxiety, and really ill from what I have gone through. Pray let me have a strong separate letter approving Ponsonby's dismissal.

"The Pension Bill will (I trust) be rejected, but I dare not say what I think, as I dare not trust these people. Fitz-Gibbon is going to England tomorrow or next day to get an explicit answer on the Seals, the Chancellor having every where declared he will not stay six weeks longer. I have received yours with the Buckinghamshire news, and other points which I cannot answer; and I have no spirits remaining after my treatment from the King, which preys so heavily on me and has sunk me entirely."

The SAME to the SAME.

1789, March 28. Dublin Castle.—"With all my exertions the messenger was by a few minutes too late for the packet of last night, and I have the very anxious events of 24 hours more to state to you. Ponsonby has received his letter of dismissal, but has not as yet returned any answer. The Duke of Leinster cannot be dismissed but by the King's letter, which I have not *formally* solicited, though the dismissal is announced to him. The scene was never more critical or more interesting. I have been fortunate enough to be able to engage the Attorney General as guarantee instead of Fitz-Herbert, who would not have had nerves or weight enough for such a task. I engaged in the negotiation under the *certain* knowledge that the Duke of Leinster and Mr. Ponsonby were irretrievably pledged to their kind friends in England, and thought *this* the only opportunity of breaking a combination full of every mischief; and yet, so strongly secured by that principle of *false*, not of real honour, which is fully adequate to every purpose which could be devised by the most dangerous adviser. *I know* that the answer given by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and the addresses in answer, were drawn by *your* Mr. Sheridan; and *mine* is to the full as mischievous and as indiscreet. In these circumstances I have ventured a step which has hardly left me a moment's sleep, and which nothing but the strongest sense of public duty should have recommended to me. I cannot describe to you what I have felt in the sacrifice of every feeling which best becomes a gentleman and a person entrusted with this high charge; but I must again repeat that the combination was too strong for a *permanent* opposition, and the hazard infinitely too great for the present or for the future Parliament. I do not give to the subscribers of the round robin the smallest credit for their public or private honour; but the principle of *fear* to which they were personally pledged, had completely alarmed and rivetted the stoutest and most profligate amongst them. In this moment I have stepped forth, and, I trust in God, have broke the combination by the

*word of promise to the ear*, which is certainly very much short of the engagement which was intended to be enforced by the association.

Of this a singular instance has occurred this day. Mr. Sheridan finds that I do not mean to allow him to continue my *confidential* secretary in the military department, but has heard that my compassion to a very handsome and amiable wife, with six children, induces me to remove him with an arrangement of 600*l.* per annum to this wretched wife. He has claimed the benefit of the round robin from the subscribers, all of whom had been apprized by Fitz-Gibbon of my *positive refusal* to enter into any engagements upon *his* subject. They, at least some of them, have applied for a more ample compensation, and I have positively refused it, declaring that I look upon him as a personal servant who has abused my confidence, and whom I will not receive into my family or negotiate for in any shape; and I believe that no consequences will ensue save those of recrimination and of reproach. The dismissal of Ponsonby has been announced to Lord Shannon, and he has not shown the slightest symptoms of restiveness; though he feels strongly the claims of Mr. Sheridan, to which no consideration human or divine shall (as you must believe) induce me to give way. These are the *premices de nocte*, and I think that I have clearly the upper hand whatever be the result; but the cards are more shuffled than ever, and nothing remains but to play the game fairly and honourably on my part.

"I feel how much I have risked, and can safely say that my life will nearly pay the forfeit if I can be supposed to have sacrificed the King's government to any personal consideration whatsoever; but I have acted a deep and a dangerous game, fully confident that *ipsa salus* could not ultimately save the Government in such a moment on any other footing: and equally sure that, whatever be the event, I shall have shaken that association to the centre, and that I shall fight to better advantage than in my former situation. Do not however think that I despond; on the contrary I am *fully sanguine*; but *I* am, and therefore *you* should be prepared for every contingency. After stating this, I am bound to you to add that I do not expect any very serious *denouement* to this new check; on the contrary, I feel that I have disgraced the association, and I feel the cry is warmly with me. Nevertheless, I have that *lethalis arundo* which tells me that all this may be misconceived, and that in England I may be supposed to have given up my personal authority and honour and the character and credit of Government. If this should be conceived, I shall indeed be the most wretched being on earth; for God alone knows what I have suffered, and what I now feel in the agony of distrust which induces me to doubt, not my firm and steady jealousy of the King's government, but my judgment upon a point of such infinite moment. But remember that I could not pause, that I have acted to the best of my judgment with a heart torn by misery and disappointment, and that if I have failed from error, I am ready to retire from a service which has hitherto only disgraced and tormented me, to the relief of my own reflexions which Providence alone can support. Adieu. The most anxious of all the anxious moments of my life is now decided, and if I have failed in the public estimation, or in that of my friends, I have only to hide my head in future, fully forswearing that scene of public life which has added so much to my misery and so little to my situation. Duke of Leinster the Garter; Lord Charlemont a Duke, and reversion for his 2nd son; Mr. Ponsonby Speaker and the *conduct of the House of Commons*. Such are the terms to which the Prince of Wales is (*I know*) the guarantee.



"I enclose, as usual, my despatch open that you may see our victory, which, however trifling in your eyes, is here considered as most decisive. Every round robin Lord voted (as expected) against us, and we were singularly unlucky in two *real* illnesses which lost their votes. The scene of the last ten days has been complicated beyond measure. Ponsonby *did not expect* to be dismissed, and is outrageous. He called a meeting to claim their protection, and has failed; but Lord Shannon is so much worried by his wife that he would join him, but that Lord Loftus is most corruptly and profligately steady to me, and this has kept the peace, and enabled all the *Dii minores* to pledge themselves against Mr. Ponsonby. They had endeavoured to force Sheridan upon me for the last three days, for continuance, or for compensation. I positively refused, and have at length carried my point; the wretch having stated in an agony of misery his seduction by his brother's promises, his prospects from the Prince, a wife, six children, two beggarly sisters, and not one farthing. I shall now endeavour to make some provision for her, but in all this discussion I have been victorious. Fitz-Gibbon has assisted me in all these anxious moments with an exertion, zeal, and even personal risk, beyond any line of common attachment. I have stopped him from going to England by promising to urge his claims to an immediate answer, which is necessary from the Chancellor's repeated language upon his resignation. I can only add that I cannot conceive any possibility of putting by such pretensions, and that Great Britain cannot be served in Ireland, so honestly, so ably, or with such authority. I must beg that you will get me an answer upon this and upon the peerages, upon which I must say I ought to have had my answer before now, for the times are too critical to be trifled with.

"With all this exertion, to which my pleasure, peace, and health are sacrificed, you know what I must feel upon the King's conduct upon the *misères* of the army promotions! I wait most anxiously for the event, determined not to submit to the disgrace of these humiliations at the moment when the army list in Great Britain is full of every job, and when, surely, a more liberal conduct ought to be held to me; but I pain you and myself, and will not indulge this style of writing; but my determination is fixed."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, March 31. Dublin Castle.—"Just three lines to tell you that this day has been productive of the most singular events. Lady Shannon has raved like a mad woman at her husband's desertion of her brother; and he has said to a meeting at Ponsonby's that he conceived the round robin at an end, but that a regard to his domestic quiet might possibly induce him to act against his judgment in attaching himself to their quarrel. Every one is loud in laughing at him, and many in abusing him. Lord Loftus went out of town on purpose to avoid this meeting, and has left assurances of his support. Lord Clifden is very stout. The Archbishop of Cashell very warm, and spoke wonderfully well with us last night; all the *Dii minores* refused to go to the meeting, except Lord Donoughmore and Cuffe, who went for the purpose of quarrelling with Ponsonby, whom they attacked very grossly. Upon the whole I have every reason to believe that, ultimately, Lord Shannon will, *under his wife's orders*, and against his opinion, and his positive engagements, fly off; and, if so, I shall have a heavy battle, but it will be successful; for our book of numbers is, by the most accurate state-

ments, secure *according to the engagements of the present day*. I do not however think that any alteration will take place in our list excepting Lord Shannon's friends; and I can now follow my favourite plan of attacking him in his county. I shall force an explanation from him, and then proceed to call for his dismissal."

"FitzGibbon is outrageous with him.

"I cannot state how much my feelings are now interested. Pray do not let me be disgraced on the foolish army questions, in such a moment of difficulty, which requires every support; and let me have my answer about the peers as soon as you possibly can. All this is very important. Lord Hillsborough does not wish any office; Lord Tyrone would wish it if he dared; in such circumstances our Rolls and Vice Treasurer's offices are too large for present use, and I have a proposal for putting the first into commission, and for new modelling the latter."

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, April 3. Dublin Castle.—"I last night received your letter of the 30th, and feel very sensibly the affectionate warmth with which you express yourself upon this very abominable transaction. I could not have conceived that Lord Sydney could have been guilty of such a complicated transaction of duplicity and treachery, and had, in my letter to him, particularly given him credit for the mortification which I supposed he must have felt on this occasion; concluding that he had opened it to Pitt, and to you, as a thing which he could not prevent; and upon *that* ground alone I conceived him excusable, though I could not account for your silence. As it is now explained in your letter, I am ten times more exasperated than ever, and most resolutely determined not to submit to so gross an insult; to which I am more decided from *knowing* that he is quoted for having said that the persons interested in the question of the promotions recommended in June last might be at ease, for that *he had stopped my jobs*. This agrees with Nepean's strange speech to Bernard, recommending me to send over another list *omitting them all*. Now I have neither temper nor spirits for such a battle, and therefore I have determined never to send over another list till those of May and June are returned to me; and, if that is not done, I shall insist on being relieved *immediately*, and shall leave to the whole world the full right of deciding on the conduct towards me from the King, and from his Lordship; and this too at the time when the whole army of Great Britain cries shame on the two most iniquitous jobs of Major Burrard and Captain Lenox; to which this of Major Taylor, junior to almost every English cavalry major, and junior to three Irish cavalry majors, is a proper counterpart, even if the name of Colonel Nugent was out of the question. I hate writing all this because (without meaning it) I pain you, but it is fit that you should know that I am as fixed upon my instant resignation (as soon as the negative is given to my former lists and to my claim for Colonel Nugent) as I can be upon any point nearest to my personal feelings of honour and of duty; and from this no consideration shall divert me, though I shall sincerely regret the consequence to Mr. Pitt's government, and shall most strongly feel the personal effect which such a step may produce on my fame and situation. I thank God however that, deeply as I have been wounded, I have not dropped one word upon it to any one save Fitz-Herbert, though the King's nomination of Major Taylor is publicly known, and quoted as a proof of his Majesty's strong disapprobation of me.

"In such a moment I have to relieve me the most completed scene of difficulty that ever pressed upon a man in my situation. The connexion with the English Opposition is formed, and embraces Duke of Leinster, and Ponsonby, and the popular leaders. Lord Shannon has been with me this morning, and has, with great difficulties of manner and much humiliation, acquainted me with his determination to support the supplies, and his Majesty's usual business, but to hold himself free from any other engagement. This was attended with strong assurances of reluctance and disgust at his own line, and strong disapprobation of Mr. Ponsonby; but stated that *he could not give up his domestic peace*, and that he must stand the die which he had cast. He acquitted me of any breach of faith, and expressed much civility, and has left me fully impressed with the state of his mind, which I conceive to be anxious to support Government, but distracted by his wife and her family. I told him that he must lose his office, for that no Minister would suffer that half measure, to all which he acquiesced; though I think that, upon the whole, he has some idea of being able to save himself by not voting against us, for several times he said that he should be able to prevent any improper measures being proposed, and that he did not see what questions could occur upon which he could not support, though he would not engage for his vote. Under these circumstances I do not think he throws away the scabbard, though I am much inclined to think it may be wise to throw it away on our part. However, upon this I must think very fully, and I have not had a moment to myself since I saw him. You will therefore let Pitt know that I do not write officially, because I can state no decisive opinion on this strange subject yet.

"I forced from him this communication which he did not mean to make, but that I made it impossible for him to avoid it. Lord Clifden and the Archbishop of Cashel are quite stout with us. Lord Loftus left town to avoid Mr. Ponsonby's solicitations, and is *as yet* stout, but they have offered to him *charte blanche*. I do not however think that they will gain him, but you must know how rotten this support must be. Still however I am sanguine, and, if he is steady, I am confident of success, and particularly as the Lords are clearly with us. Such is this scene of treachery, knavery, and of every diabolical passion, in which nothing but duty supports me, having lost almost every incentive save that alone; and having no official confidence here or in Great Britain. It is now five weeks since I wrote on the subject of graces in the line of peerage, and to that I have had no answer, and from your silence I conclude that my application will be put by. Much of the immediate effect is lost, and my credit in proportion. Add to all this, that the names of the Prince of Wales and Duke of York are publicly quoted for a declaration that the King is again ill, though not insane; and, above all, the story of the Hanover journey, which is quoted in proof of his illness. Upon this last point I have never written to you, but I should be wanting to my duty if I did not declare explicitly that it would be very hazardous for the peace of Ireland that his Majesty should be so far removed. I do not speak this on slight foundation, for you may *depend upon it* that the Duke of York has promised the Duke of Leinster and Mr. Conolly to come over to them in the summer; and from such a visit every thing may be apprehended, unless the King should be at hand, whose immediate orders I may receive on the numberless mischiefs which will arise out of such a visit. The wind is foul, so I shall keep this letter open till the night tide, for the hopes of receiving another from you, and from Lord

Sydney on this cursed subject, which worries my mind without a moment's intermission."

"Pray thank Pitt most kindly for me.

*Post-script.*—"The mail of Tuesday is this moment arrived, and to my heartfelt mortification I have not one word from Lord Sydney or from you. I can account for the latter, supposing that Pitt may not be returned from Windsor; but I will not forgive the insolence of Lord Sydney's neglect, who, having received my letter on Saturday, has not thought proper to say one word in answer to it by any one of the mails since that morning. I have done complaining, but this is only one reason the more to bring my miseries to a short conclusion.

"Nothing new since 4 o'clock. I dismiss Sheridan; but a very young and handsome wife and six children, born within the last six years, are claims on my humanity which I cannot resist, and I shall therefore earnestly press a small pension for her."

#### THE MARCHIONESS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, April 5. Stowe.—"Besides thinking me a great bore, you will perhaps suspect that I want to raise money upon false pretences; if so, I must produce your brother's letter wherein he tells me to desire you to send me a draft upon Countts for 100 guineas, payable to *Mrs. Hernon*."

"George Nugent flatters me with the hopes of seeing you; how I long to embrace your wig!"

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, April 7. Dublin Castle.—"I have waited most impatiently all yesterday for the letter which I had expected from you as conclusive on this cursed business of the Lieutenant-Colonelcy, and I cannot describe to you the mortification I feel at the suspense in which your letter of the 4th (just received) has left me. I think I see very clearly that I am much indebted to Pitt's anxiety and to your affection; but it seems equally clear that this point cannot be carried; or, if carried, that it must leave such impressions on the King's mind as you deem irremovable. I again repeat that I cannot think of adding to the pain which you feel upon this point; and that I feel more for you than for myself; but it is due to my situation and conduct to say explicitly that I conceived myself, on my acceptance of this painful duty, entitled to (at least) the same patronage and power as any and every of my predecessors; that I submitted from public considerations to a similar insult last year, and that my subsequent conduct deserves *every thing* from the King, and that I ask *nothing* but that which I claim as of right. Under these circumstances I have no alternative; for I will not attempt to hold this situation, difficult in the extreme under the King's resentment, the effects of which I should hourly feel as a public man; and still less can I, as a public or private man, acquiesce in this second and most unmerited insult. It is therefore with great reluctance that, after the fullest and most anxious deliberation, I feel myself obliged to tell you that I cannot reconcile my present situation to the commonest and first feelings of a gentleman, or to my public duty; and that nothing but my extreme caution with respect to Mr. Pitt, and to you, prevent me from sending the letter of resignation which I have already prepared, and which I must transmit so soon as I either receive the King's negative to my recommendation of Colonel Nugent (which I sent over a fortnight since,) or so soon as you tell me, in answer to

this, that you do not think it probable that the King will give way. This you will, I am persuaded, state to me without reserve; and you will believe me (once for all) most deeply sensible of your attachment to me, and of your very explicit and manly declarations upon the nature and extent of this insult; and let me likewise add how much I feel the delicacy of your conduct in not endeavouring to argue with me on a point which is decided in my mind after weighing fully, not the full consequences of this step to the public, (for I have not the materials for judging upon them,) but the feelings of a heart deeply wounded by such a return for a scene of personal and public risk, and of misery, unexampled in the political history of Ireland.

"Of those effects which you hint I am no judge; but if I saw them most clearly, I should not even then depart from my resolution, because I have long since sacrificed every hope of gratification save that which proceeds from my own approbation. Indeed upon all this subject I write to you with the greatest difficulty; and it is to you alone that I dare to say that I have felt myself entitled from the King to every mark of gratitude and regard, in return for the proofs I have given of an attachment I must say unbounded. You know that I have asked none from him, nor would I have suffered him to have known that I felt him ungratefully deficient towards me, if I had not received from him this blow, which is as public as it is decisive on my situation.

"And under all these circumstances, which Fitz-Herbert will explain most fully to you, I have proceeded with the same zeal and anxious interest for the public service, as if I had received every the most flattering testimony in favour of my conduct. My arrangements for the meeting on Monday next seem decisively to promise me the majority, in the teeth of Lord Shannon, Ponsonby, and their friends. Lord Loftus is understood to be clearly with us, but he went out of town to avoid solicitation from them, and his Wexford assizes detain him. I have *at present* no reason to doubt his support, and I should not even think the matter desperate if he had joined them. Lord Shannon is very much depressed, and I have reason to think some of his people much dissatisfied; he is now anxious to vote for the supplies, and to avoid every public question whatsoever, under the impression that I shall quit Ireland in the course of the summer, and that he shall *then* be enabled to return to his allegiance upon his own terms. If I had still the option of remaining here, I should propose his immediate removal, and an arrangement respecting his office; but in such a moment I am obliged by many considerations to defer it, at least till his people give some overt act of their rebellion. As to Ponsonby's office, I should have revoked his patent but for the same reason, having already taken the step of notifying by letter my intention towards him; and explanations of a similar nature have taken place respecting all but one of his members now in office. Sheridan is removed, and Cooke has succeeded him. FitzHerbert and I had waited very impatiently for the notice of his appointment, but, this not arriving, it was absolutely necessary that he should resign in order that his successor might be enabled to talk to the members who are, at this hour of uncertainty, particularly anxious and urgent in their claims. This therefore admitted of no delay, and I yesterday notified Hobart's appointment in the usual forms. I shall be under very serious difficulties upon the subject of some of the proposed arrangements. The magnitude of the Rolls, and of the Vice-Treasurer's places, render them very little marketable; they being in fact too large for the calibre

of the country. I shall therefore propose that the first shall be put into commission till his Majesty's further pleasure shall be known, and by that means, I can divide the profits of it; the other requires a fuller discussion than I can now give to it, but I should not lose any time in proposing to remove him if this cursed business did not interfere with every project which I had formed.

"I thank you very much for the exertion which you have made for a point so near to my wishes as Fitz-Gibbon's success, and I beg you will let Pitt know how much I thank him for his communication, and for the opening which he has given us to act upon. I detained him much against his inclination, the whole negotiation having been conducted by him, and his zeal and activity making in fact a most essential feature in my present situation; but his election has carried him from Saturday last to the county of Limerick, where he is detained till Thursday. I feel the difficulty of *resisting* the Chancellor if he should be restive on such a subject; but I shall feel myself strongly called upon, whenever that question arises, to speak, not to the legal powers of Fitz-Gibbon, for that is not so immediately in my province, but to the faculties, integrity, and situation which enable him to do more for English government than all Westminster Hall put together; and his conduct of the last three months gives claims which I should think irresistible in Thurlow's mind. We shall however frame the letters together, and the caution which you recommend shall be strictly observed. In all probability the question will come on very shortly, as the Chancellor's health is visibly and daily declining. He is most unreasonable in the terms which he proposes, but I shall be able, I fancy, to bring him within compass.

"As to peerages, I do not say anything at present for the same reasons which make you decline it; but for my reasons for giving a peerage to young Pery I shall refer you to Fitz-Herbert. As to his uncle's vote on the Pension Bill, you will recollect that for 15 years he had always moved it in the House of Commons.

"Lord Sydney has writ me a civil letter on the victory in the House of Lords; and gravely tells me that *he is sorry that I am so much affected on this subject, but that it is difficult to persuade the King to depart from his resolutions on military promotions.* To all this I have given no answer; but I call upon you by every tie which binds us, to let me know fully and explicitly your ideas on the probability of this point being given up, that I may act upon it. The King's rejection of my lists, and Major Taylor's nomination is known to all Dublin; and if any thing could add to this insult, it is completed by a letter from Lieutenant-General Ward to Major-General Lyon, *in the King's name*, desiring him to facilitate the King's wishes by giving up the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the 18th Dragoons, and taking the Lieutenant-Colonelcy vacant by Colonel Gwynne's promotion.

"I trust that I have not in this letter expressed my feelings intemperately, or even conceived them hotly. I am indeed too much interested in this to be indifferent to the event; but I trust that I am right, and, in all contingencies, your affection and my own conscience are the monitors to which I look with confidence for my future happiness."

W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, [April] Tuesday.—"I learn again this morning from Lord Sydney that Taylor positively declines. I hope this will be quite confirmed by tomorrow, when I am going to Windsor. If it turns out

so, I trust we shall settle every thing by getting the Lieutenant-Colonelcy for Nugent. Lord Sydney did not shew your brother's letter yesterday, and nothing passed, which, under these circumstances, I am glad of. This leaves me nothing more to tell you, and I fear I shall hardly have time in the evening, unless any thing arises to make it material." *Seal of arms.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1789 [April —]. Wimbledon.—“Not a word was said on the subject of the Irish promotion, and I thought it better not to begin it. He seemed to me in all respects as much himself as ever. I shall be in town tomorrow morning.”

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, April 11. Dublin Castle.—“Your letter of the 7th reached me a few hours ago, and after the very full letter which I wrote to you on Tuesday last, I should not now recapitulate any part of those arguments, if I did not think it necessary to state to you the very strong reasons which I have for believing that it would be utterly impracticable for me to carry on the government, under the circumstances which you propose, to the end of the sessions. The dispute is perfectly well known by the delay of the commissions, and by the letters from England, and the event is warmly looked to. The uncertainty which has appeared in my conduct (owing to this cursed business) gave grounds to a variety of stories which it was necessary to destroy by the removal of G. Ponsonby, in order to remove the impression of my pusillanimity, or of the disapprobation from Great Britain of my proceedings, both of which were alledged. Nothing but the most vigorous and decided measures can retain our new converts; and nothing but the fullest confidence in my engagements, and in my means and intention to gratify them, can secure those old or new friends who look for their share of plunder. I say nothing of my personal feelings, but I know that it is impossible to conceal from the public the state of this quarrel; it is equally impossible (even if I could submit to silence upon the subject) to conceal my intentions of resigning immediately after the sessions are closed; and I leave you to judge what the event would be of an attempt, in such circumstances, to go on with public business. All these difficulties would be encreased tenfold by any deviation on my part from the system which I have begun; and I must say, explicitly, that who or whatever is to succeed me, I cannot as a man of honour leave to him (in this stage of public business) the option of breaking every promise I have made, by leaving one set of people in office, and sacrificing the pretensions of others who have supported me. He may *undo* what he pleases or thinks consistent with the public service; but, knowing as I do that I have sacrificed every private feeling in this question, and feeling that I gratify no resentment on one hand, and that I gratify no private friendship by the disposal of these engagements, I will not, I dare not as an honest man, leave to caprice or to chance the execution of that which is in my power. And this consideration is particularly pressed upon me by the declarations of Ponsonby that he would *now* support any other Lord Lieutenant whatsoever. If therefore he, or Lord Shannon, or both should be accepted (as may be possible) by a new Government, I leave you to judge what would be my situation with those to whom I stand pledged. It will therefore be necessary for me to

avow my resignation as soon as I transmit it, and to fulfil my promises as far as I can, and to pledge my good faith in stating those which remain as *binding and conclusive* on the new Government, unless the King's servants choose to break faith with me in a point so essential. Perhaps a little further experience may convince the King of the difficulties to which he subjects his service by such treatment of his best, (I may say his only) friend in this kingdom.

"Thus much I have thought it necessary to write upon that part of your letter, in which a few loose hints, perhaps not meant to the full extent, have much alarmed me. As to the general question of my resignation, I have turned it over and over in my mind; and with every impression of the personal hazard to my reputation, (and I see all that you stated upon that head most fully,) I cannot reconcile the proposition of submission to the commonest feelings of a gentleman; and whatever may be the present opinion, I do not despair of the approbation of the public; and certainly I shall have that which I prize most, I mean that of my own conscience. With respect to yourself, I feel most warmly the part which you have taken, uniformly, in whatever is nearest to me. I should never have insulted you so much as to have said one word to you upon the subject of your resignation upon a point of personal insult to me, for I know my own feelings upon such a subject as interesting you; and I know my affection to you. I hope that I have in some degree deserved yours, and I have long felt that I possessed it. With these impressions I am grieved that such an event should check your career; but the blow seems inevitable from more considerations than that of the immediate moment. The first is that the King means this blow either personally to me, or personally to Pitt, as involved in it by the transactions of last year; or (what I rather suspect) that he is at bottom discontented with my government in Ireland and determined to make me feel it. In any of these three cases you must be involved, and it is impossible but that his Majesty must lay his account to all the consequences of his measure as affecting us both; and possibly involving other events to which you pointed in your former letter. But if these ideas should have come across his Majesty's mind, the sooner they are brought to issue the better, for every consideration public or private to us both; for it is impossible that he should seriously run this risk without looking to more than the simple question of one major or another; and if that which he looks to is to oblige Mr. Pitt to abandon me under all the circumstances of public and private connexion, or to take a decided line in support of me, it is then indeed high time for every one to look about him; and such a consideration will not much encrease my regret or yours; but in every such situation the plainest line is the best; and whether it pleases King or Prince, Mr. Pitt's friends or Mr. Fox's, it is equally impossible for me to submit to this blow; or, if I could submit, would it be possible for me to carry on the Government under such a mark of the King's dissatisfaction. You and your good friends very little know what I have here gone through, and how high the expectations of my supporters had been raised of a Dukedom, and every grace to me. I do not mention this as either wanting or expecting, but *solely* to mark the contrast, and the probable effect of it on their minds; and the result of it would be most decisive on the public service, and on my private peace.

"It appears therefore to me that I have no alternative but to wait for your answer to this letter which will reach me about the 19th; and, unless I have before that time from Lord Sydney the notice of an



acceptance of my recommendation for Colonel Nugent, I must call for an explicit answer to my letter; and the reply from me will be the actual and immediate resignation; and if Lord Sydney should before that day have answered me upon that subject in the manner which I now expect, I shall be obliged to send the same reply. I have some thoughts of adding a letter to the King upon the same point, and have turned it very much in my mind. In the mean time it is shocking to reflect that the King's service materially suffers in so very critical a moment, and that, except from you, I have not a line from England which might not be read at College Green; notwithstanding which I act as fairly and as roundly as if I were supported in the same proportion as I feel myself possibly betrayed, and certainly abandoned, by every one (save that one of whose affection I never can doubt,) for it is obvious to me that your letter was written in the conviction that the King was peremptory; and consequently decided to meet my resignation. However, I feel that I ought not to make up my mind upon the reflections which naturally occur to me, till I hear from you or from Mr. Pitt what has passed between the King and him upon it; for I take it for granted that he means to apprise me of what he has done, and of the result; and that he feels this full explanation due to me from the very particular circumstances of the case, and from the public and private connexion between us. I shall, by the same mail, resign my Lieutenancy of Bucks; and if I could resign my blue ribbon, and my last title, I should eagerly do it.

"As to *active* assistance, or any whatsoever to that wicked party whom it is the pride of my life to have been the humble instrument to have once dismissed, you judge rightly of my feelings in conceiving me equally fixed in my detestation of their public and private principles; but anger has its privilege, and when I feel that to this moment I have not received from the King one expression of gratitude or even approbation, (for I cannot seriously thank him for the communication made to me by Mr. Pitt,) and that I have received in lieu of every such testimony the strongest insult, I cannot and will not be silent upon my conduct, or the treatment which it now seems certain that I shall meet. To this hour I have not suffered one person to speak to me about it, save only Hobart, who knew from private accounts almost all that had passed, and who, from his situation, could not be entirely in the dark. But I have only apprized him of the difficulty as arising from a military engagement from the King to Major Taylor, and of his Majesty's ignorance of the consequence to me of such an arrangement, which I hope will ultimately be accommodated to my wish. I tell you this that I may not be responsible for any Irish reports; but, from different circumstances, I know that Dublin is full of them on this subject. I repeat that I have not named or entertained the question, or any part of it, with a single other person, and yet it is notorious. Fitz-Herbert will have told you before you receive this letter how much I have suffered in health and spirits from this cruel business. I part with him with the strongest regret; and the confidence I have reposed in him will enable him to answer very fully every question which you may wish to put to him of a public, or of a private nature, on this matter. He means to see the King (if his Majesty permits him as usual) and will endeavour to impress his mind with the history of my difficulties, and of my conduct; and he will communicate with you upon this interview; at

the same time I do not expect any thing from it. You ask me *why I am offended because particular marks of favour are shewn to Burrard and Lenox, two most steady, warm, and zealous friends.* I answer that I am not offended and never dreamt of it; but that I cannot see such *strong and striking* proofs of a power which can guide the King's mind to a gross deviation (I do not call it improper) from his rules, without reflecting a little upon the failure of the attempt to keep him steady to his army practice and rules in favour of his Lord Lieutenant, certainly not less steady, warm, zealous, or friendly.

"However the die is cast; and I must abide it. I repeat that I feel most sensibly for your situation, but our feelings are too congenial to make it necessary for me to say more on that subject. *Ne non pro-cumbat honeste* is now my only care; and though I do not hope to avoid one iota of the clamour or objection which you have stated, I am sure that a contrary line would ruin my public character, would ruin my peace of mind, and would be productive of every bad consequence to the King's service; and, therefore, whenever Mr. Pitt informs you that he has no further hopes of prevailing on the King to do me justice, you will, of course, apprise him of the necessity of preparing for an immediate appointment of my successor.

"We meet on Monday. I have every reason to *know* that the majority in the House of Lords is *sure* against Lord Shannon, and that the House of Commons will be with me, unless any further desertion should take place, which I do not expect. Lord Loftus does not return from Wexford assize till Monday, *but he is with us*, and has ordered his people to vote with us. This will make us quite sure in the House of Commons. If his Lordship should again fly off, it might be more doubtful; but I have no doubt whatsoever on the supplies; and I shall push them through as fast as possible, that my successor may find at least the option of proroguing the Parliament."

*Post-script.*—"I have just time to add a few lines. You have dealt too openly with me for me to feel justified in concealing from you one movement of my mind, which, on re-perusal of my letter, has certainly escaped me in more places than one, though I meant to suppress it; and that is a movement of jealousy founded on the conviction that Pitt is master, *in such a moment particularly*, of the King's mind; and that he does not appear to have exerted his influence sufficiently, if he does not save me from such an insult. You know how he stood pledged to me on this subject in August last, and you remember the communications made to me by him through you; with all these impressions, irritated by misery, disappointment, and gloom, and feeling that Lord Sydney has fomented the dispute, I will fairly own that I have not been at ease on the subject of Pitt's conduct. If he should have pushed this question to the extent of his powers and has failed, his situation is indeed most alarming. I know how implicitly you trust to him, but you will, for my sake, weigh all this with jealousy for my honour; and if you are convinced that he has done for me all that you think I have a right to expect, I would then wish you to consult with him what it would be right for me to do; and do not delay your communications, for indeed I am half dead with agitation, and with the want of any communication which can relieve me. As to my stay here under such an insult it seems wholly desperate; my resignation is equally ruinous to me. God guide me!"

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, April 12. Dublin Castle.—“I enclose to you a most extraordinary letter on a subject on which I have no alternative. The savage who wrote it meant to frame such a paper as should disgrace me by making it impossible for me to produce it. Upon full deliberation, I have thought it essentially necessary to disappoint that line by informing him of my intention to lay it before the King, the question proposed to him by Hobart having been stated to be *For His Majesty's information*. He has now manifested a full determination to fight Hobart, but upon this he may cool; and, in all events, I am committed with him, and should have instantly dismissed him but that his office can be revoked only by the King's letter. I have therefore left it in the general words which I have stated; but I shall be much disappointed if I do not receive an ostensible letter dismissing Mr. L. Morris, and expressing his Majesty's *highest indignation* at the attempt to separate me individually from the duties of my office. If however this sort of thing goes on, it will be necessary to consider it under a very different point of view; but, as it now stands, I can only wish to save my personal honour and to abide the consequences. It is likewise more eligible that this dismissal should proceed from his Majesty, because of the engagement called the round robin which Mr. Ponsonby's friends have endeavoured to engage in these disputes; and although it is *bonâ fide* at an end, yet I should be uneasy to see any hitch whatsoever upon it; and you see that this conscientious gentleman has declared his full intention to support his Majesty's Government.

“In the midst of all this, judge my misery at the reflection of my present situation with the King. I again say that I will (if you are satisfied that Pitt has done all that he ought) do whatever you may advise; but I shall never enjoy one moment's satisfaction or conscious pride from the moment of such a disgrace; and I assure you, by every thing the most sacred, that no consideration whatever save those of a public nature affecting your situation, and Mr. Pitt's, can make me pause; and therefore I adjure you by every thing most dear to you, by every thing that I have ever experienced of affection from you, to weigh this matter with full and ample deliberation, and to give me the fair result; but do not make me contemptible in the eyes of every friend, and every enemy, and my own. I cannot state to you my agitation; indeed I am wild with misery and incapable of decision; and even if I could be more collected, I have not *here* the data. You have them, and Fitz-Herbert is now with you, with whom I will beg you to communicate. . . . Fitz-Herbert will explain at length what had passed with this savage, Mr. Lodge Morris.”

THE SAME to the SAME.

1789, April 14. Dublin Castle.—“Your very affectionate letter of the 10th has just come to my hands, and makes me regret very sincerely that which I wrote on the 12th, which must have pained you, as you must have thought my jealousy upon Pitt's conduct particularly unreasonable. I wish you however to recollect that your former letters spoke in stronger terms than your last of the probability of the King's refusal, and that, in neither of the two last, was there a single phrase which could lead me to imagine that Pitt had taken any step whatsoever. Under these impressions, stung and mortified at the prospect of a resignation or a submission, both of them equally hazardous to the

public service and to my private character, and deprived of every resource of communication save with you (for Hobart has not named the subject to me since the 7th,) I suffered my gloom and misery to get the better of the justice which I owe to Pitt, and the regard I owe to your feelings.

"I will add nothing to the subject itself; for indeed we have exhausted it, and my opinions upon it are certainly much strengthened by the total inattention which the King has shewn to me since he knew (from my letter to Lord Sydney) my earnest wish for Nugent, and by the second engagement equally rash and intemperate with the first. If to this I add the indecency of ordering that letter (which I mentioned to you) to be writ by General Ward, and the refusal to send back the commissions of my lists of May and June last, I cannot but look upon the whole as systematic, and the result must be that I must quit Ireland; for I can neither continue (for public and private reasons) insulted, and still holding the Government, nor can I attempt to carry on the Government leaving such an impression on his mind as may revolt him to every thing which I can propose; and that too at a moment when my hands must be strengthened to every extent or the game must be given up.

"You will easily believe that this struggle, which has left me exposed to the rapacity and infamy of every claimant, has entailed the most serious difficulties upon me. You will remember that Lord Townshend took two years to break this combination, and affected it by the expenditure of near 500,000*l.* of Irish money, besides the assistance of about 6,000*l.* secret service money from Great Britain. I shall, I thank God, be able to establish myself without any demand of the latter sort, and with a very trifling augmentation to the establishment. You will remember that Lord Townshend had the whole of the patronage of the  $\frac{1}{2}$  pay list of Ireland, which was then sold and transferred without any restraint; and you remember many striking proofs of it; the Provost a cavalry Major. Much, indeed I may say unbounded, patronage was given him in the army, and his use of it effectually assisted him. These two last sources are entirely gone, the first very properly so, the latter, I must say, very unfairly and improperly; and I will add impolitically, for, from the moment that the Lord Lieutenant and the Parliament of Ireland find that the patronage of the army neither serves the views of the first or the corruption of the second, depend upon it that they will find out that their cavalry army might be maintained with a reduction of one 3rd of the expense, by putting it on the same footing as in Great Britain, the troops at 30, instead of 20, and a proportionate deduction of regiments and officers.

"As to the Adjutant General, there is a very long story about it; but, it were still practicable, Nugent would not wish to accept it now, as it is very laborious. His object is a company in the Guards, and he was engaged in a negotiation with an officer in the third; perhaps Pitt's 10*s.* government might perfect that exchange; and in that case he might acquiesce; but of this I really cannot judge, for I have not even answered his letter, as I did not like to state any part of this story to him. He lives at No. 78 New Bond Street, and he is very discreet. You had better therefore send to him and talk with him; and, in that case, I would (though grievously hurt) give way to the King's nomination. As to my resignation I will, if Pitt and you recommend it to me, endeavour, *coute qui coute*, to defer it to the last day of the sessions, or to the convenient time for the arrival of my successor, or in any way that may accomodate Pitt best, if the King still makes it necessary.

I will not therefore take any decisive step till I hear your full opinion upon it; and, in doing this, I again assure you that I wish to give you the most unequivocal proof of my confidence and affection, for I am more miserable about it than I can state. But in all I trust to you, for I am sure you will take the same care of my honour as of your own. Adieu. I enclose every paper open to you, but I have not time to say any thing upon them, for the messenger will be too late."

W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1769, April 15. —.]—"If you have not sent your letter, pray delay the messenger till tomorrow morning. I am not satisfied, on reflection, with the course in which the business now is, and wish to have that time to think of it, and then to talk to you again before we write any thing further."

ALLEYNE FITZ-HERBERT to [W. W. GRENVILLE.]

[1789, April 16. —.]—"Many thanks to you for your kind attention. This same declaration of L. Morres's is indeed a strain of most unparalleled impudence. I agree with you entirely in becoming doubly anxious that Lord Buckingham should not at this period retire from his Government, as this fellow, like the fly upon the coach wheel, would undoubtedly assert that he had contributed to drive him from it. I should think too that this incident must, at length, awaken a proper degree of feeling in a certain quarter."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. PITT.

1789, April 16. Dublin Castle.—"I have this morning received your letter of the 12th, and have passed many of the bitterest hours I ever experienced in collecting my mind sufficiently to enable me to take my line in a situation of difficulty, beyond any that I could have conceived Providence could have in store for me. I begin by thanking you most sincerely for the very anxious interest which you take in this unhappy business, and in the result of it. The best return which I can make to you is to endeavour not to disgrace myself or you. In my ignorance of the additional outrage offered to me by the King's positive *refusal* of my recommendation, though enforced by you, and urged by the intimation of the possible extremities to which I might feel myself driven, I had stated to my brother my disposition to accede to an arrangement for a company in the Guards for Nugent, if he agreed to it; and had authorized and desired my brother to converse with him about it. *That* must be now at an end; for I feel that the King has left me no alternative. But though I feel this treatment as I ought, my first care is for the public service, a care founded upon public duty, and upon an honest pride not to justify by any misconduct on my part the return which his Majesty is pleased to make to me for a scene of personal risk and misery almost unexampled. He does not and cannot know the critical situation of his Government here; it is my duty to tell him explicitly that if I *now* quit it, no exertion, no abilities can prevent the completion of that system which the last five months have produced to light; though it has long since been seen and watched by the wisest men in this kingdom. The question is not whether Lord Buckingham has conducted the King's business wisely or firmly, but whether that Aristocracy which now divides the House of Commons with the Crown nearly in equal parts, shall be supposed, or shall appear to have

driven from the Government the only man who has yet fairly met them, and has staked so much on the event. You will see that I do not mean to talk the language of vanity when I tell you that I verily believe that the existence of the King's Government in Ireland depends upon my continuance in this trust. In this persuasion I am bound to consider what I owe to the country, to you, and to myself.

"I will not complain; for, from this moment, my feelings are, I trust, much superior to such language. I feel what the King owes to me, and I feel how he has repaid it; and being now convinced that I cannot serve the public with advantage, or the King with zeal; that I cannot hope for the confidence of this kingdom who are witnesses to my disgrace, nor for the support of those persons in both countries without whose assistance I cannot proceed; I must desire you (for I cannot and will not communicate upon it to Lord Sydney) to ask the King's permission for me to retire from this government; and, unpleasant as the task must be, I must entreat you to add that nothing supports me under so signal and glaring a mark of his Majesty's displeasure, but the satisfaction of knowing that of all his subjects, at least in this kingdom, I have least deserved it. But, for the reasons which I have stated in the former part of my letter, the King may possibly think it eligible to enable me to close the present sessions of Parliament; and if this should be his intention, (and I think it my duty to advise that it should,) the whole of this must be kept a profound and absolute secret, or he will defeat the very means, and they are but scanty, which remain to me of discharging that duty with any hopes of success. Mr. Fitz-Herbert will have informed you that the Duke of Leinster, Lord Shannon, and Mr. Ponsonby are closely joined. I have refused all ideas of any possible conciliation, and nothing but this business has prevented me from proposing to his Majesty the dismissal or revocation of the several offices held by them or their friends. This apparent uncertainty has contributed to weaken me; but, notwithstanding all difficulties, the majority in the House of Lords is certain, and in the House of Commons I verily believe that we are secure; but they are equally confident; and I have learnt not to trust very implicitly to Parliamentary engagements. The least hint of my resignation, removal, or of the want of his Majesty's support and approbation, would turn the majority against his Government; and he is indeed much deceived if he imagines that a new Lord Lieutenant, arriving in such a moment, could close the session with the hopes of saving the credit or security of Government.

"I have persisted hitherto in the same scrupulous and active discharge of my duties, to which I have sacrificed my peace, and my health, which is daily failing me from the want of common relaxation and exercise. I will continue the same line till my successor shall be appointed, *provided this secret is kept*, which alone can enable me to go on; but, that scene being closed, the public has no further claims upon me, and the King can surely have none after a treatment so unmerited. You have indeed public and private claims upon me to the fullest extent, increased, if possible, by the affectionate and anxious zeal which you have felt for my honour, and for my personal peace of mind. But there are situations in which a man must consult his own breast, and look for the approbation of his own feelings. I would not (indeed I would not) put this stake, which I know is the deepest which I can hazard, upon points of *dignity or official credit*. I have lived long enough to see the folly of such a false pride; and I know that I stake my own character, the situation and credit of a brother whom I love most affectionately, and something perhaps of the comfort and security

of friends for whom I feel so much. I do not write, and I think that I do not feel, intemperately; but I consider every point of this business most deliberately, and my reflections confirm me in my original opinion, that I should not consult the safety of the King's government, or my public fame and duty, if I attempted to carry it on after such a blow; and from the moment in which it is openly avowed to the public, the operation of it will begin.

"After a declaration so explicit, due undoubtedly to your friendship and to your situation, it is needless for me to say more upon the solution you so kindly proposed, than to inform you that if Nugent would have accepted the adjutantcy, and if Faucett would have acceded to any terms (which he has positively refused,) I am pledged by an engagement which, in my zeal for the King's service, I made to Lieutenant-Colonel St. George, to allow him to purchase it from Faucett, at the terms to which that officer had agreed in October last. You will remember that St. George was one of Lord Shannon's protégés, and this engagement was the price of the support which he gives to Government; it must therefore be made good, unless his Majesty should think proper to adopt so ruinous a system as the disavowal of the Parliamentary engagements of his chief Governor. This arrangement would have vacated a Lieutenant-Colonelcy of Dragoons, which Faucett would certainly have ultimately have sold; and I had it in contemplation to have endeavoured to have settled this point by an arrangement for that Lieutenant-Colonelcy, if the King's precipitation had left me any option whatsoever; but the violent and immediate refusal on his Majesty's part to give way, and the steps which he has taken to pledge himself beyond the power of recalling his promise, shew me but too plainly his dispositions upon my subject, and in an object on which so much had passed in August last.

"These therefore and my other military engagements I must abandon; and, when the hour of explanation arrives, I must justify myself to those who have trusted to me by this plain narrative. But whatever the care of my own honour obliges me to say, I shall always endeavour to separate your name from the advice, or the impressions, under which the King has so grievously wounded and injured the most faithful and the most attached servant that could have been placed in so trying and so desperate a situation.

"I have now only to add my earnest entreaties that you will send this messenger back to me as soon as possible, that I may know the King's pleasure upon my further proceedings."

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, April 17. Dublin Castle.—"You will have seen by my last letters to you how much I wished to have conciliated this business, but the letter which I this day received from Mr. Pitt has put it beyond the means of conciliation; for the positive refusal on the King's part to yield on the point of the Lieutenant-Colonelcy, though Mr. Pitt had represented to him most earnestly the inconvenience which he apprehended from this proposed arrangement, puts the whole question and my situation in a point of view in which I cannot conceive for a moment that I have any alternative. The King has been informed of the probability of my resignation, and has made his option. After that choice it is impossible for me, with the smallest feeling of honour, with the regard due to my public situation, or to my own political safety, to take

any other step than that which I have desired Mr. Pitt to notify to the King.

"Your letter and his have given me many very bitter reflections. I received them early this morning, and have delayed the answer to this late hour that I might not wrong you so grossly as to mix the slightest shade of intemperance in my determination. I trust that I have given to the subject that very serious deliberation which it deserves; and surely the disposition which I shewed to an accommodation is the strongest proof how much I was inclined to consult the public service; and let me add that the most interesting part of the question is the effect which this resolution may produce upon your situation. I have endeavoured to suggest to my own mind some solution which should leave you in the possession of that political career which you have so honourably begun; and I wish to reconcile to your feelings the possibility of giving to Mr. Pitt in office the support which I will give him out of office. I have acknowledged to you the pain which I felt at recollecting the suspicions, ungenerous and unfounded, which I had conceived upon his conduct in this business; the only return which I can make to him for his anxiety and exertions is to make this step, which the King has taken, as little prejudicial as may be to the cause which I have laboured to support. I shall therefore continue to give to Mr. Pitt the same uniform and affectionate confidence and support, but I cannot serve the King who has thus treated me. Do not think that I press this upon you *pour la forme*; indeed my mind and heart feels for your honour most warmly; and with the same sincerity with which I would have urged you to resign if it had been indispensable, I now urge you to consider well the line which I have opened to you. I am ready to act upon it most decidedly, and to pledge my honour to you that nothing shall ever induce me to change that line; believing most firmly that Mr. Pitt's measures will always justify (as they have done) our cordial approbation. Upon the subject of the King I cannot be silent, because my only justification rests upon his treatment of me; and I must entreat you to observe, not only the question of Colonel Nugent, but the whole system of the army recommendations of this kingdom is involved in this and similar attempts on the part of the King to take from me every degree of army patronage; and that his Majesty's acquiescence on this subject would leave me equally exposed, and perhaps more so, upon every other point."

#### W. PITT TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1789, April 17-18. Whitehall.]—"I should have been with you before this time but I am obliged, whether I will or no, to go through some foreign papers before the Cabinet, which I now expect every moment. I hope we shall not be very long, and I will call on you the moment it is over; at all events before the Drawing Room."

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, April 21. Dublin Castle.—"Late last night I received your letter informing me of Pitt's success; and I can assure you that the relief which it gave to my mind was very considerably enhanced by the affectionate proof which the whole subject has given me of your unbounded attachment; and of the fairness and integrity with which Pitt has exerted himself with the King. You will say to him every thing that can impress him with the sense I entertain of his private



friendship and public honour to me on this occasion; and I leave to your feelings the task of judging of my sensations towards you. As to the mode or even the time I care not one straw how it is to be arranged, taking it always for granted that Taylor's step will not precede that of Nugent. As to the other promotions, some of them must be put forward; for the regiments are quitting our establishment, the transports being hourly expected; and upon considering very fully the list which I last sent to you, I think that the King might not dislike it, as it certainly is fair towards the army. The only point to which he may object is poor Craddock's; but indeed he should know that this poor man (who has nothing but his commission) refused a positive engagement of a Lieutenant-Colonelcy which was offered to him in the name of the Prince of Wales, (with whom he had lived formerly in great habits,) by Lord H. Fitz-Gerald, and declared that no consideration should make him vote against the King, or against Pitt to whom he felt obliged. He has lived constantly with his regiment, and is indeed a very steady officer and a very honourable man. I know that the King was prejudiced against him, but this declaration in his favour is due to him; and I must add that, throughout the whole winter, his conduct has been very active, when every man in Parliament, except a few, shrunk from their duty. At the same time that I urge this, I feel that I have no *right* to make an absolute *point* of this promotion.

"The Commanding Officers of the 58th, Colonel Horsfall and Major Browne, have been with me to signify in the name of their officers, and specifically those most interested, their wish and desire that the King may allow Lieutenant Follett to purchase Fremantle's company; *and this they desire me to state*. I hope therefore *that business* will be arranged by this declaration. The proposal for settling the dispute between Captains Duport and Magrath by moving the latter to the company vacated in May last by death in the 20th, will, I hope, shew how much I wish to arrange it to the King's liking.

"So much for army business, on which I cannot but hope that the King will judge me more favourably than heretofore. I have had very good reason to suspect Lord Sydney's conduct to me on much of these disputes; and his last conduct has made it impossible for me to communicate further with him.

"The House is now met on the Revenue Officers' Bill, and the exertions have been very strong on both sides. I dare not trust to assurances, and there are always some doubtful people, but I *think* our majority on this popular question will not be less than 36. We lose four sure votes by violent illaess; but on general questions I hold our majority to be near if not quite 50, which, in our list of 300 members, is a very good proportion. I am obliged to send this away, for the tide is early, but I shall send the other messenger away tomorrow with the result. I fancy that we shall be able to send over *all* the Bills by the 7th of May; and you will beg of MacDonald that they may be detained as little as possible. My present idea is to adjourn, as soon as we see a fair opening for it, to the 24th May, and then to prorogue. This is a long day; but, if we take a shorter, there may be the chance of a contrary wind which may detain our Bills three or four days, and may leave that time for wrangling in a moment when we cannot depend on keeping our members in town. I take your hint, with the most sensible pleasure, respecting my future correspondent. May you reach to that situation in your political career for which you are so well qualified, is not more my private than my public wish."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, April 22. Dublin Castle.—“I write to you with a degree of exultation which I never felt to so great extent before. My letter to you of last night will have explained the certain majority which I knew to be secure; illness kept away four of our votes, and the popular turn of the question had driven five of our supporters out of town, and three to the opposite side of the house. By very good management in the debate, we contrived to fight the general rights of electors, and to put up a little Opposition man (Sir H. Hartstonge) to abuse the Bill for violating the rights of his constituents for Limerick; and after a very lame debate, in which Grattan spoke worse than ever, we divided 148 to 93. I need not point out to you the immediate effects of this glorious victory; the majority of 55, one fifth of the whole resident House of Commons, has annihilated all hopes on the part of Opposition; and to this number I can add about seven more who from different reasons were absent; but much of our strength depends on county members, of whom we divided 26 against 23, a sort of division never known before, particularly upon such a question.

“I now mean to propose the immediate removal of the Duke of Leinster, Lord Shannon, and Mr. Ponsonby; the second of these is more wretched than you can imagine at the certainty of his removal, and of our protection and support to Lord Kingsborough and Mr. Longfield against him. You should desire Pitt to state to the King that Lord Loftus has, ever since his return to his allegiance, taken the most decided and most earnest part; and that I have made no promise to him (save that of recommending his name to the King for the promotion in the peerage promised him by the Duke of Rutland) but without the smallest encouragement, on the contrary *with an expressed opinion* that the King would not hear of it; but as he was willing and eager to support, and only wished to be able to say to Lord Shannon that he Lord Loftus was not in a worse situation for having joined us, I acquiesced, and have made the most violent and personal quarrel between Lord Loftus and Ponsonby by this separation. They have mutually exchanged every term of abuse and are decidedly enemies. They were near fighting. My idea on the office of the Rolls and the Vice Treasurer's will be explained by Fitz-Herbert. Lord Loftus is not a candidate, nor Lord Tyrone, nor Lord Hillsborough, and therefore I wish to divide the first by putting it into commission; and to annihilate the other, forming out of it three new Commissioners of Revenue; this secret must be most carefully kept, and therefore you will converse upon it with Pitt *only* and no other person. By law the King is not bound to any specific number of Vice Treasurers, nor to any fixed stipend except that they shall not exceed 10,500*l. per annum*. We have no man of half the calibre for it, and the business of the Revenue, as well as the House of Commons list, requires this addition, which Orde had in contemplation in a much more exceptionable way.

“Surely all this exertion will open the eyes of the King to the (let me say) merit of my labours; and dispose him not to quarrel with me on such trifles. I wish you would direct Bernard to order some one to puff a little our Irish Government in your papers, for we have here beat our antagonists completely in that nonsense, and we wish that the English newspapers should not be *uniformly* so abusive as they are.”

## The SAME to the SAME.

[1789,] April 25. [Dublin Castle.]—The mail is this moment going. The police question is this moment carried by us

Government	-	-	-	-	133
Opposition	-	-	-	-	78
Majority	-	-	-	-	55

This victory greater than the last. *Io triumphe.*"

## The SAME to the SAME.

[1789,] April 26. Dublin Castle.—“When I wrote you last night two lines expressive of my triumph, I very little imagined that two very anxious and critical questions had occurred. The first will be explained fully by the enclosed letter. Lord Lifford’s disorder took its turn last night, and the case is now declared to be *desperate*. In this situation I must provide for the Bills now depending. While he lives the Seal may be affixed in the usual forms, but, in the case of his death, *I must* exercise the power of appointment by warrant; for, though the *Lords Justices* held Lord Bowes’ Seals after his death, it is not seemly or possible for *me* to receive the warrant from the Lord Lieutenant and Council, *requiring and directing me* to put the great Seal to Bills which by law must be certified. I cannot but press most earnestly that Fitz-Gibbon may be immediately appointed; but, if that cannot be, I have named the three Commissioners of last year for the King’s approbation. But let me entreat you by every consideration to press the immediate appointment of Fitz-Gibbon, and to remind Pitt (for the King’s information) how essential this arrangement is; and he may hint that I might have made his rejection very difficult if I had issued by warrant to him (whom I had recommended) instead of the three above mentioned. I had long ago assured him of my best exertions, and I owed it to him to offer this warrant to him if he thought it proper; and he, in the very handsomest way, relieved me from the difficulty. This ought to be known for his credit.

“The next point concerns you most warmly, but not so immediately now as last night. Lord Clanbrassil, who had been slightly ill with a cold and fever, was at ten o’clock deemed irrecoverable. I had no packet this morning, and therefore could not send you word of it this morning; he is now something relieved by a violent *erisipilas* (*sic*) and eruption in the head, but is still in a very uncertain state. Under these circumstances, I must earnestly beg you to consider your seat. Foster thinks it probable that your seat will be declared vacated, though he doubts it in point of law, and has recommended to your consideration a Bill to repeal so much of the former law as would vacate the seat of a Speaker succeeding to a reversion granted before his election to the Chair. This seems the most obvious way of settling it, and no time should be lost, as the event is very uncertain, though, upon the whole, I rather think that he will not die; but the question seems too uncertain to trust to chance.

“To the victory of last night, which is most decisive, let me add that we lost the two Jocelyns and Hewitt by these illnesses, and that the point is now given up by the retreat of many of the party into the country. We are wild with exultation; pray remind every one of this

proof of the odium in Ireland to the most loathed, obnoxious, and execrated Lord Lieutenant."

"In the House of Lords our triumph is still greater, if any thing can be greater than victory. . My dinner and fête are admitted to have been the most princely ever known."

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, April 27. Dublin Castle.—"I have very certain information from Dr. Quin, and from Mr. Hume, that Lord Clanbrassil is in a very hazardous situation, notwithstanding the relief which he has found from his eruption. The former told his brother at 4 o'clock (my private secretary) that he had very little hopes of him. It is impossible for me to advise about your seat and your Chair. You must be the only competent of it; but Hamilton wishes you to consider very much how far the Remembrancer's office is or is not an office within the meaning of your Acts, for he says that he has heard that the officers in the Courts in England do not vacate. It will be necessary for me officially to direct, by *warrant*, a proper person to execute the office, until you are legally qualified and admitted. I shall consult Fitz-Gibbon officially as to the question of the responsibility of such a *locum tenens*, but I find from him that you must be *personally present* to be admitted. I had thought of proposing a short Act to enable you to qualify in Great Britain, but I fear that it would be impossible. I will not however wholly give up the thoughts of it, unless I find such a question disadvantageous to the King's service, which may be [the] case, and in that contingency you would not wish for it. At present no one has any idea of it, and perhaps we might be able to carry it without much difficulty if it was unexpected; but I should be much distressed if the session was prolonged by a violent opposition to a measure personal to me.

"The Lord Chancellor was a little better this morning, but his medical people have not the slightest hope of his recovery, and this evening he is worse. His complaint is a sore throat which has turned putrid, has brought on a putrid fever which he has not strength to support, or to throw off. I beg that my messenger with my King's letter for a new Commission may not be delayed; and that it may grant the custody of the Great Seal in case of death or illness, for and during such indisposition, and during his Majesty's pleasure. I sincerely and earnestly hope ultimately for Fitz-Gibbon's appointment; but whatever may be decided on this subject, I am confident that I am doing what is proper in the steps which I am taking.

"You must now speak to Pitt to get me an answer on the peerages, for I am persecuted out of my senses; and I shall not be able to keep our friends in order if some favours are not immediately shewn. As to our numbers we are wild with joy at the total defeat of the Aristocracy. I do not talk vainly to you when I assure you that every one is loud in my praise for my conduct; and does justice to the steady perseverance with which I have faced this combination. My intention is to proceed to instant dismissal so soon as Parliament is adjourned, and to involve in this proscription every one who has voted against us, or has refused to support us since our last adjournment. This will strike at Duke of Leinster, Lord Shannon, Mr. Ponsonby, their followers, and many individuals with places and with pensions who have left us. I still think that a very moderate pension list and the proper arrangement of our offices will be sufficient to

gratify many of our expectants. The list of those who *apply* for peerages are as numerous here as in England; but I have made only three engagements, and those in most critical moments. Lord Carysfort withdraws his wish for an Earldom."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, April 28. Dublin Castle.—"The enclosed will explain to you the steps which I propose taking in consequence of the Chancellor's death. My patent has been consulted, and every lawyer, Carleton, Lord Earlsfort, and the Solicitor-General, are clear that I am authorised to commission a *Lord Keeper* during his Majesty's pleasure; but FitzGibbon, though clear of the law, has joined most earnestly in my opinion for giving the custody of the Seal by warrant to Commissioners, till the King's pleasure shall be known. This will be done, and I mention this as an additional proof of the confidence which he merits. I am most earnest in my hopes that his appointment will take place; but I dare not flatter myself too much. It is however most essential to our public cause, and to our political situation, and from such considerations I trust that Pitt will not easily abandon the idea.

"Lord Clanbrassil was this morning considerably worse, and is now in a very dangerous state. Your determination on the subject of your seat must be immediate; but that I may not mislead you, I will keep this open to the last moment that you may decide for the best. As to the office itself you cannot execute it, and you cannot appoint a deputy, till you are qualified and admitted. Fitz-Gibbon seems to think that I can appoint a person to act for you, and therefore that it is not necessary to bring in any Bill into the Irish Houses to enable you to qualify in Great Britain; as it is certain that such a Bill could only be temporary, and would not save you a journey in the summer; but, if it should prove otherwise, which he will tomorrow know, in that case (as soon as Lord Clanbrassil dies) he will move for a Bill reciting your commission, your situation as Speaker, and authorising our Court of Exchequer to issue a commission for receiving your qualification, oaths, in Great Britain; but you will observe that this Bill will be only in force to the 1st of May 1790, and perhaps I am not very anxious to remove this difficulty by which I shall profit so materially.

"Lord Shannon dismissed his members yesterday; so did the Duke of Leinster; and others have dismissed themselves from further attendance. Nothing now remains but the waspish petulance of those who mean to oppose, but not to divide; or at least are not very sanguine in their hopes of numbers. I look therefore on our business as concluded, and am repaid for much misery by the pride with which I look back on my difficulties and on my present situation.

"Hobart encloses to Nepean a copy of Major Brown's (of the 58th) letter to me on Fremantle's company. He has writ the same to the Colonel of the regiment, General Scott; and I now trust that the King will no longer oppose this nomination; but if he should, I have offered (though I shall be very much mortified) to send over a new list, omitting this whole succession; but pray save me this if you can.

"Adieu. Many thanks to you for your kindness to my dear wife and boy; she speaks of it with great affection. As she is so materially interested in whatever concerns me, I shall be obliged to you if you would communicate with her fully on Irish politics, and my politics, for

she is *discretion itself* where she is trusted; and her affection for me calls for every return that I can make to her."

"You have avoided giving me any answer on my questions respecting the King's journey to Hanover. You cannot imagine how I dread this determination, which Lord Hillsborough tells me, from Lady Salisbury, is certainly fixed. Let me answer you that I think it, on many accounts, highly hazardous; and on none more than on account of the visit which the Duke of York is to pay to the malcontents. You will acquit me of any fear of *extremities*, but I am sure that Government both in Great Britain and in Ireland will materially suffer from this strange proceeding. In all events let me know the truth."

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, May 1. Dublin Castle.—"I have no news to give you, and should not write but to announce the progress of our sessions, and to give you the state of Lord Clanbrassil's health. The latter is immediately interesting, and I should have written to you upon it last night, but that I was not *certain* of my accounts. I now know very accurately his situation within this last hour, and can say that, in all probability, he will have weathered this very formidable attack. He has been relieved by a most violent and universal eruption, and appears to have strength to carry him through; and therefore I may say decisively that he is now safe; but we had prepared our clause in a Bill now kept back for that purpose, to enable you to have qualified in Great Britain. Our session draws to its conclusion; the House of Commons will adjourn probably tomorrow, and *certainly* on Monday, till Friday; and on that day both Houses will adjourn to the 23rd or the 25th.

"Grattan yesterday moved his Place Bill, which, to his utter amazement, was not seconded, and consequently not answered by us; and upon the question he would not divide. In short we are triumphant, and the King's Government is completely re-established. I have now only to look to the question of my engagements, and of my continuance in the Government; to the first I can say nothing till I see what answer you can give me on the peerages, which I have stated to you, and requested you to open through Pitt to the King; and upon this point I am sorry that you have not been able to get me an answer.

"I have not said a word about the Seals, concluding that they will have sent me over a commission for them. I am confident that my powers were competent to an appointment *by warrant*; but my lawyers had consulted and were frightened by some of the judges; and therefore I have paused upon the question, expecting the commission to arrive on Sunday.

"Pray ask about it, and let me know what has passed about Fitz-Gibbon, for neither from Pitt, Lord Sydney, or Lord Thurlow, have I heard one word. I know the fairness of Pitt's views; but I fear the latter; at the same time I cannot conceive that Pitt can be so weak as to give way; and you may be sure that the event will be full of every danger. I conceive that you all know that if it is attempted to send an inferior man, or any King's Serjeants or Counsel junior to Fitz-Gibbon, he will fly out, and the game will be irretrievable. Perhaps all this has been fully considered, but indeed my mind is ill at ease till I know the result. You may however believe that I *cannot* join in any insult or outrage, *however recommended or supported*.

"For God's sake, write to me on this Hanover journey; I am frightened about it. Is it fit that I should be left wholly in the dark about it? and yet I wrote about it a month ago."

The SAME to the SAME.

1789, May 6. Dublin Castle.--"I have only time, in answer to your letter of the 2nd, to thank you for the pains which you take to relieve my anxiety on Fitz-Gibbon's appointment. Is it not singular that your last should have confirmed so strongly my information that Lord Camden meant to fight for G. Hardinge's appointment? But the appointment of Fitz-Gibbon is so interesting to *our* present and future views in this country, that I am persuaded Pitt will not abandon it; especially as I learn from Fitz-Herbert that Lord Thurlow now confines his objection to the idea of Fitz-Gibbon's *unpopularity* in Ireland! Good God! where could he have conceived this nonsense? But what I now write about is to beg most anxiously that, if it can be carried, that it may be done and notified to me immediately, so that before the prorogation the new writs (in consequence of two legal arrangements depending on this question) may be moved for, otherwise it is very possible that we may lose both, and certainly one of the seats. Let me therefore earnestly beg you (whatever be the difficulty about Lord Sydney) to press the decision very warmly. If Fitz-Gibbon is to be a Peer, he will, I know, wish to be created Lord Limerick; the title of the *town* of Limerick belongs to Lord Clanbrassil (who by the bye will recover,) but he has no children, and the whole of Fitz-Gibbon's large property, upwards of 6000*l. per annum*, is in that county. I mention this that a King's letter may be sent over for his peerage (in case of his succession to the Seals) without waiting for my formal recommendation, which would make it too late for our day of prorogation. As to Lord Sydney, it is impossible I can correspond with him after his conduct to me, but I will not again enclose to you my official letters for him.

"As to the question of Vice Treasurer, I have conversed very fully with Hamilton, as a solid man, who assures me that there will not be the slightest difference in fighting the question of the English Vice-Treasurer, whether our Irish Vice-Treasurer is suppressed or not; and the difference of suppressing it or not is to me of most essential consequence. Lord Shannon goes over to England next week, very confident that he will be saved by the King's regards to him. I can have no doubts upon that subject. But I will beg you to endeavour to smooth the way for the measure of the suppression or the suspension of this office, till I can send over to you a statement of the law upon the subject, which Hamilton is preparing. Pray let me know from Pitt what the King will do about the peerages.

"As to my army arrangement, I hope *now* that the King will be more practicable. St. George is dying, and that will perhaps facilitate our views. But I really wish that I should have justice done me in the King's mind; for I am sure I am not unreasonable. Pray beg of Mornington to let me pass a few weeks this summer at Dangan; I would write to him but I have no time."

The SAME to the SAME.

1789, May 6. Dublin Castle.--"I have this morning received the King's letter for the Commissioners of the Great Seal, and I shall

tomorrow seal the patent, and give up the Seal to them. I received by the same mail your letter informing me of the very near completion of an event which I have so long and so anxiously wished. I trust in God that you will not delay my very many and urgent points; for indeed the misery of persecution which I now undergo is equal to that which I so strongly felt three months ago; and I cannot but be most anxious for the event, as I feel myself personally pledged, and have not yet received from Lord Sydney the least answer which could ease those doubts; though his letters, two months ago, earnestly pressed me to every exertion, and pledged the Government to my support in whatever steps I thought necessary.

"Upon the subject of the Vice-Treasurerships, I do not understand how your Vice-Treasurers can be involved either as to their seats, or their offices, by the arrangement which I must propose for suppressing one of them. They stand established by an *Irish Act of Parliament* of the 14th, I believe, of the King, which enables the King to constitute such number of Vice-Treasurers as he shall think proper; and to give to them such salaries as he shall please, not exceeding 10,500*l.* In pursuance of this Act, his Majesty put, by King's letter, three Vice-Treasurers with the full allowance on the Establishment, and the same powers will enable him to put, by another King's letter, two Vice-Treasurers with 7,000*l.* on the Establishment, leaving your two present officers precisely where they stood before. You will now ask my reasons. The first is that the thing itself is much too good for any person in this kingdom (Lord Shannon included,) and that the silver, or even the copper change of this great piece of coin, will go infinitely further. 2ndly, No person of any calibre will accept the office, it being understood that Lord Shannon will at some time or other certainly resume it. 3rdly, I would not wish that it should be *filled*, as it is always *possible* that the Government may at some awkward moment want Lord Shannon; and in that case, if it is wise to give him any office of 3,600*l.*, this may be revived, and the public will then see what their folly, and I may say knavery, will have cost them for this man. 4thly, I am under the most *positive and explicit* promises for the addition of two Commissioners to the Revenue, and of some stamp Commissioners amounting *in toto* to 3,600*l.*, which (including the old fee of Vice Treasurer) is exactly the amount of this great *inefficient* office which I suppress. And I much doubt the practicability of doing this without some such sacrifice to the prejudices, and to the fair principles of men, on the subject of augmentation of the burdens of the people for the sake of patronage.

"Now I would sacrifice very much to the convenience of English Government, but if such an arrangement cannot interfere with your officers or administration, and is essentially necessary to Irish Government, you will not wonder that I persist in urging it. I have already discussed the matter with Fitz-Gibbon, who approves it highly, *supposing Lord Shannon is to be dismissed*, which they all now deprecate; but upon that I will not hear any thing, particularly as Lord Shannon boasts of his connexions and power both here and in Great Britain, and particularly over the King's mind, which is to protect him against me; and this idea is very much circulated and believed. I shall therefore put all the points of law in their clearest light; and shall then transmit that abstract, with Fitz-Gibbon's opinions, and my recommendation for the revocation of so much of the old patent as constituted Lord Shannon, and for the new King's letter putting *two only* on the establishment. I do not know if I explain all this right, but it strikes me that no English difficulty can occur upon it;



and you will see that I must have the King's leave to dismiss Lord Shannon immediately for the sake of justice and example.

"I have received this day the notice of the orders for embarkation of the 20th, 21st, 24th, and have therefore sent over a partial list of the vacancies of those corps, all by purchase, in consequence of the earnest desire of General Pitt, at whose recommendation I have named to the King Lieutenant-Colonel Graham (now a Captain in the 16th) to be Major to the 21st, *vice* Knight promoted to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the 27th, *vice* Ferguson dead.

"I thank you very much for your intimation respecting Fitz-Gibbon's appointment. I trust and hope that it will succeed, but till its decision, I am very uneasy. *I know for certain* that Lord Camden has or will oppose it, for the sake of G. Hardinge. I need not tell you that with G. Hardinge it is *impossible* that I or any other Chief Governor can go on; for this arrangement is openly talked of here and with the contempt it merits. M'Donald as a Scotsman, and as one lightly thought of, could not succeed. I mention all this because it is essential to your credit and to mine, for I am persuaded that if you reject my recommendation of Fitz-Gibbon, I shall be consulted on the name which may be proposed by the Cabinet. I shall be pressed by the family of this old man, who, though rolling in money, had yet thought proper to plead a necessity which appears by his will to be wholly unfounded. I wish to know whether there is any precedent for making a peer a bishop, *after his summons to Parliament as a peer*. You will see to what object this points. As to Lord Clanbrassil, he will now clearly recover, and therefore I fear your luck is not complete.

"Bernard has writ to me a long letter which, he tells me, he has shewn you. I have not time to answer it, and therefore I must desire you to tell him that he does not state *clearly* whether he is *sure* that for the 4000*l.*, which he talks of paying, and the 1000*l.* which he asks for, he can *secure* the seat at Aylesbury both *now* and *next time*; because, though I did not expect to be called upon so immediately to decide for the payment of that sum, yet from affection to him I would acquiesce in it. But if this is to engage me in a contest in Aylesbury, unlimited in expense, *versus* His Royal Highness, I am not quite young enough to be flattered with such a prospect; and should quit the idea instantly, very certain that with that sum added to what Bernard might save from the sum of 4000*l.* which he proposed to venture on the present and future seat, he might buy one elsewhere. Pray therefore consider this well, and decide for me; knowing from me these general outlines, and having on the spot those means of information which I have not; and whatever you advise, that do, and I am content.

"I have now only to add that on Saturday night I adjourned the House of Commons to Friday, when both Houses will adjourn to the 25, then to be prorogued. I had intended to write by this mail to Lord Sydney to inform of it, but the despatches with the Bills were not prepared, and the messenger will overtake the mail tomorrow. But I will trust to you to remark to the King that, after the 2nd more decisive victory, Mr. Grattan dared not divide the House; that we resisted every Bill and every measure brought forward by them; and that the session is closed, *to a day*, exactly on the day which I proposed for it three weeks ago; and that the majority is greater in proportion to our numbers than that which enables Pitt to carry through the business of the House of Commons so triumphantly. You will likewise observe to him that the whole of this is recovered by steadiness and perseverance, assisted by the zeal, vigour, and industry, of some as

useful and as warm friends as ever assisted Government, in the teeth of the Duke of Leinster, 5 Members; of Lord Shannon, 14 [Members;] Mr. Ponsonby, 16 [Members;] Conolly, 4 [Members;] O'Neil, 3 [Members;] Lord Granard, 4 [Members;] assisted by and united to all the republicanism, faction, and discontent of Ireland; and that the whole of this is now at the feet of the Crown. Of myself I say nothing but that my joy and honest pride repays me.

"I must particularly request you to make a point with Lord Chatham and with Pitt to shew every attention to Lord Longford. He is gone on a visit to Mulgrave, and stays in London three weeks. He has been indefatigable, and with his brother T. Pakenham, has helped us more than any family in Ireland. They are most warmly my friends; they think most highly of Pitt; they are very high in public opinion; and he will have five members in next Parliament."

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, May 8. Dublin Castle.—I have only time to inform you that the House of Lords is just up, having adjourned to the 25th. The Commons did the same yesterday. Grattan moved a tythe question which we negatived. Lord Farnham this day (yesterday being spent upon an appeal) moved an address on the subject of the revenue, which was likewise negatived; both without divisions.

"In this manner our session has closed; and in the scripture phrase I have only to add, *go thou and do so likewise*."

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1789, May 13. Dublin Castle.—"I last night received your long letter of the 9th, which I opened with the utmost impatience, hoping that you had been enabled to communicate with me decisively upon the points most interesting to us personally, and upon those which are essential to the King's Government in Ireland. I feel the difficulty of your situation, which prevents you from communicating with Lord Sydney upon the points which I have so much pressed; and I am too much aware of the general system of procrastination in all Governments to be much surprised that the English Cabinet should be wholly inattentive to Ireland, from the moment in which the subject does not immediately press upon their apprehensions. And if you cannot procure upon the spot sufficient *data* to enable you to form your judgment upon the interesting period of your present situation and your new duties, I do not feel very sanguine in my hopes of bringing my points to their conclusions, without a constant and hourly monitor upon the spot. I have therefore determined to send Hobart to England, that he may be able to press, and to explain such difficulties as you may imagine likely to arise upon the measures which I must propose.

"In the first place let me remind you of the very heavy and severe battle which I have fought; recollect that though the King's recovery gave me the moment of resisting Opposition with advantage, it did not give me (*per se*) the means; and that the strength of the combination formed against me, though shaken by the King's health, and by the consequent impressions on the minds of individuals, was not in reality impaired, much less broken, for many weeks after the rejection of the Regency Bill in Great Britain. Recollect the conduct of Lord Shannon in all its profligate and double measures, and you will see that they still hoped to force the Government to their terms. In this situation I had

no time for communication upon measures which called for immediate exertions and decisions ; but I constantly communicated through you to Pitt, and through the Office to the rest of the King's servants the critical situation of the Government, and the opinions which I had formed of the necessity of meeting this combination by such decisive measures as should annihilate the hopes of this party before the session closed. The history of the Irish Parliament for the last 20 years, and particularly for the last seven months, sufficiently point out the *one* principle by which *alone* such a battle could be fought. I should, under these very particular circumstances, have conceived myself grossly wanting to my duty if I had paused upon the different engagements proposed to me, so long as they were kept within reasonable bounds ; but, in point of fact, Pitt's private letters, your's, and the Office letters from Lord Sydney, all pressed me to such steps as I thought essential to the King's service, and encouraged me to the line which I had judged, in every point of view, to be indispensable. I will not dwell upon the event, but I shall think my success the most unfortunate part of my history, if the pledge which I have given of my personal faith (even to those who least deserve it) is not scrupulously redeemed ; and the consequence of such a dereliction of the Lord Lieutenant is too obvious to make it necessary for me to dwell upon it. Do not think that I have the slightest doubts of the good faith of Government on a point where they are as much interested as I am. I state this general history, that you may be able to explain to others what they very little understand ; I mean the wonderful difficulty of my late situation ; the perfect security of Government if I am allowed to make good my engagements ; and the certain defeat of any Government who may succeed me under the charge of a breach of promise. The day of reckoning is now arrived ; and it is fit that after I have (unassisted by any directions or aid from Great Britain, for they could give me none) resisted such an attack, rallied our strength, and concluded the campaign by my own resources, by my own judgment, and by the assistance of those whom I have here employed ; it is fitting, I say, that confidence should be reposed in me to the points on which it is necessary for me to call for the co-operation of the British Government.

"I have written very much to the Office upon the subject of the Irish Great Seal. I have twice writ to Lord Thurlow, and from none of these great people have I received one word of answer ; and I now *know* that Lord Thurlow has communicated to M<sup>r</sup> Namara his *resolution* that an Englishman shall be Chancellor. If it is so, I shall most certainly, before I sign such a warrant, deem it my duty to protest in the most serious and urgent manner against such a step as ruinous in the present moment, and strongly ruinous in the hands of any one of the men whom you have named. It is easy for Lord Thurlow to sit still in his chair, and to consider this arrangement solely with a view to the *law*, as the only point for consideration ; but if the situation of the Lord Chancellor of England was to be tried only by that *one* qualification, I need not remind you what the consequences would be in the House of Lords to any Government making such an arrangement ; even though in that House the public business may be conducted by any one or more of the many Cabinet ministers usually sitting there. Apply this to Ireland. Formerly the House of Lords was very thinly attended, never by more than 30 members, of whom the Bishops' Bench composed the clear and decided majority ; the education, the habits, the poverty of the lay Peers depressed all idea of debate, and left the situation of the Lord Chancellor as much at ease as he could wish. In such a moment, and under

such duties, Lord Lifford was appointed; I will not say how severely both kingdoms have paid for such a nomination, which has kept its ground for 22 years amidst so many changes of government, and with the strongest charges of constant mis-conduct and inefficiency as a political character; reprobated by almost every Lord Lieutenant who has been in Ireland, who all felt not only the want of assistance from him, but the actual mischiefs of his language and conduct in the official situation which the Irish Chancellor must always hold, (or be supposed to hold) of the Minister of the House of Lords. If all this is true, apply it to the present moment, and tell me upon what principle you can justify any appointment in which this very serious part of the duties of an Irish Chancellor is not fully considered. Lord Chief Baron Eyre is undoubtedly the least exceptionable; but his manners are most unaccommodating; and in Parliamentary practise, he must be most ignorant, for he never sat in the House of Commons.

"Buller *would not be born*, [borne,] for he is believed (and we both know not wholly without foundation) to be *corrupt*, and he is intemperate to the utmost extent of the word.

"M'Donald is a Scotsman, and junior to Fitz-Gibbon at the Bar. Of Wilson I never heard a word good or bad, but that he is perfectly new to such a scene of warfare.

"And one of these persons is to be dropped from the clouds into the midst of a House of Lords who divided, in this sessions, 84 members; and is told that he is their Minister, to guide and direct a machine so complicated, so entirely out of every rule, and with every unfavourable impression that can be conceived either from resentment, malice, or the general indisposition to an Englishman in that House. I had not thought it necessary to enter into this detail before, for I had not entertained a doubt that Fitz-Gibbon could be so ill-used as he would be under this declaration of the Lord Chancellor, after the language which Lord Thurlow held to him last summer. I again repeat that as a public man, and as a private man, I think Fitz-Gibbon absolutely necessary to Mr. Pitt's government, and that the doctrine of considering this arrangement solely with a view to the *law* of it must be resisted. You say and with truth that this is matter of infinite difficulty with the Cabinet Ministers. I admit it; but as I feel no such difficulty, I shall claim the right of protesting most solemnly against such an appointment, and of declaring my opinion of the mischiefs which will follow; and this I had rather do before the actual nomination, though I certainly will do it afterwards rather than remain silent. But whatever becomes of it, I shall be obliged, on the behalf of the country, to call for an immediate appointment, by representing that upwards of 100 causes are now before the Court of Chancery, accumulated by the indolence of Lord Lifford, who in the last two years has given only two decrees; and that the Commissioners have declared that they will hear nothing but motions of course. The death of the Chancellor has brought this matter to a crisis, but the question of his successor has been very long in every one's mouth, and therefore the nomination can gain no weight by longer delay; which, if it is protracted, will inevitably throw the business of the Court of Chancery into the long vacation; and by that means suspend all decrees for six months longer.

"On the subject of the peerages, Hobart will explain that those which I transmitted to you, Lords Glerawly, Enniskillen, and Erne to be Earls; Lord Earlsford to be a Viscount, (if the King does not make him an Earl, which I am bound to recommend, though I do not expect it to be done;) and Browne, Lawless, Gore, Gardiner, and Stuart,

[Stewart] to be Barons, are every one actual *promises* made by the Duke of Rutland, without any latitude given to me upon the subject. To these I wish to add Lord Chief Justice Carleton (who has no child) for the sake of the law of the House of Lords, and of the Government, to which he has been ever steady; and because his presence would materially check the conduct of Lord Earlsfort, whom you know to be slippery, and of that Chancellor in embryo Lord Chief Baron Yelverton. My *promises* are, as I told you, two Baronies for Pery and Alexander, and a Viscounty for Lord Belmore, all to be sent over at *the meeting of the new Parliament*. Some other recommendations are to be mentioned, but it is particularly provided for that no positive *engagement* exists. I have omitted the Marquisates, but you know the ground upon which they are proposed.

"I enclose to you, for Pitt, the letters which I am bound to write for that madman Lord Bellamont; you will see how guarded they are, and I insisted on showing them to him before I sent them. I wish of course to have an ostensible letter, which will possibly state that the request is of so peculiar a nature that His Majesty had not signified his pleasure upon it. The man really supported us most roundly, and was the *first* who fairly denied the *right* of Ireland to do any thing more than to recognise the Regent appointed by Great Britain; and upon that ground, I offered him an employment which he declined, declaring that emolument was not his object; but fixing this as his object, which he said was not new to the King, as his Majesty had communicated to him a wish that he should take Lady Bellamont back to his house, and that this idea had then been opened. I have some idea that this curious nonsense is true, and that Lady Salisbury was the negotiator!

"As to the question of the Vice-Treasureship, I enclose to you a paper drawn up by Hamilton, and examined by Fitz-Gibbon; upon the *law* there is not a doubt. The thing which I propose is not a *legal suppression*, but a discontinuance of the 3rd Vice-Treasurer; and as in case of the non-appointment of the 3rd (after Lord Shannon's removal) the remaining two would divide the whole 10,500*l.*, a new King's letter must be sent over directing that, in future, they shall receive only 3,500*l.* each. As to the operation of this measure as endangering your two Vice-Treasurers, let me pledge myself that there cannot exist the slightest *increase of difficulty*. The question always has been matter of discussion, but trust me if we are strong enough to other points, this will be scouted just like every other flippancy of Opposition. In this opinion I am confirmed by every one to whom I have opened it; and I need not point out to you the advantage which I derive from such a discontinuance of an enormous, non-efficient office, in the moment in which I find it absolutely necessary, *as a sine quâ non*, to create the offices which I have pointed out, and which Hobart can explain to you. I certainly would not risk your Government, but I again repeat that it is not possible that this measure should alter the question of the Vice-Treasurers, and should endanger your 2 offices; though I think it very possible that the breach of faith and the disappointments which must arise from the non-execution of this measure, on which our new offices depend, would materially endanger that and every other question of English and of Irish government. I am likewise particularly partial to this arrangement, as I think I can foresee the certainty of Lord Shannon's re-appointment in the course of the second or third year of his purgatory; and, by that time, he will have been cleansed from his present sins, and the Government whatever it may be, will be glad to restore him again to his office; and, in all events, it is eligible to keep

the means open of buying him in case it should be necessary. I am therefore very anxious that the King's letter should be returned to me, as soon as may be, as all my arrangements depend upon it. The formation of the new Board of Stamps was absolutely necessary, independently of Parliamentary jobs, and would have been proposed in October last; and upon this, and the 2 Commissioners of the Revenue, I have not the smallest doubt of the propriety of my determination, or of the success in defending it to Parliament, trusting always to my decided majority.

"I shall be able to fight off the making Lord Lifford a Bishop; for, by calling upon him to state to me a precedent, I found out that he wishes to reside in England. They all plead poverty, and swear that the old man left only 4000*l.*, which is a gross untruth, as I know from the mouth of the old Chancellor (who told me) that he had *made* in this country 120,000*l.*

"And now to my own situation. Let me begin by thanking you in the strongest terms for the very kind and anxious manner in which you express yourself on my subject. Your congratulations are not the less welcome because I am not used to see upon paper that sort of language from any other person; but I assure you that if the whole Cabinet, and the King at their head, had written to me that testimony of approbation, which I feel I have deserved, I should not have read it with one-tenth part of the satisfaction that I felt on reading the few words which you have sent to me upon that head.

"I begin by saying that I have long since sacrificed every private feeling to my duty; and therefore if I see in my continuance in this Government that advantage to the King's service which can make it *a duty*, I shall not pause upon the question. And with this impression I long since told you that if I could not succeed in laying this Aristocracy at the King's feet by the close of the session, I would continue here to any length of time; supported in my exertions by my sense of duty, and by my personal feelings of pride and of resentment to those who had used me so ill. That is now over, for I again repeat that at no period was the Government so decidedly secure of its majority as at present, and at no period could the hopes of Opposition be so low as now. I say nothing of my character which never can be higher, but which may again be depressed by accidents beyond my reach or calculation. All these considerations have and ought to have their weight. I have been animated through this contest by the struggle itself; and the different emotions which the scene of the last six months had excited, supported me through it. The scene is now altered by the victory. I can quit this wretched kingdom with a high head; I can deliver to my successor the King's sword in full vigour and powers; and I feel that I have taught to the Government a lesson on the subject of this Aristocracy which is invaluable, if properly used. In such a moment it is surely good for me to have done with such a task of labour and of hazard. Let me add to this a consideration which presses severely upon me, I mean that of my health. I am very unwell, and dread, with a horror which I cannot describe, the possibility of a return of that illness which put one foot into the grave. I feel the want of relaxation and of the regularity of a domestic and quiet life. If I were to continue Lord Lieutenant, I *must* have the King's leave to pass six weeks at Bath, and we know his opinions on this subject. The exercise which I use is not sufficient to give me the feel of health; and the prospect of another winter in this cursed town would completely ruin my hopes of passing the remainder of my life in the comforts arising from an unimpaired constitution.

"Under these circumstances I wish to wind up the public business of different sorts which I have undertaken; I wish to redeem my pledge of personal faith where it is given; and I then wish to surrender this trust early enough to give my successor the fullest time for preparation. I have very much upon my hands, and I do not think it *possible* that I could quit Ireland sooner than the end of July at soonest; and probably about the middle of August; but upon all this I have formed no positive decision, save that of coming away as soon as I can do it with credit to myself, and security to the Government. You will now naturally ask me whether I look to any object in Great Britain; and I will fairly answer that I should not dislike now, or at any time, either of the two great offices, Lord President or Privy Seal, and particularly if given me as the step for relieving me out of Ireland; but I feel too much affection to Pitt, and let me say too much pride in my present character, to wish to put him under the slightest difficulty; and therefore I not only never shall propose it to him, but I shall not (*bonâ fidé*) be disappointed if I have it not. Your situation will always gratify me; and whether the King or the public be or be not sensible to my services, I give you my faith and word that I shall neither be surprised nor discontented.

"Pray shew every kindness and regard of confidence to Hobart; he deserves it all, for he is indeed a most invaluable friend, and one of the best public servants I ever met with. He will converse with you on all these points. As to my resignation I have mentioned it to *him* (only) as being in my contemplation; but I trust that if I retire, Pitt will take some care of him to whom I am so much indebted.

*Post-script*.—"I enclose the copy of a very singular letter from the Archbishop of Cashell. He drew it as a *memoire justificatif* of his conduct, and wishes it to be shewn to the King, as preparative to an application for a peerage. The letter requires no answer, but I wish to be able to say that it was laid before the King.

"My dread of the Hanover journey arises not from any real danger or political inconvenience arising from it as an abstract question, as from the consideration of the impressions which it conveys to those who may misunderstand it. I do not seriously dread any attempt from these wicked young men; but I know that if they meant any *real mischief* they would attempt it in Great Britain and in Ireland at such a moment. If the King should go abroad, I must have specific instructions for my conduct to the Duke of York, who is *still* expected here. For I will do all that is ordered, but I will leave nothing to chance.

"I have ordered a most magnificent *fête* for the Queen's real birthday the 18th May; pray take care that the compliment is not lost. We serve upwards of 560 covers, all in St. Patrick's Hall, to a supper partly hot, the rest cold. I am anxious, for many reasons, to establish the reputation of the three most splendid entertainments, which I shall have given this winter."

*Enclosure.*

#### *Observations on the Office of Vice-Treasurer.*

"The Office of Vice-Treasurer, Receiver-General, and Treasurer at War, appears to be an antient office, patents for the same having been granted from so early a period as the reign of Henry the 8th, with various salaries, sometimes by the year, sometimes by the day, and sometimes accompanied with wages for the maintenance of horsemen and footmen.

"In 1625, Sir Francis Blundell had a patent from King Charles the 1st with a salary of one hundred marks, and six pence English for every twenty shillings paid out of the Treasury. After the Revolution, grants were made by King William, with the antient fee of one hundred marks, and a salary of one thousand pounds a year, in lieu of the sixpence in the pound; but, in the year 1698, Thomas Lord Conynghsby had a grant of the office with a fee of 65*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and sixpence in the pound from all payments, at which allowance the emoluments of the office have ever since remained.

"It appears that grants were frequently made of the office to single persons; from the year 1710 it was generally granted jointly to two persons until January 1756; from which time to the present it has been granted to three persons, except for a few months during the year 1766, when the grant was made to two.

"The amount of the fees received by the Vice-Treasurer were returned to Parliament in December 1775, and appear in the Commons' Journal of that year, pages 235 and 236. That House addressed the Lord Lieutenant on the 16th of December 1775, requesting his Excellency *that he would be graciously pleased to lay before his Majesty the humble desire of that House that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to grant to the Vice Treasurer, Receiver, Paymaster-General, and Treasurer at War, in this Kingdom of Ireland, such salary or salaries as his Majesty in his wisdom should think fit, not exceeding in the whole the sum of ten thousand five hundred pounds (clear of all expenses attending the execution of the said offices, such expenses not to exceed 2500*l.* a year) in lieu of all fees, salaries, and allowances, to which they were then entitled; such fees to be received and applied to the use of the public.* Which address was transmitted to the King; and Earl Nugent, Mr. Ellis, and Mr. Flood having by their memorial to His Majesty, signified their consent to accept the before mentioned salary of 10,500*l.* sterling by the year, clear of all expenses attending the execution of the said offices, said expenses not to exceed 2500*l.* by the year; His Majesty, by a letter under his Sign-Manual, dated the 21st of January 1777, directed letters patent to be passed, granting them a salary of 10,500*l.* a year in lieu of all other salaries, fees, or perquisites whatsoever, together with 2500*l.* by the year to enable them to pay their Deputies, and all other officers and clerks employed in, and all other expenses whatsoever attending the execution of the said offices of Vice-Treasurer, Receiver-General and Paymaster at War. The same patent requires the Vice-Treasurers, during their continuance in the said offices, and for so long as they shall severally receive the above, to pay into the Treasury for the use of the Crown, all the other fees, stoppages, salaries, and allowances to which they are or shall be severally entitled. That patent also directs the said salary of 10,500*l.*, and the said allowance of 2,500*l.* to be inserted upon the present and all future establishments of civil expense.

"The present patent is granted to Lord Shannon, Lord Mount-Edgumbe, and Lord Frederick Campbell, and to the survivor and survivors of them, or to the sufficient Deputy or Deputies of them, or the survivor or survivors of them, during the King's pleasure; and grants the salary to the said three, and the survivor and survivors of them, and his and their assigns.

"It is to be observed that the salary is not to the *office* but to the *persons* holding the office; and therefore upon the granting of a new patent, the salary must be granted anew.



"It appears that the Legislature has not interfered respecting the poundage, except on the grant of additional duties; that the Crown had frequently changed the nature and fund of the emoluments of the Vice-Treasurer's Office, but not from 1698 until the present salary was established, in consequence of the vote of the House of Commons.

"If it should be thought fit to appoint only two Vice-Treasurers with a proportion of the present salary, it is presumed that it must be done by revoking the present patent, and granting another in the form intended."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, May 16. Dublin Castle.—"It seems as if Lord Sydney was determined to commit me with the King, and to prevent the possibility of my ever passing an hour quiet from the eternal *tracasserie* of commission-warfare. I wrote you word three weeks ago that Nepean had sent to Hobart my list of June last, desiring that another might be transmitted, leaving out the succession to Fremantle's company. In the meantime the officers commanding the 58 regiment, the Lieutenant-Colonel and Major, presented to me a memorial with the consent of all the officers to the succession. In consequence of which Hobart returned again to Nepean the *first list*, and stated my hopes that the King would *now* at least allow this business to go on; but that if he still refused, I would in that case transmit another list, leaving out *the whole of that promotion*; and would not impede the whole of the army successions for that one difficulty. I did not say through Hobart that I should feel all this, but left the business on the most temperate footing. Judge my surprise this morning at hearing from Cooke that the commissions of the month of June were all come over, including Fremantle's commission for the dragoons, and omitting the others which were to succeed in the 58th and 13th, as proposed in that list. And this done without a single line of explanation, directly in the teeth of my last request, which only begged that I *might recall the whole*, and not be disgraced by this palpable and marked outrage of a partial approbation. I have stated this to you, and Hobart can explain to you his letter to Nepean: I will not worry you with my complaints, but I shall now insist upon my *instant recall* if this should have been done by the King's directions; and if not, the only way that now remains that can satisfy me is the King's acquiescence; for on any other terms I shall deem myself grossly injured. His Majesty must likewise be reminded that nothing has yet been done towards the completion of Colonel Nugent's promotion, which, by General M'Kay's recovery, is now removed as far as ever. It grieves me to write all this, but I must not submit to such ill-treatment, repeated at every opportunity that has offered. I have not given out Fremantle's commission, and mean to detain it; but if this matter is not settled, I shall come away as soon as the King's pleasure can be taken for Lords Justices, for I will not pass every hour in this sort of negotiation; and still less will I bear such repeated marks of the King's neglect and contempt of the situation in which I am placed. I am unfit to write upon any thing else, and I trust that you will not lose a moment in bringing this to a decisive explanation; for no consideration under heaven shall now make me change my determination."

"No news of FitzGibbon; not one word of answer to any of my Office letters on that subject! Is this right?"

"I have writ to Hobart to inform him of all this, and have enclosed to him a letter to Lord Sydney, which he will present after he has shewn it to you. I mean by it to force the King's negative upon my recommendation, and to resign instantly upon it. Good God ! what a situation has mine been for the last 12 months !" *Seal of arms.*

R. HOBART to [W. W. GRENVILLE].

1789, May. London.—"Should you see Mr. Pitt this morning will you have the goodness to speak to him on the subject of the separation of the Boards, and the Vice Treasurership. I wish particularly to be able to write a satisfactory letter to Lord Buckingham this day. Mr. Pitt said he would settle the military business with Lord Sydney in the course of the morning, and that he would write to the Chancellor to appoint a time for my seeing him. Tomorrow would not now be inconvenient to me after twelve o'clock, as the wedding takes place in town.

"I do not find myself yet advanced one step in my business. This delay I am convinced will be attended with much inconvenience and injury to Irish government."

"If you do not appoint an earlier hour, I shall see you at the House before *four*."

W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, [May 20-31.] Friday.—"I have spoken to Lord Sydney, who is perfectly satisfied with what we propose to be done, and says the only reason for sending over the Commissions was the supposition that they were immediately wanted. Our whole time, till the Chancellor was forced to go away, was taken up in discussing the Foreign business which Lord Stormont has given notice of in the House of Lords to day, and there was not a minute for any thing else. We are to meet again on Monday, when I shall certainly be able to mention the business about the Irish offices, and I see no reason to doubt that the answer may be sent by the middle of next week at farthest. I have sent a note to the Chancellor to appoint a time for seeing Hobart, but have not yet got his answer."

The SAME to the SAME.

1789, [May 20-31.] Downing Street.—"The Chancellor proposed to adjourn the Order of the day to Tuesday, which Lord Stormont expressed his assent to in a few words with a reasonable good grace, and the Duke of York with a very bad one. Nothing else passed, and the whole took about ten minutes." *Seal of arms.*

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, May 26. Dublin Castle.—"I have received your last letter, in many parts less kind than I could have wished; and making no allowance for the resentment I feel towards one who never has missed an occasion of striking at my wishes and my objects; and still less allowance for my feelings towards another quarter from whom I have received, in the only two objects personal to me, Nugent and Fremantle, the most marked returns for my conduct, and my sufferings in health and in peace. I will not put upon you, either now or at

any time, any task which may make your situation unpleasant; but such a warfare is in every sense unfit, and being defeated in my wishes, and (whatever Lord Sydney may profess) exposed to the clerks in his Office and in mine; and avowedly insulted by the success of the steps taken by a parcel of subalterns whose complaints his Lordship thought proper to receive through their Colonel; I can only look with infinite disgust at a situation in which I have reaped every thorn, and have not been fortunate enough to have gained the King's confidence, regard, or goodwill. My mind is now made up, and you shall never hear again from me on subjects so grating to me as my unmerited disappointments. I again repeat that I do not mean to commit you with the King; and that I sincerely hope that you may never have more difficulties with him than on my account.

"I shall forthwith transmit a list dated June, 1778, [1788?] omitting Captain Fremantle's troop, and his successions.

"By this mail (though little able to write) I have been obliged to send to Lord Sydney a letter upon a subject in which he has been strangely inattentive to me. My letter is certainly not uncivil, though I feel most strongly upon his whole conduct.

"I write this at starts, and with one hand at liberty; for in reviewing the garrison this very wet morning, my horse plunged at the colours, and having reared twice so as to endanger his being thrown back upon me, his hind foot slipped, and though he recovered himself, I fell upon my left hand and arm. I felt no pain, and mounted another horse for two hours; and some time after that, I felt so much and such severe pain that I sent for a surgeon, who finds no fracture but a most violent contusion, which has swelled my shoulder and left breast with a great degree of pain. He took from me 16 ounces of blood (as I had a very heavy cold,) and I find myself better this evening. I have put all this in very general terms to my wife for fear of alarming her; and therefore you will ask her for particulars, and tell her that I have only mentioned it to you and referred you to her.

"This makes it difficult for me to write more to you, but as it is possible that this may reach you before your appointment, I only will add my sincerest and most affectionate exultation in your situation, and my truest wishes for your credit and ease.

"I have thought it right in answer to an Office letter from Lord Sydney, on the creation of the Earl of Munster, to state a point which I cannot care about, but which stands upon a very awkward footing.

"I am most impatient for Hobart's interview."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1789, May 28. Dublin Castle.—"I was yesterday in too much pain to write to you with any comfort to myself. I am much easier this day, and the diminution of the violent inflammation which had taken place on my shoulder, upper arm, and left breast, has enabled the surgeon to say decisively that no fracture or dislocation has taken place; and this evening I feel that I have the use of that arm; so that three or four days will restore me to the means of riding. I go to the Black Rock on Saturday, and quit this cursed atmosphere in search of better health and of more quiet than I have known for months past. For you will easily imagine that my torment is not over till Hobart returns. I look very impatiently to the prospect of peace and of repose; and every hour convinces me how much I stand in need of it. But there are many points to which I conceive myself pledged by duty,

and as soon as I see my way clearly through them, I shall look to my release from so thankless and wretched a situation. I am overjoyed at the hopes of seeing my family once more round me; and though I have many points to mention to you, yet I will not *now* trouble you or myself further, having only scrawled this that you might not be uneasy. Pray write to me very explicitly about the King, for I am very much alarmed in consequence of a letter which I have received from one who has the means the knowing his state of health."

The MARCHIONESS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE, at Whitehall.

1789, June 1. [Dublin Castle.]—"We are safely arrived, and Mary is very well; but I wish I could give as good an account of Lord Buckingham. His health is most dreadfully impaired by all he has gone through; he looks extremely yellow, can bear no exercise, has had something of a putrid sore throat for this fortnight past, and, upon the whole, is so ill that I dread the consequences of his staying here much longer. He is determined to quit soon, as you know; but I think it is right you should also know how ill he is, as perhaps you may have it in your power to prevent delay on your side of the water, whenever he can manage matters on this so as to give up.

"I am scribbling this in all haste for fear of his catching me at it; as, in the first place, he is not himself aware of the very bad way he is in; and, if he was, would not perhaps wish you to know it; so keep this a most profound secret, and make the best use of it."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, June 5. Blackrock.—"I have not written to you since the arrival of my wife and family, who have all joined me in perfect health, having been fully employed in talking with her on the very many points which were mutually interesting to us. This continued for a day or two, and made me forget, to a certain degree, the very unpleasant sensations of ill health which had begun to press upon me; but I am now obliged to think very seriously of my situation, being almost incapable of any business or attention, and yet unequal to any exertion of exercise from a languor and heaviness which recalls to my recollection my sufferings and illness of 1785. I take a large quantity of bark, but the relaxation of my whole frame is so general, that I shall require much repose of mind, and much regimen before I could even hope for the feel of health. I am anxious beyond measure for Bath, and yet I have no idea that the King will hear of it for a moment; but if he should not, I shall be compelled by my sensations of misery and of total languor to desire to be *immediately* recalled, so as to quit a scene so ruinous to my health, and a situation so thankless, by the earliest opportunity. I know that, in many points of view, this would be most ineligible for the King's service, and for my personal credit and situation; but I cannot describe to you how much my health has already suffered, and how much I lose ground hourly by reflexions of the most unpleasant nature which hourly press upon me. In this unfortunate state of mind I have looked impatiently to Hobart's arrival, that I might go to Dangan, or to any new scene sufficiently removed from Dublin, and from the very loathed name of business.

"I feel how much you will be distressed by this letter, but it is really made necessary by my situation, which is only relieved by the affec-

tionate and constant attentions of my wife. I struggle against it, but I fear that nothing but Bath and a cessation of business and of anxiety can relieve me:

"I meant, however, in beginning this letter, to have confined myself to a very few lines on my own subject, and to have dwelt very particularly on the event which I trust has taken place this day in your political life. Receive the most heartfelt and anxious wishes that can be formed for your happiness and satisfaction; for you cannot be more anxious for it than I ever have and must be; for I am most affectionately earnest for your happiness more than my own."

The MARCHIONESS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, June 7. Blackrock.—"Though the greatest secrecy was recommended to Bob Williams about his expedition to England last night, yet I am afraid it will reach your ears that he has gone to fetch Doctor Austin. My uneasiness on your account is the greater as I have no means at present of sending this letter, all the packets being on the other side, (Williams took advantage of the yacht). The case is exactly this. Lord Buckingham has for a long time been complaining of a lassitude and dejection of spirits. He had a fall from his horse a little time before my arrival, for which it was necessary to bleed him; this of course added to his lowness, which, with a total want of appetite, has been encreasing upon him within these 3 or 4 days. The sore throat, I told you of, is removed, but yesterday he could not set up for one moment; his weakness, heaviness, total loss of appetite, alarmed me so much that I did not hesitate one moment in accepting of Bob Williams' friendly offer to set out in an open wherry for England. He fortunately found the yacht about to sail with Lord Drogheda's family.

"I writ a most pressing letter to Austin, convinced that the confidence Lord Buckingham has in his skill may have the happiest effect. Surgeon Stuart is the only person he *will* see, and indeed I do not know how to urge him to see any of the faculty here. Stewart thinks him in no danger, *provided he will give way* to the lassitude that overpowers him and *not think of any kind of business*. I can and do prevail upon him to keep his bed, but how can I prevent him from thinking. We are in hourly expectation of Mr. Hobart; I do not know whether to wish for his arrival or dread it. Lord Buckingham is strongly impressed with the idea that nothing but the Bath waters will restore him. Mr. Fitz-Gibbon is strongly for his naming Lords Justices and running for his life; but Lord Buckingham will not hear of it; he says the King would never forgive such a step. Surely just after his own release from a malady brought on by over application to business, he could not have the heart to refuse the only means of restoring a life sacrificed in his service as Lord Buckingham's has been. You have not the most distant idea of all he has suffered; at length his strength has given way, and he is not capable of the least application. Perhaps you might manage to get him leave of absence in case Dr. Austin should think it absolutely necessary for him to leave this country; if so, as you value your brother's life, do not lose a moment, but let us be enabled to set off immediately, if Dr. Austin should give that opinion. He feels that he cannot, in justice to many people he is under promises to, *quit the Government* till he has fulfilled them.

"Lord Buckingham knows nothing of our having sent for Austin; it is of the utmost consequence to keep up his spirits. Would to God you was with us, for I shall not long support this weight.

"Lord Buckingham knows nothing of this letter."

The MARCHIONESS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, June 8. Blackrock.—“I am so sure that my yesterday's letter must have frightened you, and made you as unhappy as I was when I wrote it, that I hasten to make you partake of the first gleam of hope I have of his disorder taking a favourable turn . . . He has been the whole of this day getting gradually better; and I trust that when Dr. Austin comes, he will only have to approve of what has been done, and to put him upon a proper regimen.”

JOHN FITZ-GIBBON [Attorney-General for Ireland] to  
W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, June 9. Dublin.—“I am extremely sorry to inform you that Lord Buckingham continues very much out of order. From intense application to business, and constant agitation of mind for the last six months, he has got so much depressed, that any the smallest exertion affects him in a very alarming degree. Yesterday he did business for some hours with Mr. Hobart, which had such an effect upon him, that he fainted four or five times successively. The gentleman who attends him has no apprehensions for him, if he will but relax his mind, and give up business of every kind for a short time. To this however, you will readily believe, there is some difficulty in bringing him to submit. He means in a very few days to go to Dangan, where I hope he will be in some measure beyond the reach of any thing which may disturb him. In his present state of health, most certainly, it is essentially necessary that every other consideration should yield to the restoration of it. I beg of you to make my best compliments to Mr. Pitt, and to assure him that I feel most sensibly his kindness and friendship.”

The MARCHIONESS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, June 9. Blackrock.—“Lord Buckingham still continues mending. He is quite jaundiced, which Stuart looks upon as a favourable circumstance. The dejection of his spirits is greater than you can have any idea of; he has gone through a great deal more than anybody in England, even yourself, can have the least notion of; besides which, there seems to be something preying upon his mind which retards his recovery, even if it was not (as I suspect) partly the cause of his illness. From what he sometimes drops, I think he is much hurt at the King's not having *marked* any satisfaction at his conduct. I tell you this that you may write to him on this subject as you think would best please him; of course not letting him know that I have written to you. Mr. Hobart is this moment come. I dread the fatigue of their conversation; at the same time that I hope his mind may be a little easier after it. Whenever he has settled matters with Mr. Hobart, and that his strength will be sufficient, we are to set off for Dangan where I hope for a little quiet.”

R. HOBART to W. W. GRENVILLE.

Private.

1789, June 10. Dublin.—“Lord Buckingham (although considerably better) not being well enough to undertake the fatigue of writing, has directed me to request you would immediately send for Lord Carrsfort, and intimate to him that Lord Bellamont continues extremely absurd

upon the subject of the Rolls; so much so as positively to refuse accepting the office, unless accompanied by the mark of favour from his Majesty solicited in the letter I delivered to Mr. Pitt. Lord Buckingham therefore finds himself much embarrassed respecting Lord Bellamont, as he presses him with great earnestness for the Post Office, in case of his failure in the other object. Lord Bellamont, having supported him in the handsomest manner throughout the whole of the Regency business, has certainly claims to consideration; and although he would not be justified in complaining of ill treatment, after being offered half the Rolls, his conduct however has been such as to make Lord Buckingham desirous of gratifying him, and particularly so because, under the idea of Lord Loftus's dismissal, he had been permitted to look at the Post Office as attainable. On that account Lord Buckingham would be highly pleased if you could prevail on Lord Carysfort to accept of half the Rolls; it being in point of income adequate, if not superior to the Post Office, and might be held with a seat in the English Parliament, which the Post Office could not.

"Lord Carysfort has lately written to Lord Buckingham stating that he had changed his mind respecting the step in the peerage, and now desiring to have it; this, Lord Buckingham thinks might still be done, and soften Lord Carysfort into accommodation in the other business. You will relieve your brother from a good deal of embarrassment by accomplishing this affair for him, as soon as possible; and also by prevailing on Mr. Pitt immediately to write a civil refusal of my Lord Bellamont's Peerage."

W. W. GRENVILLE to JOHN FITZ-GIBBON.

Private.

1789, June 13. Whitehall.—"I cannot transmit to the Lord Lieutenant the official notification of your appointment to the Irish Seals, without accompanying it with my best congratulations to you, and expressing the very real and sincere pleasure which I have received from this conclusion of the business. I am fully convinced that your appointment will be no less advantageous to the King's Government, and to the true interests of both kingdoms, than it is honourable to yourself. And it is no small satisfaction to me to be in any degree the instrument of forwarding that, which I conceive to be the just reward of great and distinguished public services. Allow me also to add that the interest which I must naturally take in the credit and success of Lord Buckingham's Government, could not but make me feel a peculiar pleasure in this mark of distinction conferred on a person, to whose honourable support he has been so much indebted." *Copy.*

The MARCHIONESS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, June 13. Blackrock.—"I have suffered extremely for all the anxiety you have necessarily undergone, but it was out of my power to write to you any thing decisive upon Lord Buckingham's situation. You will have heard from others how much worse he was on Wednesday night, when he gave us a very melancholy proof of his inability to attend to business, having been so entirely exhausted by 2 hours conversation with Mr. Hobart, that he has not recovered it, though we have kept all appearance of business from him. Dr. Austin arrived this morning, having been at sea ever since Tuesday night; you will

have from him a very particular detail of his opinion. Lord Buckingham has not yet made up his mind to follow the advice which the Doctor and all his friends have given him, but in this very uncertain and doubtful situation of his health, being unable to write himself, he desires through me that you would explain his situation to the King; and that you would send him a discretionary leave to go to Bath for 6 weeks or 2 months; and to appoint Lords Justices. Mr. Fitz-Gibbon (who, he trusts, will have been appointed Chancellor before you receive this,) and the Speaker will naturally be two of them; and he wishes that Lord Carysford should be the third. I think it doubtful whether Lord Buckingham will avail himself of this leave; and, at all events, he will not think of this step unless he should continue as he has been, actually incapable of any part of his duty. I need not say that I shall be impatient for your answer to this letter, as his present situation preys very heavily upon his mind. You may depend upon constant accounts from Dr. Austin."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, June 17. Blackrock.—"I know that it will give you pleasure to see my handwriting though my letter must be short, as I am still very weak and unfit for business, but very grateful for your kind attention, and for the King's acquiescence in your proposal. I send my official letter by this post, and have recommended *Lord Carysfort* as one of my Lords Justices, in order to convey most strongly my intention of returning, grounded on the last appointment of Lord Drogheda by Lord Hertford. You will be so good as to apprise Lord Carysfort of this, that he may, or may not, return hither as he pleases, and pray state it as a prodigious compliment. I cannot say all I feel for Fitz-Gibbon's appointment; but I feel that this, and the leave of absence, has given me spirits beyond my present weak state of mind and body."

GEORGE III. to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, June 18. Windsor.—"The feeling in my own case how much relaxation from business, nay, from any exertion even of an amusing kind, is necessary to remove the remains of lassitude which I am told is the common attendant of severe illness, makes me easily comprehend that it may be also essential in Lord Buckingham's present situation, and desire the warrant appointing proper persons to act as Lord Justices while he remains in England for the recovery of his health, may be sent tomorrow for my signature."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, June 21. [Blackrock.]—"I have received this morning the very kind proof of your affectionate readiness to gratify my wishes, and shall thank you in very few words for it. I am sorry for the change in my proposal for Lords Justices, because I owe this proof of confidence to Lord Carysfort's services and situation, and the precedent of Lord Drogheda is directly in point; and if I could have conceived that so reasonable a request could have been negatived, I should not have recommended the Primate, because, in the course of last summer, he was guilty of very improper conduct to me in an official answer to my circular letter to the Bishops; and at two different times this winter,



in February and in April, he refused to send me his proxy; and yet this is the man to whom you oblige me to pay a compliment. However, I am too ill to battle it, or to wait the return of the messenger; and therefore I have only to beg you to take out of the Office and to burn my letter recommending Lord Carysfort and the two others, and I shall withdraw it from my Office, and shall tomorrow sign the warrant for your three names.

"I have gained but little strength, not being able to taste meat or to walk out; and yesterday I was upon my bed all day; I am therefore anxious to get away, and shall hope to leave Ireland on Thursday, and shall land at Park Gate, and proceed to Stowe, where I shall wait for four days in order to recruit, and proceed from thence to Bath.

"You will see by the Office letters that Major-General Patterson is dead; he dropped down, as he was upon his circuit of reviews at Ballinrobe. Major-General Preston, formerly Lieutenant-Colonel to the 28th, has applied to me, but you know that I can have no wish upon it. I shall forthwith put Leland upon the staff.

"I am very tired with this scrawl, and can therefore only desire you to thank the King."

R. HOBART to W. W. GRENVILLE.

Private and secret.

1789, June 22. Dublin.—"Lord Buckingham has directed me to write to you upon the subject of the recommendations in the peerage transmitted by this night's mail; first, with regard to the advancing Lord Earlsfort to an Earldom, a measure that he was compelled to recommend officially in the strongest manner; but, he does not particularly press it, as he is of opinion privately, that the more favours his Lordship has to expect, the more certain we shall be of his support.

"The other point on which Lord Buckingham desired I would write, is relative to the Earldom recommended for Lord Glerawley. When I had the honour of seeing you in England I mentioned that it was Lord Buckingham's wish that it might be granted with remainder to his brother and his heirs. He has now directed me to press that object for Mr. Annesley, whose conduct during the whole of the last session fully entitles him to that mark of His Majesty's favour.

"I have enclosed two addresses presented to our new Chancellor from the profession to which he belongs; some mark of that popularity which his friends asserted would attend his appointment. Lord Buckingham proposes leaving Ireland in about a week."

HENRY DUNDAS to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1789,] June 23.—"I send you the perusal of Sir Archibald Campbell's last minute before he left Madras. Give it to Mr. Pitt after you have read it. I should wish to have it again when we meet in the House. Would it be wrong to have it printed along with the Budget Papers?"

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, June 27. Whitchurch.—"I have now the satisfaction to inform you that we arrived at Park Gate after 22 hours passage, and are proceeded thus far on our journey. I have born the fatigue tolerably well, and the rest of the party (though very sick at sea) are very well. We go tomorrow to Coventry and shall arrive at Stowe on

Monday, where we stay till Sunday, or most likely till Monday after. You will see that the Lords Justices are instructed to correspond with you on all necessary points. I could have wished to have turned them over to you entirely, but Hobart and Hamilton earnestly begged that I would suffer the correspondence to go through my hands as usual when the Lord Lieutenant is in England. Pray come down to me if you can for 24 hours."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1789,] July 7. Stowe.—"I have settled all my points with Lord Carysfort very much to my satisfaction. He takes the moiety of the Rolls, and I bring him into Parliament, *for the remainder of the Parliament*, in the room of Captain Nugent, who is to apply immediately for the Chiltern Hundreds. Colonel Nugent writes to his brother by this post; and you will be so good as to speak to Pitt about it, and to take care that the new writ shall be moved as soon as the letter reaches Pitt. He will converse with you upon the subject of the Earldom, and seems anxious for your advice. I enclose a letter from Hobart to Nepean, which is in fact meant for you. I go to Woodstock tomorrow."

W. W. GRENVILLE to the LORD CHANCELLOR [THURLOW].

1789, July 7. Whitehall.—"As the inclosed papers (relative to Lord Trimlestown's claim to be restored to his seat in the Irish House of Lords) seem to involve a question of considerable importance, both as to the point now pressed, and as to the effect which the decision may have on other claims, I have thought it my duty, previous to my taking his Majesty's pleasure upon them, to submit them to your Lordship's consideration. I have directed such other papers to be extracted and transmitted to your Lordship as appeared to me to throw light upon the question, and, if any further particulars should be wanting which the documents in my office can supply, I shall be very happy to receive your Lordship's commands for that purpose." *Copy.*

W. W. GRENVILLE to the MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

1789, July 9. Whitehall.—"I hope you do not forget that the promotions in the Irish Peerage cannot be sent to the King till you return me an answer about Lord Earlsfort.

"I send you back the letter about Baronets, that you may recommend Harvey's, according to the enclosed memorandum.

"I have enquired about the convicts, and guess that the expense of transporting them this year will be about 14*l.* per head; besides which, they must still be victualled for some time longer; but this expense may probably cease in a year or two at furthest. Lord Carysfort wishes to press his Earldom, and I will therefore send it to the King accordingly." *Copy.*

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1789,] July 11. [Bath.].—"I enclose to you a letter on Lord Earlsfort's Earldom which I trust is satisfactory, and I shall be obliged to you if you will now expedite the King's letters for the offices and for the promotions. I have desired Bernard (in this very interesting moment) to ask your leave to send me the office *précis* of your French news, for I cannot say how anxious I feel about it. I did not bear my

journey hither quite so well as that to Stowe; on the contrary, I arrived more fatigued, (I fancy over tired by walking at Blenheim,) and I have not gained strength, but have begun drinking the waters. Bernard will shew you some letters on a job for Lord Uxbridge. I can have no wish about it but for the sake of Government. I have (with that view) tried to put it into proper shape, but I think it a hard case upon the ensign. I have applied, before I left Ireland, to supersede a 2nd Lieutenant Hare of the Irish Artillery; you will let me know as soon as you have the King's pleasure upon it. I have writ to Ireland about the convicts whom I am anxious to send to New South Wales, and about the orders from France for corn; you shall know the result of both applications."

HENRY DUNDAS to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, July 11.— "There are several things respecting India I think it essential to talk over with Mr. Pitt and you before the ship sails for India. I do not see a better mode than your coming to Bob Smith's tomorrow before breakfast. I have made out a memorandum, and directed Mr. Cabell to send the requisite papers.

"I send you back your Orkney letter, upon which I can converse you when you please."

W. W. GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1789, July 13. Whitehall.—"Mr. Grenville has the honour of transmitting to your Majesty despatches from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland humbly recommending the several Irish Peers therein mentioned for promotions in the Irish Peerage; and also several gentlemen for the honour of Irish Baronetages. Mr. Grenville thinks it his duty at the same time to submit to your Majesty two letters which have passed between the Lord Lieutenant and himself on the subject of the recommendation of Lord Earlsfort for an Irish Earldom. Mr. Grenville humbly requests to be honoured with your Majesty's commands on this subject.

"Baron Dillon, of Ireland, has applied to Mr. Grenville to solicit your Majesty's gracious permission to his third son to enter into the Emperor's service. Baron Dillon has six sons, and the eldest of them is now a cornet in your Majesty's seventh regiment of Dragoons."  
*Copy.*

GEORGE III. to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, July 14. Weymouth.—"Mr. Grenville will order the proper warrants for advancements in the Peerage of Ireland, agreeable to the recommendations of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, except in the case of Lord Earlsfort, whose quick promotion, and passing by the rank of Viscount, would be subject to future as well as present inconvenience; the Privy Counsellors must also be appoint, agreeable to the same recommendation.

"Baron Dillon may have the usual permission for his third son to enter into the Imperial service."

W. W. GRENVILLE to the MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

1789, July 14. Whitehall.—"A messenger is arrived from the Duke of Dorset with an account of the dismissal of Necker and Montmorin,

and the appointment of Monsieur de Breteuil to be *Chef du Conseil des Finances*, the Duc de la Vaugyon to be Minister for the Foreign Department, and Monsieur de Broglie to be *Ministre de Guerre*.

"This is understood as a declaration of intended resistance. The King has refused to withdraw his troops from the neighbourhood of Paris and Versailles, but has offered to transfer the States to Soissons or Noyes. There is no account how the States have received these events. The accounts which Bernard sends you of cannonades depend on the report of the messenger who brought this despatch. The violence of the mob at Paris has been hourly increasing for many days, and has proceeded to several acts of savage fury. Some of the French troops have openly declared their refusal to serve against their countrymen, but all the Swiss and German troops, and the greater part of the national troops, are steady.

"A Committee is appointed by the States to draw up a Constitution. They have reported a long preamble, and a skeleton of the different divisions under which they propose to consider the subject. In this the prerogatives of the King are classed in the 3rd place, after the rights of mankind, and the rights of the people of France." *Copy*.

W. W. GRENVILLE to the LORD CHANCELLOR [THURLOW.]

1789, July 15. Whitehall.—"There is a circumstance with which I had intended troubling your Lordship the other day, but was prevented by the other business which we then discussed. I now take the liberty of requesting to know your opinion upon it.

"Colonel Cathcart, who was sent out last year on an embassy from his Majesty to the Emperor of China, with a view of removing the great obstacles that have of late been thrown in the way of our trade to that country, died on his passage. The object to be obtained appears so considerable that it is by no means proper to abandon the design without some further trial. But, on the best consideration, I am inclined to believe that it will be better promoted by giving to Lord Cornwallis a discretionary power to appoint some person from Bengal, than by making such appointment here.

"An instruction to this purpose from his Majesty to Lord Cornwallis has been prepared, and the Directors of the East India Company have agreed to authorise him to make the necessary allowances to the person to be sent on this service. The only difficulty which occurs is this. Great part of the hopes which are entertained of the success of this mission rest on the greater degree of attention which, it is supposed, the Government of China will shew to a person coming there as authorised by the King, than if he came only in the name of a trading company. For this purpose Colonel Cathcart was furnished with full powers from the King under the Great Seal, and with a complimentary letter also from the King. What I wish to submit to your Lordship is, whether it would be possible to pass full powers in the same form, leaving the name to be filled up by Lord Cornwallis; or whether any other mode occurs to your Lordship of obtaining the object in question, which I think of considerable importance." *Copy*.

W. W. GRENVILLE to the MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Private.

1789, July 17. Whitehall.—"Bankes gave me the other day the enclosed memorandum, and I should be obliged to you for an answer

respecting it. The King has returned the recommendations to all the advancements in the peerage, objecting only to Lord Earlsfort's, on account of the reasons assigned in my letter. It will, I apprehend, be proper that you should recommend him afresh for a Viscounty, and till that is done, I do not notify the others, but have ordered the warrants to be sent to the King for his signature." *Copy.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1789, July 20. Whitehall.—“The enclosed note and memorial from Lord Frederic Campbell relate to a petition which is to be transmitted to you, by Hobart. Lord Frederic has very strongly pressed me to exert myself in behalf of these people, and it would be a real gratification to me if there should be no obstacle in the way of your obliging him.

“I send you the *précis* of the account received yesterday from Calonne, of the insurrection at Paris. The Duke of Dorset's courier had not been able to get away, but his despatches have been received this morning. They do not materially vary from Calonne's account. I enclose a short note of their contents.

“The States voted, on the Monday, an Address to the King complaining of Necker's removal, stating the tumults in Paris, and desiring the removal of the troops, and that they might send a deputation to Paris to calm the people. This was refused by the King, *in toto*. The Assembly then passed a violent *arrête*, declaring the Ministers personally responsible for the present misfortunes, and those which might follow.

“On Tuesday, the account of the continuation of the disturbances was received by the States, and communicated by another deputation from them to the King, who persisted in his former answer.

“On the Wednesday morning at eleven, he went to the States to inform them that he had ordered the removal of the troops, and that he authorized them to send a deputation to Paris to acquaint the people there with this order. So that the whole seems now to be completely given up; and the Duke of Dorset's expression, of the revolution being actually concluded, appears not to be too strong.” *Copy.*

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, July 26. Bath.—“I have been unwell for the last three days. . . I have not sufficiently thanked you for your constant care that I should be informed of your news, and for the trouble which you have so repeatedly taken yourself to write, when by your own business, and by Pitt's absence from the House of Commons, your time has been so fully employed. I congratulate you most earnestly upon the fortunate opportunity which you have had of distinguishing yourself unsupported by any one, and I can assure you that the part I take in it is fully strengthened by the testimony which every one bears to your conduct and to your abilities.

“I wish I could oblige you on the subject of Lord Frederick Campbell's Scotch job, but it is impossible for me to do it without offending in Ireland most grievously, in many cases where I have been obliged to put by the claim of private distress, and in some cases of the same sort where the pensions to the mother or sister have lapsed. I am sure you believe that I would do it if I could.

“Lord Earlsfort is angry that he is not to have his Earldom, but that does not alter my opinion of the propriety of what we have done. I

conclude that the King's letters for offices and peerages are now gone over, but I wish to know from Bernard what King's letters are actually gone. I enclose to you an ostensible letter which you will transmit to the King, in order to settle the point which we talked over together at Stowe."

"The Armagh disturbances look serious; I have ordered more troops to that province."

**THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.**

1789, July 26. Bath.—"When Lord Sydney held your department, the King was pleased to order that I should make a private communication to his lordship of the names whom I wished to submit to his Majesty for commissions of rank in Ireland. Since you have held the seals, I have been able to receive the King's pleasure upon the subject of such commissions through you, and I still wish (unless his Majesty should think it improper) that the same mode of communication may enable me to take his pleasure, before the official recommendations are transmitted. This subject is now pressed forward by the necessity of filling the majority of the 13th, vacant by the promotion of Lieutenant-Colonel Cradock, a promotion which I acknowledge, with every proper feeling, as a strong mark of his Majesty's goodness to me. I begin the subject with stating that it is not necessary for me to press, from considerations arising in his Majesty's civil government, any officer for this commission. General Pitt has not pointed out any person as particularly recommended for this situation, and has named, as the senior Captain in the Irish line, Lieutenant Colonel Hallows of the 56th, who pleads his seniority, and Captain Black of the 13th, who pleads his length of services. Both these gentlemen are old officers, but have (I am told) no other recommendation of brilliant services or abilities. I state them however for the King's consideration and pleasure; but if he should not think it necessary to approve of either of them, I think myself bound to submit the claims from service, rank, and zeal, of Major Lewis of the 64th, who would be an acquisition to the 13th, and has no chance of promotion in his own corps. I beg however that you will state clearly for the King's information that I have not the slightest personal knowledge of any of these gentlemen, and that the universal high character of the last is the only reason for the high point of view in which I wish to recommend his name.

"If, however, his Majesty's arrangements should induce him to wish that any other gentleman should be recommended, you will apprise me of it; at present no one knows what my intentions are upon this subject, and therefore no difficulty can exist whatsoever."

**THE SAME TO THE SAME.**

1789, July 31. Bath.—"The Office letter which accompanies this, will explain the reason of this application for a new King's letter for the Rolls. I have only to entreat you to give it every possible despatch, for Lord Glandore is so exceedingly jealous upon the subject, that he has been troublesome to Hobart, and suspects some unfair proceedings. I will entreat you likewise to implore Pitt to consider the difficulties to which he has subjected me by not having yet returned any one of the King's letters transmitted to his office. Pray endeavour that they may be sent over immediately, for the jealousies which arise upon this neglect are very prejudicial. In consequence of your inti-

mation of the King's wishes, I shall immediately recommend Captain Black for the majority.

"You will have seen in the newspapers the account of some Irish disturbances between some Protestants and Catholics in the county of Armagh; these disturbances are grown very serious, but I trust that the military arrangements which have been made will check that violent spirit of intolerance which is the leading feature of both their creeds . . . I am shocked at your last letter, but I have long expected poor Sir William's death warrant. I cannot write to Lady Williams, and particularly on such a subject, but I wish that she should know how much I feel for her; and if you think that I can assist her by coming up to town whenever the blow is struck, I shall not hesitate to give her every proof of my sincere affection and attachment to her."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

Private.

1789, August 2. [Bath.]—"I return you my best thanks for your very quick despatch upon the subject of the King's letter, which I will trouble you to transmit to Ireland as soon as it is returned from Weymouth.

"I am glad to find from a letter from Tom that my poor sister was easier yesterday evening, having been relieved by her tears. An idea has occurred to me which I think in every point of view, whether of humanity or of speculation, is worth attention: I mean that of application to the King for the Lieutenancy of the County of Merioneth to be held by me for the young lad, upon the footing of the Lieutenancies of Huntingdon and Leicester. There is no man of property in that county, save old Vaughan, who always votes against you; it is therefore no object to Government, and is essential to the family, as they always looked to a seat for that county. If you agree with me upon it, pray take steps immediately, and do it as a kindness to poor Charlotte in the moment of her distress. I have not mentioned it to any one.

"Some doubts have arisen upon the propriety of the resumption of Sir Skeffington Smyth's pension. I will therefore beg you to request Pitt to withhold it till he hears from me, but to send over the others which are in his Office and are loudly called for in Ireland."

"I cannot say how happy I am at your kindness to Lord Fortescue. I trust we shall hear no more of his uneasiness about new peerages.

"At the moment in which I was pressed for single votes in the House of Peers on the Pension Bill, the Bishop of Dromore offered to come up from the North, provided I would recommend his brother, a Mr. Anthony Percy, to Pitt for a revenue office. I closed with him immediately, specifying that I could not answer for its success, and certainly not for immediate or early success. I have now received a letter from this Mr. Percy requesting a letter of introduction to Pitt, which I have answered by saying that it is needless as I have recommended him, and that if he writes to Pitt he will find that I have not been unmindful of him. Now all that I have to beg is that Pitt's secretary may have a note of this, that Mr. Percy may receive a civil answer.

"What is to become of your Tobacco Bill, and of this ill humour of Lord Thurlow which seems to have burst forth in so indecent and so personal a manner towards Pitt?"

## W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, August —. [Downing Street.]—"I have read the report, and on the best consideration which I can give it, I can discover no grounds for mercy; as the sort of defence set up for the prisoner appears to have been disbelieved both by the judge and the jury; and as it seems not to be disputed that the constable was shot in a situation in which it is hardly possible for the prisoner not to have known him. The deliberate intention to obstruct by force the execution of the warrant, if it could not be eluded, is confirmed by the circumstance of the conversation which passed before, and by denying that the father was at home."

## GEORGE III. to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, August 4. Weymouth.—"I am glad to find the business of Parliament so near concluded that the day of prorogation can be looked to. Before I came here, I acquainted the Lord President with my intentions of not returning till after that period. He promised to take the proper steps that it might take effect without giving me the trouble of an unnecessary journey. I therefore am by no means prepared for returning so soon to Windsor; though, certainly, the bathing certainly agrees; but I am not yet fit for such an exertion, and therefore desire the Lord Chancellor, the President, and Mr. Pitt may so arrange matters that the prorogation may be effected without giving me such trouble. I mean to visit Plymouth, but shall not leave this place till I have signed any commission necessary for proroguing the Parliament.

"I approve of the proposed persons for the vacant offices in the Grenadas, and Turk's Island.

"I cannot see reason to prevent the law taking its course on the convict at Northampton."

## W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1789, August 5. Downing Street.]—"I think it will be best to let the King know that every thing has been settled with the Chancellor for the prorogation of Weymouth; that we had never any other idea but that of asking His Majesty's commands when we should attend him for that purpose; and that we mean to be there on Friday night, in case it should be convenient to His Majesty to have the Council on Saturday.

"I send you a letter from Lord Camden which will save you the trouble of writing to him. Pray return it, and that from Lord Bulkeley, to whom I shall write word in what train that business is. It would be as well to send the King the draft of the Speech.

"Rose thinks Gabriel Stuart may be able to negotiate his seat for Parliament, and would be glad to get rid of it; and, at all events, that speaking to him will be the best way of knowing how it stands.

"My brother seems to think the task a very easy one, and, I am in great hopes, will execute it."

## HENRY DUNDAS to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, August 5.—"I send you a copy of the note I have sent to Mr. Christie. It is absolutely necessary you should name another person to consult with Christie, otherwise you will be imposed on, for he certainly overvalues my villa from what I heard at the time he formerly looked at it."



Enclosing copy of a note to Mr. Christie in regard to the letting of Mr. Dundas's house at Wimbledon, for a term, to Mr. Grenville.

GEORGE III. to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, August 6. Weymouth.—“Mr. Grenville's note of yesterday's date settles the mode of fixing the prorogation perfectly well; I shall therefore trust that every attention has been used to bring the proper instruments for that purpose; there are four Privy Councillors here who, with the addition of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Grenville, is the regular number requisite for any act of Privy Council.

“The proposed speech of the Lords Commissioners seems to be what it should on such an occasion, short, and entering no further than necessary into the present confused state of Europe, which places this kingdom in almost the only fortunate situation.

“I shall order the messenger to drop this at Hertford Bridge, as the most likely place Mr. Grenville will get to this night.”

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, August 10. Bath.—“I send you an official recommendation of Lieutenant-Colonel St. George; the object in question is a specific promise made to him when he renounced his connexions with Lord Shannon; and as he does not look for rank, or for any advantage from this save the sale of his commissions, which he purchased at a most extravagant price in America, I conclude that no difficulty will arise. Captain St. Leger and Lieutenant Hope were pressed upon me by Lord Sydney, who told me that the King approved them; and I recommend them, that I may feel how much more fairly I act by him than he by me.

“If you had recollected my former letter, you would have known that our Irish promotions in the peerage would not be put forward till the new warrant for the Rolls had passed, as the fees are very large, and I wished to secure them to the new Master. They are (I trust) now completed, and I have yesterday sent for the official letters for the new creations, and as soon as they reach me I will transmit them. I find, in 1783, that the English baronets and commoners Sir J. Delaval, Mr. Pennington, and Mr. Pennant, were the last in the batch, and came after the Irish commoners Pomeroy, Clements, Matthews, and Tonson, none of whom were of the Irish Privy Council. In the present instance, therefore, I have followed the same rule of rank; Carleton first, then the Irish Privy Councillors (of whom *Eden* is one,) then the Irish baronets and Mr. Gore, and lastly Sir Sampson Eardley. I explain this that you may know the reason. I have written to Ireland upon the subject of Lady Sutherland's note, but I fear that the promotion may not be to go on in the 13th, as the Captain-Lieutenant who must be removed to make room for Houston (her protégé,) is the junior but one of his rank in Ireland.

“I think you have judged ill in not making the Lieutenantcy of Merioneth the bond of union between us and the young Sir Watkin; by the present arrangement he will not feel that connexion, and in that point of view I considered it, and I wish you had not decided it so immediately.

“I have received a letter from a Mr. Taubman, in the Isle of Man, pressing me to recommend him to you for the Lieutenant-Government of the island in the room of Mr. Dawson who wishes to resign. I do

not mean to recommend him, but only to apprise you of this intention, as the object is worth your attention, and the Duke of Athole and Lord Lonsdale are to press for it, each for their job.

"I conclude that you will have thought over every point to which this French Revolution may extend; but I wish to put you upon your guard on the subject of the French islands in the West Indies, and particularly of Tobago. I know from a very intelligent Irishman (Mr. Bushe) who left Paris on the 1st of August, that several sensible French had mentioned to him their doubts whether the islands would not think of establishing a separate system, and perhaps an independent system; and that there was a great inclination in Tobago and in Santa Lucia to revolt to Great Britain. This Bushe assured me is the language of some of the St. Domingo deputies."

*Postscript.*—"I cannot say how much I am hurt by the folly of the Duke of Dorset's conduct and correspondence. It is true that he solicited most earnestly an *audience* from the *President des États* and was refused; and then wrote that absurd letter, so undignified, so humiliating!"

#### GEORGE III. to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, August 12. Weymouth.—"Mr. Grenville is desired to write a private letter to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland that no objection will be made to Lieutenant-Colonel St. George's retiring from the service, as so deserving an officer as Major Wilford is recommended to succeed him; but it would be very irregular that, after quitting the service, Mr. St. George should be inspector of the recruits in the room of Major Hobart; the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland should therefore point out some person either on full or half pay for this military office."

#### W. W. GRENVILLE to the MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

1789, August 15. Wimbledon.—"I have received a letter from the King, in which he consents to Colonel St. George's selling to so deserving an officer as Major Wilford, but strongly objects to his being appointed Inspector of recruits after having quitted the service, as he considers this as a military office; and therefore desires you will find for it some person either on full pay or on half pay. He has directed me to state this to you, in a private letter. I hope that you will not find it very difficult, by means of some exchange, to arrange this business satisfactorily.

"You have given me no answer about Lord Portsmouth.

"I have received a letter from Lord Frederic, who is much hurt at the failure of his request, but I suppose it was unavoidable.

"The Duke of Dorset is arrived, but brings nothing material in addition to what we knew already.

"There has been an action in the Baltic, in which the Swedes appear to have had the best of it; but we have no particular accounts, and I do not imagine it has been at all a decisive action." *Copy.*

#### The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, August 16. Bath.—"The King's refusal is a very unexpected and very unfortunate disappointment to me, because I am pledged to St. George for a mark of favour, and that promise given in the moments which were most critical. I have therefore enclosed to you an ostensible letter which I think you had better transmit; and if his Majesty should

still persist, I do not mean to press it further, but to submit to a very serious difficulty. The man is so ill that he will not live 12 months, and as obstinate as a mule, having a specific promise from me of the Quarter-Master-General's office, or such compensation as may still leave him in the army which he will not quit.

"I do not answer upon the subject of Lord Portsmouth, because I wait for the event of a defiance which Hobart is to hurl at Lord Loftus's head, who growls because I will not recommend him for a peerage; which he says was promised him through Lord Carhampton, who denies every syllable of it, and has made him retract that assertion. I have approved Hobart's idea of calling upon him to promise specifically that he will support (in the presence of Lord Carhampton) or removing him forthwith; and I wait for the result which will be a tame acquiescence.

"I enclose to you a letter which seems not to cost you any patronage; the wife of the man is a very old and very poor friend of Lady Buckingham, who is anxious for *her* success. You will do what it proper. I am going for ten days to Castlehill, as I find myself rather thrown back than advanced by these violent heats. I have been better in spirits for the last week, but so weak in my legs and loins that I can hardly crawl."

R. HOBART to W. W. GRENVILLE.

Private.

1789, August 19. Dublin Castle.—"Previous to the receipt of this letter, you will, I hope, have heard from Lord Buckingham on the subject of Lord Loftus's claim to an immediate promotion to a Viscounty, with a promise of an Earldom on the next promotion of Viscounts to that rank. I have written fully to Lord Buckingham on this business, but I am so thoroughly convinced of the importance of the subject to Mr. Pitt's Government in Ireland, that I trust you will forgive my intruding a little on your time.

"With regard to the promise made to Lord Loftus, it was briefly this; 'that Lord Buckingham would *bonâ fide* recommend him to the King for a Viscounty on the first promotion.' The most favourable construction we can put on those words is, they were meant to apply to the first promotion of Barons. Upon that construction Lord Carhampton, who had accidentally been guarantee to Lord Loftus, maintained for some days that we had not broke our engagement with him; but on Lord Carysfort's Earldom appearing in the Gazette, Lord Carhampton immediately changed his opinion, and told Lord Loftus that he had done so. It may however be said that, if Lord Earlsfort's being made a Viscount did not break the engagement, it is somewhat extraordinary that Lord Carysfort's Earldom should; but that reasoning has no weight either with Lord Carhampton or Lord Loftus, and more particularly not with the latter, because he is extremely irritated at Lord Carysfort's being advanced to an Earldom, and says that Lord Buckingham told him some time ago that the King never would consent to any man's being advanced in the peerage two steps at once, or, considering his situation in this country, he never would have asked for a Viscounty.

"Recurring to the history of the last session in this country must always suggest reflections by no means favourable to the majority of persons in Parliament, and with regard to Lord Loftus peculiarly disgraceful; but the number of those persons who merited punishment secured their indemnity; and if you expect to carry on any government in Ireland, it

can only be done with the assistance of those who deserted you in the last session; but you may be assured of their continuing to support, from the same motives that occasioned their opposition.

"From the best judgment I can form, I am of opinion that more than two-thirds of the Irish Opposition are linked with English party; the remainder constitute a compact body who are in the invariable practice of opposing every Government, let their measures be what they may.

"Including Lord Loftus, I calculate that the real strength of the present Government fluctuates from about forty to fifty majority; but above one-third of our supporters have not entirely recovered from the bad effect of those habits of communication they had with Opposition during the Regency business; nor do they yet forgive his Majesty's Government the injury they attempted during that time; and it is much to be apprehended that if they saw such a strength accumulate as would inevitably be the consequence of Lord Loftus joining the Opposition, that they would then speculate on the triumph of that party, in order to secure their own situations; whereas the experience of the latter part of the last session has evidently shewn that the Government, as at present composed, is insufficiently strong to combat the efforts of the great powers now united against it.

"It will no doubt be found very difficult to prevail on his Majesty to confer honours on Lord Loftus, and so far to reward his treachery; but is he not rewarded at this moment by being permitted to hold his office and pension? and is he not promised, even upon our construction of the engagement, that at a time which cannot be far distant, he shall be put into possession of what he now claims?

"As we had not sufficient virtue to punish him in the first instance, our sacrificing the Administration to our resentment now would, in my mind, be a weakness. Opposition are clearly acting upon a party principle, and if they are not met on the same ground they will be successful. To an obvious doubt as to the reliance that might hereafter be placed on Lord Loftus I say, that his own interest will always be our security, so long as Mr. Pitt is in power. The moment he is out of office, I should presume, he will no longer look to a majority in the Irish Parliament.

"Lord Loftus is aware that it can never be so much to his advantage to support a Government connected with Lord Shannon, Duke of Leinster, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Conolly, Lord Granard, Mr. O'Neil, Mr. Grattan as one that is opposed by those persons; and from the experience of last session, he is equally satisfied that his support will enable Government to overcome an Opposition so constituted. His not adhering to them throughout the last session, he is convinced, will not be cordially forgiven by them, and although they might court his influence when in opposition, they would despise him with the government in their hands.

"The natural strength of the Irish Parliament rests in the aristocracy; the strength of the aristocracy in the natural enemies of Mr. Pitt's government, who are now so closely connected, that, without the utmost vigilance and attention, the worst consequences may be expected. The remedy is evidently pointed out; it is, completely to commit Lord Loftus against that part of the aristocracy inimical to Mr. Pitt, and his Government is secure in Ireland as long as he is Minister of England. And to what alternative can you resort to avoid the truly disagreeable circumstance of promoting Lord Loftus? I know of none, except endeavouring to do what in the last session was found impracticable, to

separate Lord Shannon from Mr. Ponsonby, and consequently to restore him to the King's government, notwithstanding his connections; and how can it be supposed that, under the impression of your difficulties, his terms will be lowered, and that, besides what he may demand for his friends, he will not insist on a Marquisate and the Vice-Treasurership for himself? And will you embrace Lord Shannon, whose gratitude and attachment to the King's Government was so soon extinguished by his Majesty's indisposition, although he had for so many years enjoyed the emoluments and patronage of government, and had been so recently honoured by an English peerage, and reject Lord Loftus on account of his political depravity.

"The question between these two lords resolves itself into this; that it is the interest of the one to connect himself with us—of the other against us. I put the integrity of both out of the question, and I would form a natural in preference to an unnatural connection.

"With many apologies for this long letter, because most probably Lord Buckingham's statement has rendered it unnecessary, I shall conclude by apprizing you that, notwithstanding the conviction upon Lord Loftus's mind that a separation from us will be his ruin, he has so committed himself upon the subject, that no consideration will induce him to give way. I state this as a fact I am thoroughly persuaded to be well founded."

#### GEORGE III. to Mr. GRENVILLE.

1789, August 20. Saltram.—"The permitting an officer to continue in the service after he has sold his commission is so contrary to every principle of the military profession, as well as known custom of the service, that the case of Major Hobart, with reason, gave surprise and perhaps dissatisfaction to many deserving distressed officers; the making that a precedent for a second arrangement must therefore be big with mischief. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland cannot fail of occasions of conferring some civil mark of favour on Lieutenant-Colonel St. George, which is the natural recompense for civil merits; and may not be incompatible with his remaining in his present military situation."

#### The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, August 21. Castlehill.—"I transmit to you a letter which I last night received from Mr. Hobart, with its enclosures, and I add to it a very long letter which I have written in answer to it. The whole subject will by this means be before Mr. Pitt and you, and if you approve the footing upon which I have left the matter, of delaying any final answer to Lord Loftus on the plea of the King's absence, I should be obliged to you if you will add a line to that purpose. You will observe that Hobart seems in his letter to countenance Lord Carhampton's state of the claim. I can only repeat, most solemnly, that I never understood or dreamt of any promise to him for this batch, and that I would not have heard of it; and least of all can the words, as stated by Lord Carhampton, bear the construction of a promise of a completion of that peerage. Be so good however as to turn to my letters to you of that period, (the adjournment of the Irish House of Commons,) and you will see how I understood Lord Loftus's return to his allegiance. On the subject itself I can add nothing except my earnest wish that you would explain to Mr. Pitt the little prospect

which I have of returning to Ireland. I have now been in England near two months, and have not yet recovered strength enough to walk for ten minutes without the greatest lassitude and debility; and I feel that the vigour of my mind is not equal to the slightest exertion. Dr. Austin saw me about a fortnight since, and can explain to you how little he found me improved; and I do not feel that I have gained ground materially since that time except in my looks, which are certainly much clearer. In this situation I should betray public duty and private friendship if I did not desire Mr. Pitt and you to turn this matter over in your minds with a view to the appointment of a successor to me, that the King's service may not suffer by the want of due preparation for such an arrangement. On the subject itself I do not choose to give advice where it is not asked; but I should not do fairly by you if I did not remind you of an opinion which I long since gave you on the subject of Mr. Hobart, whose continuance in his office appears to me invaluable for the public service. Upon those grounds alone I name him, *et liberavi animam meam*. You will understand that I do not mean this as a letter of resignation, but as a preparation for it, in case I should not find my health so materially altered in the course of the next fortnight, as to enable me to look at the resumption of my public duties. At present, my bodily and mental weakness is still very great; and I firmly believe that another winter in Dublin would destroy me; but I have no doubt that the same agitation and confinement would incapacitate me from the functions of my situation. I will beg you to return me Hobart's letter and its enclosures, and to forward mine (with any comment which you may think proper) to him."

"I must caution you that Hobart, like many of the Irish, thinks the loss of a question in the House of Commons to be the consummation of misfortune. You know my opinions upon this; and upon those opinions I acted."

HENRY DUNDAS to [W. PITT].

1789, August 21. Camp, Loch Tay.—"Perhaps you'll recollect once mentioning to me a letter you had received from Lord Hillsborough respecting a Mr. Dunkin, whom he recommended for a Judge's situation at Bengal. I could say nothing as to his character except that I had once read a very strong letter in his favour from Lord Earlsfort to Lord Macartney. I think it right to send you the enclosed I have this morning received from Lord Cornwallis; and unless either the Chancellor or yourself or Mr. Grenville have some other more proper person in view, I do not see why Mr. Dunkin may not be appointed. It is certainly very awkward having so long a vacancy."

W. W. GRENVILLE to R. HOBART.

Private.

1789, August 25. Whitehall.—"I received yesterday morning a letter from you on the subject of Lord Loftus's claims, on which I had the day before heard from Lord Buckingham. It is extremely difficult for us to attempt to form any decision here on a point on which so much appears to depend, and on which the grounds for decision do not seem to be clearly ascertained. I will however state to you shortly what I feel upon it.

"If the question was now entirely a new one, and it was asked whether I thought it better, under all the circumstances of the last

session, to risk Lord Loftus's opposition, or to gratify him by including him in the promotion of those persons who stood by Government during the struggle, I should have no hesitation whatever in saying that the inconvenience of setting him at defiance was much less than the degradation of rewarding a conduct such as his was.

"But, in truth, the point appears to me to turn on other grounds than those of mere general expediency. The two points to be ascertained are as it strikes me ;

"First, whether the promise made to him was really and *bond fide* such as to give him any claim to what he now urges ?

"Secondly, whether the general impression in Ireland will be that the promise was of such a nature as I have stated, and that, by not complying with his claim, the faith of Government towards him would be broken.

"If either of those two should appear to be the case there is, I think, no alternative left to Government, and the matter must be submitted in that shape to the King, notwithstanding the great reluctance which he must feel to giving, or his servants to recommending, such a mark of favour. Because it is not only a point of honour to keep clear of any actual breach of engagement, but it is also, in my opinion, the first of all points of policy to avoid giving any just or even plausible ground for such an imputation.

"Now with respect to these two points, I freely own I am not yet satisfied as to either of them. And I cannot therefore help wishing that you would state to me more particularly what you feel upon them.

"On the first it seems material to explain whether your idea of the words *first promotion* goes to that list of promotions which had been promised by the Duke of Rutland, and which Lord Buckingham is now carrying into execution ? or whether it went to any fresh engagements to be taken by Lord Buckingham ? This point is the more necessary to be ascertained, because there is evidently some mistake upon the subject ; it being quite impossible that Lord Loftus could have been given to understand that no Baron was now to be raised to an Earldom, when it was at the same time understood that such an advancement for Lord Carysfort was among the Duke of Rutland's promises. And because, if the promise went to the present list, Lord Loftus's claim to be included in it would be equally strong on account both of Lord Earlsfort's promotion, and of Lord Carysfort's, even if he [Lord Carysfort] had been advanced only one step instead of two.

"I confess I look the more to this distinction, because it appears to me the natural line to have been adopted that it should have been explained to Lord Loftus that, although his return to the support of Government was a ground for continuing him in his office, and although his future conduct and services might unquestionably give him just pretensions to future additional distinctions, yet, that the rewards to be distributed at the close of that session ought to be confined to those whose attachment had been steady and uniform.

"But I state this only, as what we should wish to find ourselves enabled to maintain as the line actually adopted. If either in point of fact, or even of general impression, a refusal of this claim would be a breach of faith, we must endeavour to avoid that at the risk of any other inconvenience.

"There is however one part of Lord Loftus's claim which is so evidently impossible to have been promised, that this reasoning cannot attach upon it ; nor can any circumstances make it possible that the King's servants can enter into, or authorize, an engagement which is to

bind his Majesty's hands with respect to those marks of favour, which he may think it proper to bestow on other persons.

"On the whole I can only repeat the wish, which I had before expressed, that we could with justice and with the character of good faith resist this claim; because I fairly own to you that I do not (as far as I can judge of the subject) agree with you as to the policy of bestowing so high a mark of favour on Lord Loftus at the present moment. And I am inclined to think that, even with a little more difficulty in the House of Commons, Government would be stronger without him than it would be by securing him on such terms. I enclose the letter which I received from Lord Buckingham on this subject, and which is addressed to you. He desired me to forward it, if I concurred with his opinion. What I have written above will explain how far I agree with him." *Copy.*

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, August 26. Castlehill.—"The King's refusal has grievously disappointed me; but, as there is no remedy, I must submit, and shall certainly not trouble you with any further plague upon this subject. I wait anxiously for the result of your communication with Mr. Pitt upon the subject of Lord Loftus. I still continue of the same mind that it is practicable to go on without him, and highly disgraceful to yield to one who deserves so ill; and, as to the engagement, I shall say no more than that I remain in my former opinions."

"I have forwarded the peerages. You will insert Eden's and Sir Sampson's Baronies in my official letter, as I leave a blank here and there in each page. I remain here till Monday, and then return to Bath where I shall continue for a very few days, and then I shall go to London, where I shall meet Hobart and shall probably see you. I am still most unaccountably weakened in my loins and legs, and my spirits are at times very depressed. Hester has had a fever of three days, but is recovering."

W. W. GRENVILLE TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR [THURLOW].

1789, August 26. Wimbledon.—"I was extremely sorry that I did not know the time which you had fixed for leaving town, as there were two or three points of business on which I much wished to have had an opportunity of conversing with you before you went.

"The most pressing of them is that which relates to the Government of Quebec. You are so fully informed of all the particulars respecting the state of that province, that it would have been a great satisfaction to me if I could, previous to the forming any sort of opinion with respect to it, have learnt what your sentiments were on the principal points on which a decision is now to be taken.

"It is, however, indispensably necessary after what has passed that we should be enabled to state to Parliament, in the next session, what line of conduct we think this country should pursue with respect to those points. And as, in every case that I could foresee, some further communication with Lord Dorchester, previous to the opening of the session, seemed to me to be extremely desirable, I had determined to enter upon the consideration of the subject immediately after the prorogation, in order that I might be enabled, if possible, to transmit to Canada in the course of the autumn, the decision of the King's servants upon the whole question.



"I have accordingly considered, with much attention, all the information which I could procure relative to it, and have employed myself in examining the different ideas which suggested themselves to me upon it. The result of these, as far as relates to the general outlines of the subject, I have stated in writing in order that I might be able to submit them, without any loss of time, to the consideration of those whose opinion, on points of so much extent and importance, it is equally my duty and my wish to consult.

"I now take the liberty of troubling you with this paper, which, when you have considered, I should be much obliged to you to return with your ideas upon it. I have only added to my packet a general *précis* of what has passed on this subject, the most material of the petitions and counter-petitions, and a few other papers. I am very sensible that these are very far from containing all that relates to the subject. But I also know how much occasion you have had to consider it, and how perfectly you are apprised of all the material points which are involved in it. If, however, there is any other point of information which you wish, and which my Office can supply, I shall be happy to receive your commands upon it." *Copy.*

HENRY DUNDAS to W. W. GREENVILLE.

1789, August 27. Athole House.—"I send a letter and some papers I have received from Mr. Baring. I likewise send you my answer to him which, after perusing, you'll be so good as seal and send to him. So long as the Bombay debt is not paid off, and the interest upon it allowed to accumulate as it now does, we shall not be at our ease, or enabled to act with vigour upon any determined plan either of Indian government or finance. That object gained, it is all plain sailing.

"I have no copies of the papers I send you, nor any body at hand to copy them. Either return them or give them to Cabell."

*Enclosure :*

F. BARING to HENRY DUNDAS.

"I trust that the enclosed papers will explain to you the reason why I have not had sufficient time to set down to Indian accounts. It would have been highly grateful to me if they had been completed previous to the Budget, as it would have made no contemptible figure, when the credit of the Company was agitating, to have stated that private merchants had offered to trust the Company with ten millions of dollars (above two millions and a half sterling) for 30 months.

"I have scarcely been enabled to make the proposals for 24 hours; but as the business is of great magnitude and importance, and as the Company are on the eve of contracting for the silver they will require, I hasten to communicate the business to you in the best form under which I can digest it for the present; and I have written to Mr. Pitt to desire a few minutes conversation.

"In the observations on the proposals, I have not entered into those details, nor adverted to arguments, which will come better from a Minister in the House of Commons on stating the Budget; but it will facilitate very much the liquidation of the Company's affairs under the present charter, as well as the demands of Government on the Company. I am aware that further explanations, however, will be necessary, some part of which I must probably wait for from abroad.

"It appears to me a most favourable time to reduce the interest on the bonds, which, at 1 *per centum*, is 30,000*l.* *per annum*; the premium is now above 100*s.*, and which is much higher than when the interest was reduced from 5 to 4 *per centum*; besides the cash in the Treasury will be stronger, as most of the subscribers to the new stock will pay in full; and if my proposal is accepted it will leave full 480,000*l.* more in the Treasury next winter. The Bank, moreover, will be glad to leave the money lent on the annuities without demand, if it shall be deemed necessary. The powers of the Company are therefore more than sufficient for the operation; and I see no reason why it should not be effected unless some general plan of finance, of which Mr. Pitt alone can judge, should operate to the contrary; but if the plan should be executed, it must be communicated to the Chairs, and executed on the same day on which it is communicated.

"The Chairs have behaved extremely ill about the report on Scott's plan for extending the Company's commerce; after examining and *signing* the report in Committee (but without giving the smallest attention or assistance to it in its progress) they have opposed every material clause in the Court, by which means it is rendered almost nugatory."

"I shall not mention the bonds to Mr. Pitt, as I am persuaded they cannot have escaped his notice."

GEORGE III. to Mr. GRENVILLE.

1789, August 30. Weymouth.—"I approve of Mr. Grenville's correspondence with the Duke of Grafton on the recommendation of Mr. Waring to a company in the western battalion of Suffolk militia. The Duke, with a little more decision, and less refinement, might have saved himself and others some trouble.

"I have signed the warrants for the Irish peerages."

R. HOBART to the MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

*Secret.*

1789, August 31. Dublin.—"I had the honour yesterday of receiving your Excellency's dispatch of the 21st instant, transmitted by Mr. Grenville, with a letter from him to me, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose; and as the importance of the subject requires the utmost freedom of discussion, I shall deliver my sentiments without reserve; and I know your Excellency too well to believe that you can possibly be offended at my stating any opinions I may entertain upon this business, however they may, in some particulars, differ from those of your Excellency.

"The fact at issue ought most undoubtedly to be first ascertained, and upon that I can add little to what I had the honour to state to your Excellency in my letter of the 14th instant, except what occurs in answer to your dispatch of the 21st. I must in the first place observe to your Excellency, that Lord Loftus, after the conversation alluded to, left your Excellency with the impression that the recommendation hereafter to be made to his Majesty for promoting him to the rank of Viscount, would not be attended with that earnestness which would be necessary for its success; and, therefore, he expressed to Lord Carhampton his dissatisfaction at what had passed, signifying to him at the same time, as I understand he had done to your Excellency, that he would wait until your Excellency had been able to obtain a specific

answer from England respecting him. Your Excellency must be perfectly aware that the situation of Government at that moment made it necessary for us to be ascertained with respect to Lord Loftus, as divisions were expected in the Houses both of Lords and Commons wherein his support was essential; and it would have been impossible to have procured an answer from England in time. This induced Lord Carhampton to inform me of Lord Loftus's conversation with him, and to desire that I would go to your Excellency, and endeavour to obtain a more satisfactory engagement; when your Excellency authorized me to convey through Lord Carhampton to Lord Loftus, that 'you would *bond fide* recommend him for a Viscountcy in the first 'promotion,' but most certainly not making yourself responsible for the event of that recommendation.

"Mr. Grenville in his letter to me, states two points on which he thinks it necessary to be ascertained; the first, *whether the promise made to Lord Loftus was really and bond fide such as to give him any claim to what he now urges*; secondly, *whether the general impression in Ireland will be that the promise was of such a nature, as that the not complying with the claim will be deemed a breach of the faith of Government*. With regard to the first question suggested by Mr. Grenville, I must observe that it depends entirely on the construction given to the words of the engagement. We are warranted in considering the engagement as attaching to the first promotion of Barons, by Lord Carhampton's testimony, or he could not justify an alteration of his opinion on Lord Carysfort's advancement; but whether the promotion of the Lords Carysfort and Earlsfort authorizes a claim of which Lord Loftus has a right to avail himself is the true point at issue; to which I must say that, had it been understood and so stated to Lord Loftus that the promotion of the Lords Carysfort and Earlsfort was an engagement of the Duke of Rutland's, to be carried into effect with his other engagements for the peerage, the case would have been materially altered; but as that was not stated, nor does it appear to have been so understood by Lord Loftus, the engagement became liable to the construction now attempted to be put on it. That however leads me to Mr. Grenville's second question, because whatever may be our sentiments, the credit of the Government must depend on the public opinion; and I do most unreservedly declare it to be my firm persuasion that, if Lord Loftus is not offered a Viscountcy, the general impression will be that we have broke faith. In addition to the pains which will industriously be taken to impress that opinion on the public mind by our enemies, and Lord Loftus's friends, a concurrence in the justice of Lord Loftus's claim on the part of Lord Carhampton will be conclusive against us.

"Permit me now my Lord to suggest why, as it appears to me, this matter was not at the time so fully explained as to prevent the difficulty that has arisen upon it at present. Your Excellency had then no reason to foresee a necessity of recommending a speedy promotion of Barons to the rank of Viscounts. You was under no engagement to Lord Conyngham; and the bargain with Lord Belmore expressly states that he was to be a Viscount in the first batch of recommendations for that rank, that should be transmitted from Ireland; and it was explained to him, that those already promised were not to be considered within the agreement with his Lordship.

"Your Excellency, I conceived, not being aware of the construction now put on the engagement with Lord Loftus, had considered the

recommendation of him for a Viscountcy to be at a distant period, when, by a continued support of his Majesty's Government, he might so far have expiated the stigma of last session, as in some degree to entitle him to such a mark of his Majesty's favour; and I am more particularly induced to think that the foundation on which Lord Loftus rests his claim was not sufficiently guarded against, because, until long after that time, I did not know that Lord Carysfort's advancement was in your Excellency's contemplation. It therefore appears to me that, in case of Lord Loftus's claim being negatived, there will be every reason to apprehend that the public, to whom the business cannot be fully explained, will entertain an opinion injurious to the credit of his Majesty's Government.

"The fact at issue, as applied to Mr. Grenville's second question, is therefore, not what we conceive to have been the precise engagement of Government, but what the public will consider it to have been; and that I have endeavoured to explain to the best of my power. Upon the latter part of Lord Loftus's *ultimatum* arises the question of policy and expediency. As to what relates to that view of the subject, I must refer your Excellency to my letter of the 14th instant to you, and of the 19th to Mr. Grenville, which I presume he has communicated to your Excellency. If it is thought advisable to break with Lord Loftus on his demand of a promise for an Earldom, we can be under no difficulty on the ground of engagement, we there stand upon different ground indeed; Lord Loftus has not the most distant pretension to assert that any such engagement was ever made to him. I can maintain that neither Lord Carhampton nor Lord Loftus ever mentioned the subject of an Earldom to me, until it was started by Lord Loftus upon this late occasion, when I told him it was the first I heard of it. Upon the refusal of the Earldom we can meet him without an imputation on the faith of Government; and although our situation would, in case of his opposition, be difficult, I should flatter myself it would not be desperate. Your Excellency's observations upon our situation before Lord Loftus's return to the Government are perfectly true; but you must well recollect that we were extremely doubtful of the event, and we cannot pretend to say, in the event of Lord Loftus leaving us, what effect the apprehension of our weakness might have produced. It is true there is at present no immediate prospect of a question between Great Britain and Ireland; but would it be wise to act on the presumption that none can arise; or that the industry and party zeal of Opposition cannot raise a clamour that might occasion questions of real difficulty to the Government. The subject of new taxes must come before very long, and, in case of a war, it would be most essential indeed to have a strong Government in Ireland, if the British Minister expected to avail himself of the resources of this country. Irish responsibility, pensions, patronage, power of issuing money for services not previously approved in Parliament, these are subjects likely to be discussed, and all of them materially interesting to English government. I forgot to mention to your Excellency, in answer to your postscript, that Lord Loftus put in his claim immediately on hearing of Lord Earlsfort's promotion only; but upon that ground Lord Carhampton did not allow its justice, having adopted your Excellency's interpretation of this promotion, considering it as professional, and therefore not attaching on the terms made with Lord Loftus; and had he remained steady in his opinion, as the guarantee of Lord Loftus, upon Lord Carysfort's promotion being known, we could have safely met him; but as he has not remained steady since that event (and whether he is right or not is

not the question) he has cut the ground from under our feet ; I mean as far as relates to the public mind.

"If the Earldom is negatived, and the Viscountcy offered, the Government, on the one hand, manifests a scrupulous adherence to their engagement (even upon a forced construction) without yielding to a menace ; and should Lord Loftus continue his support on these terms, he will, on the other hand, have relinquished his demand, and consequently he will not have bullied the Government. If the Viscountcy is not offered, I am still confident he will oppose ; while I am equally satisfied in my own opinion that he is so convinced of the advantage he must derive from being connected with us, that, this point adjusted, we need not apprehend his separating from us."

R. HOBART to W. W. GREENVILLE.

*Private.*

1789, August 31. Dublin Castle.—"I shall confine myself to the two points on which you are of opinion this business turns.

"With regard to the first, if Lord Buckingham's construction is adopted, Lord Loftus has certainly no claim ; if Lord Carhampton's, he has ; and as it depends entirely on the meaning annexed to the words of the engagement, I must there leave that part of the discussion.

"But your second question seems to be that on which this subject must ultimately rest ; and I must say to you, as I have to Lord Buckingham, that I know the general impression to be against us ; and if I should take it up on the ground of the Duke of Rutland's engagements, and if I thought the public would decide upon it on that ground, I should equally apprehend an unfavourable decision ; for it would be extremely difficult to persuade the public that Lord Carysfort was promised so distinguished a favour as that of an Earldom by the late Duke of Rutland, when it is remembered that he was not in Ireland during the whole of the late Duke's administration, except for the remnant of that session during which his Grace arrived ; and as to myself, at the time of making the communication to Lord Carhampton, I had not the least idea that such an engagement was in existence, nor was it known to me until I was setting out for England in May last. I should otherwise have been more explicit in that communication, and when I used the words *first promotion*, I should have made an exception for the Duke of Rutland's engagements ; but, had I been right in my idea of the engagements of Government at that time, Lord Loftus would not have been entitled under the terms of my communication to be included amongst those persons rewarded at the close of last session.

"It is not assumed on the part of Lord Loftus that he would have been warranted in advancing a claim at present, had no Baron been included in the list of promotions ; but he instantly put in his claim on the report of Lord Earlsfort's promotion ; which we defended, not, on the ground of its being an engagement or the Duke of Rutland's, but on that of professional pretensions, in distinction to the general claims arising from support of Government ; a distinction which, though by no means admitted here in general, was adopted and adhered to by Lord Carhampton. Our justification therefore of Lord Earlsfort's promotion on the ground of the Duke of Rutland's engagements would be too late ; and, in the case of Lord Carysfort, unless we can unquestionably prove to the satisfaction of the public that his Earldom was promised by the Duke of Rutland, and, therefore, his advancement from the Baron's bench was no more than carrying that promise into effect, our

plea with respect to his promotion will apparently be defective. The more I consider this subject, the more I am convinced that the refusal of Lord Loftus's Viscounty will fix upon us the imputation of a breach of faith."

GEORGE III. to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, September 1. Weymouth.—"In a country where paper currency is so considerable a vehicle of trade, it cannot but be highly necessary to let the law take its course in cases of forgery but where very particular favourable circumstances occur; the present case of Thomas Phipps the younger is certainly not of that nature, for two other indictments were found for similar offences, though not brought forward. He having been found capital guilty of the former, I cannot therefore see any reason for my preventing that example being made which it is to be hoped will prevent others from committing a crime so detrimental to society."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, September 6. Tinnmouth.—"We are arrived here, and I think are as well disposed of as we could hope. Hester is with us, but Lord Fortescue does not come here till tomorrow. I meant to have written to you three days ago, but I was so unfortunate as to have another attack the day after my wife wrote to you, and was not able to hold up my head.

"I can not have a wish about Lord Loftus but to do in it that which is best for the King's Government. Your letter puts the question upon grounds more favourable to him, for you may be sure that Hobart will, for his personal ease, wish to press the interpretation which Lord Carhampton now gives, and which *cannot* be true, because Lord Earlefort's promotion would have been as strong a breach of any such covenant as that of Lord Carysfort. In truth there is (as you well know) one common enemy; and it is very doubtful whether it is wise to admit any interpretation from others of words which are quoted, and (in this case at least) are doubtful. But in *all* events, I must insist that it may be clearly explained to the King, whenever the subject is mentioned to him, that no consideration under heaven would have induced me to have made such an agreement with Lord Loftus; and that I never dreamt of such an agreement having been supposed to exist; and so strongly was I impressed with the impropriety of it, that I negatived the same proposal from Lord Leitrim (in the same circumstances with Lord Loftus) on the day before the rejection of the Pension Bill, when we were run within one or two votes.

"I must now advise with you as to the means of carrying into execution the intention (which is now made necessary by my health) of resignation. I meant by my letter to you, accompanying Hobart's, to put you upon your guard as to the possibility of such a step; and I must now desire you to inform Mr Pitt that, upon the fullest consideration of my state of health, it would be impossible for me to think of resuming the government; and that I do not think it wise to delay much longer the appointment of a chief Governor to reside in Ireland, and to prepare for the next session. At the same time I wish it to be understood that if I thought our Parliamentary strength less certain, or that I could more essentially serve the Crown than any other person, I would cheerfully risk my life, if it were necessary; but I am satisfied that the danger of the

struggle is over, and that very moderate attention will secure, by the continuance of the same system, the same majority ; but I am very unwilling to continue to receive the emoluments of a situation which I cannot think of resuming. You will let me know what you both wish upon this subject, that I may think as soon as may be of closing my government with every advantage to my successor.

"I return your letter from Newport. The office in question was given, in the course of last winter, by a joint warrant to the man now dead and a new nominee; and, in any contingency, I think his baronetage and limitation a very strong mark of our personal goodwill.

"I find that the King's letter for the new Commissioners of the Revenue had not reached Ireland; pray be so good as to press Mr. Pitt for the immediate transmission of it."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1789, September 10. [Teignmouth.]—"I have this morning received your letter enclosing Hobart's answers to you and to me. They do not appear to me to alter the state of the question, the *fact* of the promise to Lord Loftus standing precisely where it did, construed by him into an actual engagement for the first batch; and this construction (even upon the story as stated by Hobart) disputed and denied by *me* as forming any part of the engagement to which I conceived myself bound.

"Upon your second question, respecting the impression upon the minds of the public in Ireland, you know sufficiently the avidity with which any story of this kind is countenanced by all ranks of those conscientious personages, whether friends or foes, who look to Government (as you stated it) as one common foe, and therefore I have no doubt that such a report would be countenanced; but I have so uniformly, in all my transactions for peerages, distinguished between the Duke of Rutland's batch and my own, that I am sure that such a distinction is known and admitted by every of the numerous claimants on that list. The only doubt which could exist would be whether Lord Carysfort was or was not in the list delivered to me by Mr. Orde; and of that no doubt can in fact exist, because I have it now in his handwriting; but I agree that it will be difficult to persuade the public opinion to this fact. The whole subject is now before you; and Mr. Pitt and you are as competent to decide upon it as I am; and you will have the means of informing yourself fully upon it, because Hobart is to be in London on the 13th. I would have met him, but I am not able to come so far without material inconvenience to my health; for, although I have gained strength for the last four days, I find (by a slight relapse even this morning) that I am very unequal to such a journey. I will return to you Hobart's letters tomorrow, but I have only had them an hour, and the post is going.

*Postscript.*—"I did not mention the promise made to Lord Carysfort to Hobart till May, because I had persuaded Lord Carysfort to give up all idea of his promotion as not being *tanti*; and in this opinion he continued till his wife persuaded him to retract it."

#### LORD THURLOW to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, September [1-10].—"It is a long time since I have had occasion to think of Quebec; and now many years since I have seen a line of correspondence from that country. Things in the mean time

must have changed much ; and particular notions have taken root to a degree, which must command respect in any system, which general principles would otherwise have suggested for their government. In that view I have considered the paper you have favoured me with, as attentively as the time would permit ; and am only sorry that you want it again so soon ; because it would be rash to hazard an opinion on many of the various points you have opened, without more consideration than the first view of the subject will allow.

“ It is doubtless an important speculation to consider by what circumstance chiefly it was that the disposition of the colonies, now lost, became so alienated, as to be in that readiness for revolt to which accident gave an occasion ; which was not foreseen, among other reasons for this, that in truth it was not the immediate or adequate cause. You seem to refer it to the want of more resemblance in their constitution with that of Great Britain. I have been used to think it more referable to the want of connection and dependance in the form of their government upon the mother country. It was formed, I think, too much upon the plan which is supposed to be the establishment of those antient settlements which never were meant to have a political connection with their metropolis ; and were meant only for places of intercourse chiefly commercial ; and were left to the effect of that intercourse to preserve the connection. But without referring to antient history, or even general speculation, it seems clear, that, if political liberty, which is the governing principle of our constitution, be established in a colony, the sovereignty which, following that principle, must be distributed in certain proportions among the people, will also be established there ; and the immediate effect of that will be an habitual independant attention to a separate interest. In consequence of protecting and cultivating them, this country made some few laws for them ; of which they felt the benefit, more than the burden ; because they were not conceived with a view to give an habitual impression of subjection and obedience. And when, at length, they were quoted as precedents for going further, the Colonies were shocked at the inference as an innovation the most remote from their habits of thinking.

“ On the other hand, the genius of the French Government gave to their colonies a constitution like their own, as practised ; by which means the dependance and obedience of the people seems to have been effectually secured ; but the growth and prosperity of the plantation was discouraged and kept down.

“ Perhaps a mean might have been found ; to have given them more civil liberty, without political liberty, which, if I don't mistake, must necessarily include sovereignty, and consequently independance ; because the share of the Crown in the sovereignty is certainly not enough by itself to create dependance.

“ But reflections of this sort, even if they are thought just, must yield to actual circumstances ; which necessarily draw pretty forceably towards your conclusions. At the same time, with such ideas as these, while I incline to fall in with all the prejudices which have been already contracted, I still wish to shape the institutions resulting from them so as to preserve the greatest degree of habitual influence possible in the executive branch of government ; that being, as I conceive, the only point of contact between this mother and her colonies.

“ One effect of this way of considering the matter is to bring into some doubt your idea of an hereditary aristocracy ; which, if placed in hands unequal to it, will only be despised ; but if lodged with families of



permanent consideration, will grow, as I fear, into an independent interest.

"This idea will obviously bear on most of the subjects you have brought forward for discussion. And the application of it to them would perhaps be the best way of trying its real worth, and certainly of trying its expediency. But, for any practical purpose, dissertation in this way would not be so convenient as conversation ; in which principles would come more easily to a settlement.

"Perhaps it may be worth considering whether the object of providing for a political dependance, or, at least, of looking a great way forward with that view, be worth encountering many difficulties. As a seat of commerce, our present situation in that respect goes a great way to secure it. And to secure it, without such means, may perhaps be a task too hard for political wisdom. Increasing the number of our own subjects, and keeping them out of the hands of others, especially in time of war, is doubtless an important consideration, even in Canada ; though not so much so as in those colonies we have lost. And I am far from laying by the object of dependance. I only would decline urging it to an extent which would produce still more considerable inconveniences.

"Unless the many papers you refer to, have already been under the consideration of the rest of the Cabinet, I shall be in town time enough to take them in my turn ; and I shall be very happy if I can contribute any thing to the preparing a measure, which perhaps may be thought to have been too long delayed."

LORD THURLOW to W. W. GREENVILLE.

[1789, September —.]—"I was not apprised of Lord Fitz-William's application to you ; but I was of the point upon which it arose, by these means. An application was made by the two justices, who signed the warrant, to Lord Sydney, to know what they should do on the sheriffs demurring to execute it. I thought the application to the Secretary of State irregular, in a matter where nothing could be done personally and immediately by the King. But, as it was a capital case, in which they had got into an embarrassment, I looked it over, and finding there was no ground for the difficulty which had been made by the two justices who refused to sign, I advised that the Attorney-General should bring the convict up to the King's Bench, and pray execution there. But I advised my Lord Sydney, in communicating this, to intimate to them that he had gone out of the course of office in taking that step. This intimation, I suppose, was not conveyed to them, because when the convict had escaped, a similar application was made to him with that now made to you ; and, I rather believe, he did answer that in the way I had recommended. If every slip made in the exercise of a franchise is to be sent to the Secretary of State, he, and the Attorney General, and the Solicitor to the Treasury, will never want business ; unless indeed they would always take the straiter course of forfeiting the franchise.

"Let me beg your assistance upon another business which has some reference to the subject of your last letter, the means of retaining provinces in obedience. This, I suppose, whatever may be the forms of government intended for them, must be done by creating and preserving an opinion among the people that they are wisely and honourably governed.

"The revenue of 4½ per cent. in the Leeward Islands, payable and accountable in the receipt of the Exchequer, was designed, I apprehend,

for the protection of those islands, and the establishment of fortresses, ports, there ; but, commencing before the salutary measure of appropriation was practised, or that principle thoroughly understood, it was soon diverted into a very different channel. This abuse became so rank some years ago, that, if I remember right, the grants were no longer the disposition of ready money, but the anticipation of those revenues, and a sort of mortgage upon them. And this, perhaps, might be the efficient reason for those virtuous resolutions to forbear the practise, which were taken up in the beginning of the late rebellion in America.

"But the favour I want to ask of you is information, not upon the *propriety* of the measure, but upon the *legality* of it. For I have some faint recollection that, at the period I allude to, Mr. Jackson, who was remarkably versed in that branch of business, used to question the legality of it, and that it was upon his suggestion Lord North forbore the practise. In this place I have no means to assist my memory, but I know that your accuracy will, with great ease, either fix or disperse the doubt."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, September 11. [Teignmouth.]—"I enclose to you Hobart's letters to you and to me ; I will trouble you to return mine, and to order that to you to be copied for me. I enclose to you my answer to him open, that you may see my opinions upon the matter as it now stands ; and I am too much tired to add any thing more upon the subject. Decide as you think (upon consideration) best for the King's service, and I will do in it exactly as you please, though with a strong wish to return a defiance.

"You will see in the letter a reference to an offer from Hobart to accommodate my engagements to St. George by giving up his office *gratis* ; this I have declined till I know whether he will continue, or whether any thing can be done for him. I do not mean to commit you as a Minister to him, but I wish you to converse with him freely upon his situation as one to whom I owe very much, and who will certainly be a very affectionate and very useful adherent to us. I should be most happy if we could meet, for I feel that we have been long absent ; but I am obliged to give up those hopes, for I do not hope to quit this place for this month at soonest. I bathe every day, but I am still dreadfully weak on my legs. and begin to fear the close of the summer without amendment.

"If there is any news I trust to you or to Bernard for a line ; we are entirely locked up in a remote corner. I think Hester is recovering."

W. W. GRENVILLE to the LORD CHANCELLOR [THURLOW].

*Private.*

1789, September 12. Wimbledon—"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's two letters. With respect to the first, I am sincerely sorry that any expression in my letter should have conveyed an idea that I wished to receive back the paper which I took the liberty of troubling your lordship with, before you had found time and leisure fully and sufficiently to consider it. I now return it to your Lordship for that purpose, although I do not flatter myself that it contains anything which will not have suggested itself to you on a first perusal.

"I have in one place made a small addition to it, because I felt, on considering your Lordship's letter, that the reasoning which I had used was

in part defective. In examining the causes which produced in our American colonies that predisposition to which I perfectly agree in ascribing their revolt, I had discussed the question of colonial government with a view only to the different modifications of a separate and local legislation, without entering into that which is certainly a point of previous consideration, whether such distinct legislation, in any form in which it can be established, is a thing in itself desirable; and whether all power of this sort would not with more advantage (at least to the mother country) be retained in one general and superintending legislation, that of the parent state. To say the truth, I had considered this as a point no longer open to speculation with a view to any measures to be now adopted; as the constitution given, whether by design or accident, to our ancient colonies at their first establishment, and the institutions now existing in our remaining colonies, had supposed the necessity of some distinct and local power of legislation.

"This part of the subject is however a material link in the chain of reasoning which I have used, and I think the question stands exactly as your Lordship has described it. That, with a view merely to retaining dependence, a legislation residing in the mother country might for a time be the best of all institutions; but that it has so evident a tendency to check and depress the prosperity of the colony, that it might almost be doubted whether such a dependence would be worth retaining. And one might perhaps add that, in a more advanced state of the colony, this tendency would probably be observed there, and would in that case have the effect of alienating the minds of the colonists from a government so adverse to their separate interest, and thereby of counteracting the advantages expected from the principle itself.

"The other point which your Lordship particularly mentions in this Canada business relates to what was said of an hereditary aristocracy. I am not quite sure whether my paper, as it before stood, sufficiently explained what my idea is on this subject. I thought that by granting some sort of rank and distinction, descendible in lineal succession to the eldest sons of those who were once called to the Council, a body would gradually be formed and kept up, out of whom the Crown would probably select the Councillors, with only a few occasional additions as other families grew to consideration and respect in the province. The consequence would then be that no person could have a seat in the Upper Branch of the Legislature, without feeling that sort of interest in the established government which arises from the possession of hereditary distinction; while, at the same time, the power reserved to the Crown of calling to seats in that House such only of those persons as might individually be judged proper for it, would retain to the British Government a great degree of weight and influence among this description of persons. I feel, however, how difficult it is to discuss these ideas satisfactorily by writing, and I shall have great pleasure in the opportunity of conversing with your Lordship upon them.

"With respect to the question relative to the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. duties, I certainly feel that the doubt as to the legality of the grants made out of the revenue, is one on which your Lordship is much more capable of instructing me, than I am of suggesting anything to your Lordship which will not have presented itself to your own mind on considering the subject. At the same time I can have no difficulty in this, or in any case in which your Lordship does me the honour to desire it, to state such considerations as occur to me, and appear to have a reference to the point in question.

"If that whole business were now open, and if a system, with respect to the expences and contributions both of Ireland and of our colonies were now to be established on general principles, there could, I think, be little difficulty in settling that as we have, on the one hand, a full right to expect that they should defray the whole expence of their civil government by local impositions, that they should also contribute an equitable and adequate proportion of revenue, as well for the common and general objects of government, as for the maintenance of our military and naval force. These principles being once established and acted upon, it would certainly follow as a just and necessary consequence from them that the revenue raised for these purposes, though it might for the sake of convenience and uniformity be paid into the common exchequer, could nevertheless be applied only to those objects to which it would thus be appropriated by a specific and definite grant.

"But no general system of this sort has ever been adopted by us; and however desirable it would be as tending to give us a just relief from the weight of our public burthens in Great Britain, a favorable moment for establishing these principles neither presents itself at present, nor is, I fear, reasonably to be expected. Thus much however has been done in Ireland, and in the Leeward Islands. An hereditary revenue has been granted to the Crown for the maintenance of its honour and dignity. No appropriation has ever been made of these revenues; but I understand the Crown to have always held and exercised the power of making grants out of their produce, in pensions or otherwise, on the same general principles with respect to the King's prerogative, as those on which similar grants were made out of the hereditary revenue in this country, previous to the arrangement by which that revenue was exchanged for the civil list.

"In the case of Ireland, such grants have certainly been in constant usage, and have by no means been confined to mere Irish claims either of service or favour. A part of the maintenance of the Royal Family is, as I take it, now charged on that fund. Part of the reward to Prince Ferdinand for his services in the war before the last, the whole of that which was given to Count Ving for secret services at the peace of 1763, the reward to Lord Rodney, and, I believe, a part of that to Lord Heathfield, are all in the same predicament. And an increase has, within this last twelvemonth, been granted to the Duke of Gloucester from the same revenue, on account of the additional expence of his family.

"I mention these as objects which appear to be of a general nature, and in which all parts of the Empire have a common share. In addition to these it would be easy to enumerate a great variety of instances where grants of this nature have been made on occasions which have been more exclusively connected with the convenience or service of government in Great Britain.

"The revenue which is received from the Leeward Islands I take to be in many respects in the same situation with the hereditary revenue of Ireland. It seems to me to be accepted as a contribution, though a very inadequate one, towards the expences which this country incurs on their account, and towards their proportion of the general expences of the empire. And not being specially appropriated by Parliament, I hold it to be disposeable by the Crown under the controul of Parliament, to purposes of general government, and to the reward of such persons as his Majesty judges to be fit objects of his favour or recompense.

"I state this with respect to the general principles which apply to this subject. As to that part of the question which arises from any doubt on the construction of the terms in which the grant is made, that is a point on which I should certainly feel myself even less competent to state any opinion of mine to your Lordship, than on the other which I have adverted to. But with respect to this point, I wish to submit to your consideration whether the question of construction does not seem in a great measure decided by the practise which I understand to have commenced in the reign of Charles 2d., soon after the revenue itself was granted; and which, though suspended for a considerable time subsequent to that, has now continued for the last 40 years, with no other interruption than that which has arisen from occasional deficiencies in the fund. A strong additional confirmation of this interpretation appears to me to arise from the conduct of Parliament itself with respect to this revenue. It is now about four years since Parliament, finding that the fund was overcharged, and that, on this account, the grantees were deprived of the benefit which the Crown had intended them, granted a sum of money to pay up the arrears, and transferred to another fund an annuity which had been granted out of this revenue to the Duke of Gloucester. And this was done for the express and avowed purpose of enabling the King to fulfil the engagements which he had taken towards the other persons *who held under similar grants*; a measure which it can hardly be supposed that Parliament would have taken, if the grants themselves could be considered as illegal. In truth I do not see what other restraint there could be on the Crown in the disposal of this revenue, except either an appropriation contained in the grant, specifying the services to which it was to be applied, or an Act of Parliament restraining in this respect the general prerogative of the Crown. And, in the present instance, neither of these certainly exist.

"I cannot however but feel that, even in the present undefined situation in which we stand with respect to the expences and contributions of our Colonies, it would be better in point of appearance, though in effect the same, if this particular revenue were more specially applied to defray the charges which we incur on account of the islands; and if that portion of our general revenue which would by this measure be liberated, were added to the amount which the King may now apply from his civil list in pensions to such persons as have merited these rewards. But no alteration of this nature could be made without the special interposition of Parliament; and I have no difficulty in saying that if the effect of stirring this question there, were [even?] as a matter of appearance towards the Colonies, were, as it might probably be, to diminish by this amount the present power of the Crown in this respect, I should not think the change an advantageous one.

"It has been the common practise, in such discussions in Parliament, to confound particular instances of the exercise of this power which have been unpopular, whether justly or not, with the merits of the question which relates to the existence of the power itself. For my own part I have always felt that the power of conferring pecuniary rewards was of absolute and indispensable necessity in order to maintain the executive government in this country, and to enable it to discharge those duties which it owes to the people; and I fairly own that I think this power, as it now stands, by the regulation of the civil list, and by the aids which can be drawn from the hereditary revenue in Ireland, and from the 4½ per cent. duty, is not extended beyond those limits which are warranted by that necessity which I have stated. But it is easy to see that the discussion of these topics in Parliament, though, I think, by no

means to be avoided where necessity calls for their introduction, is nevertheless liable to the effect and operation of other notions; and that the success of such an argument might not depend on its justice or propriety.

"This being the case, the advantage which would be gained by carrying such an arrangement, being a point merely of appearance towards the colonies; and the danger to be incurred by proposing it being that of limiting the power of government in an instance where I think it by no means too large at present; it appears to me that in point of fair and reasonable policy it ought not to be attempted; and that it is better to leave the business in the situation in which it has so long stood, and in which the cause of complaint, if any, is certainly not on the side of the colonies.

"I have directed enquiry to be made in my office, but can find no trace of any correspondence between Lord Fitz-William and Lord Sydney on the subject of the jurisdiction of Peterborough; but, when I receive the report from the Attorney and Solicitor, I will regulate my answer to Lord Fitz-William according to the idea which your Lordship throws out, in which I perfectly concur." *Copy.*

W. W. GRENVILLE to HENRY DUNDAS.

1789, September 14. Wimbledon.—"I received your letter with the papers enclosed. I did not send your letter to Baring, because Pitt was to see him upon the subject. You will probably have heard that a lower offer has been made at home, and therefore that Baring's correspondent is out of the question; but if he should lower his demands, and write to Baring in consequence, an additional quantity might be taken for the object of Bombay.

"Pitt explained to Baring that you had referred him to us for an answer to his letter.

"Pitt has received a letter from you respecting a Mr. Dunkin whom you seem to think a proper person to be appointed a judge at Calcutta. But this presupposes that one of the present judges is to be made Chief Justice. I confess there appear to me strong objections to placing either Chambers or Jones in that situation, and Pitt seems to feel them at least as strongly as I do. We wish however to receive your ideas on that subject; and if you agree with us, it would perhaps be better to take a new Chief Justice from the English Bar, though I by no means know whom to name in that view." *Copy.*

W. W. GRENVILLE to the MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

1789, September 15. Wimbledon.—"After I wrote to you yesterday I saw Hobart, and had a long conversation with him on Irish politics. He satisfied me and Pitt, whom he saw here this morning, that it is better on the whole so far to acquiesce in Lord Loftus's request as to offer him the Viscounty, explaining at the same time the ground on which this is done. That you neither recollect nor acknowledge the having made him such a promise as would now attach; but that, as Lord Carhampton, through whom a part of the transaction passed, thinks differently upon it, you had rather even go beyond your engagements than leave a shadow of doubt of your having exactly fulfilled them. That on this ground you are inclined to recommend him *bonâ fide* for a Viscounty, provided it is fully explained that he is satisfied with this mark of favour; but that as you do it on this ground only, you

think it right at the same time to reject all idea of any stipulation on the subject of an Earldom, as that is clearly out of the question, in any sense of the former engagement. Hobart writes to-day to this effect to Cooke, to whom Lees had spoken on the subject by Lord Loftus's desire.

"There is another point on which I feel no small degree of uneasiness. I had heard before Hobart came that a great degree of clamour had been raised in Ireland, even among the supporters of Government, by the measure of taking away Lord Strangford's pension, although it had been granted to him in consequence of an address from the House of Lords. I confess that this statement of the case gave me much anxiety upon the subject, which is not at all relieved by the account which Hobart has given me of the particulars of it, and of the manner in which it has been received in Ireland, and the impression which it is making there. You have been too much conversant in all this sort of business not to agree with me that these measures are and must be regulated, not by motives of personal feeling, but by those of prudence and policy. Indeed the subject of the first part of this letter is a pretty strong proof of this. Now considering that the revocation of pensions in general, though I think it on this occasion a perfectly right measure, is nevertheless a strong and unusual measure, it surely cannot be wise to add to any clamour which may be raised upon it, by taking such a step as this, which makes the House of Lords itself in some sort a party against the Crown, and adds to what may and will be felt on the score of private distress in this case, the general impression of an indignity to Parliament. I feel this so very strongly, and am so very sure that it will be so felt by others, and by the public in general here as well as in Ireland, that however reluctant I should be in any common case to urge you to undo a thing of this sort when it is once done, I feel it incumbent upon me, both on private and on public grounds, to press it upon you in this instance, in the strongest manner possible. Lord Strangford's letter, which Hobart transmits to you by this post, affords you some ground for doing this; and the plea may also be used of finding his Church preferment less than it had been represented. But I really feel the thing itself to be of more importance than I can well express to you. It is extremely my wish that you may see it in this light, on reconsideration; because it is so much more desirable that the recommendation for restoring this pension should come from you than from your successor, that I am not sure whether, of two very great evils, I should not prefer the standing all the obloquy of this measure, great as I think it, to the appearance of annulling, and thereby condemning, in the first moments of your departure, a measure of yours so considerable in its principle and its effects, though as little important in itself. I have conversed with Pitt on this subject. I am sure he is not, and I flatter myself I am not, disposed to recommend to you to relinquish a line which you have once taken, if it was in any degree tenable. But I am sure that, in the present case, I should not do my duty either to you individually, or to the cause of English government in Ireland, if I did not represent to you in this free and unreserved manner, while it is yet not too late, the effects which I apprehend, and which I consider as certain from this step. And I have not stated my sentiments more strongly than Pitt feels them.

"Hobart also mentioned to me the subject of Sir Skeffington Smyth. I think by your letter to him you seem to feel that this is a case which it would be very undesirable to confound with the general mass of the grantees of pensions during pleasure.

"I think Pitt seems so sensible of the importance of retaining Hobart in this situation, that I can pretty nearly say that this point may be considered as certain, whoever is appointed to succeed you.

"Hobart asked me, by the Chancellor's desire, about Marcus Beresford, for whom he is desirous of getting a company which may prevent his going to the West Indies. I remember hearing something upon the subject, but whether from you or any other person, I forget." *Copy.*

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, September 17, Teignmouth.—"I this day received your two letters of the 14th and 15th. I do not understand how it has happened that they came together. I should not this day have acknowledged them even with these few lines, thinking it essential to give full consideration to the very unexpected proposition which Mr. Pitt and you have made to me respecting Lord Strangford's pension, if I was not anxious to remove from your mind any idea of precipitancy in my resignation, of the sort which you intimate in your letter of the 14th. I am very sensible to the difficulty of appointing a successor to me, and, for that reason, I wrote to desire you to point out the time and mode of my resignation according to the convenience of your arrangements, accompanying that request with an advice (which I thought useful to the Government) that my successor should have time to consider his session of Parliament before he meets it. I repeat this, because your letter seems to impute to me a precipitancy unbecoming my situation, and because it speaks of the situation of Ireland, and of *the crisis*, in a style that certainly gives me no little pain. I conceive that *crisis* to have been decidedly settled by the victory in both Houses of Parliament, and I do not know or expect any desertion from the numbers with which I closed the sessions. If I did, I would (thankless as my task has been) return in my present enfeebled state, rather than give to my bitterest enemy any ground for the charge of abandoning my situation in a moment of danger. That none such *now* exists I am confident; but I do not mean to say that the government can be carried on by a person inattentive to his situation, or to the combination formed against the Crown.

"The question of Beresford's commission is not new to the King; he has heard of it and has given a strong intimation of his dislike to it. I have therefore kept it out of sight, that the objection to his rank might in some degree be weakened. You will first understand that, though from affection to Fitz-Gibbon I promised him to recommend his nephew, yet I apprized him of the great difficulties attending this measure, and the impossibility of pressing it if the King objected to it. Beresford's commission as Lieutenant in the 9th is of the 30th June 1787; the company which I have kept vacant in order to give him a Captain-Lieutenancy (if the King permitted) is in the 27th, where two Captains died this year; one of which vacant companies was given in the regiment, and the Captain-Lieutenant being only of 6 months standing, and a very young lad, would not stand in the way, but, on the contrary, has been told that in no case would he be recommended. I state this that you may discharge my promise of recommending it, and with my anxious wish (for Fitz-Gibbon's sake) for its success; but if it should be conceived that the opportunity is unfavourable, the promotion may lie over and the company remain vacant to a more lucky moment.



"I wish that your Mr. Gregor had either written to me himself, or that I had received any intimation of your wishes, for I wrote to Ball (in answer to a letter from him) that I knew nothing of this Mr. Gregor, (whom I conceived to be some Scotch adventurer from his name,) and that I did not care one farthing about him; however I will write to Ball again, though the candidate does not, from that circumstance, seem very respectable. I have likewise spoken to Lord Fortescue about him."

"I enclose to you my letter of resignation, leaving a blank (which you will fill) for the date, and present it when you think proper.

"The date is inserted by mistake, but you may alter it.

"I am glad from every consideration that Mr. Pitt seems so sensible of Hobart's value and services."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1789, September 18. Teignmouth.—"When I declined answering yesterday your very unexpected proposition respecting Lord Strangford, it was unpleasant to me to leave you in suspense upon a point which you pressed so warmly; but I felt myself unable to separate entirely from the question those personal feelings which were naturally uppermost in my mind at the first impression of your proposal. It was unnecessary to remind me 'that such measures must be regulated not by motives of personal feeling but by those of prudence and policy', for, I should imagine, that both officially and confidentially, you have the strongest proofs in your possession that I have long since foregone every personal consideration whatsoever in the conduct of the King's government in Ireland; and I now declare, most solemnly, that in giving to this subject a very close attention for the last 24 hours, (and having frequently considered it before,) I have viewed it as a measure of prudence and policy; and that I feel as little *personally* to this man as to any being whatsoever. You seem to admit the general policy of taking away the pensions of persons opposing Government in Ireland; it remains then to consider the distinctions in Lord Strangford case; for those distinctions alone seem to have decided you to the opinion you have taken; for I cannot imagine that, because any clamour real or imaginary interferes, you, for that reason, would recommend the very strong step of restoring the grant. You have stated the peculiar circumstances of his case to be his poverty, and the grant under an address from the House of Lords. To the first I will observe, in the first place, that I cannot see the force of the distinction upon any other ground than compassion, and that I cannot imagine a rule more ruinous to the King's service in Ireland than that persons holding pensions, (the same reasoning would include placemen of the same description,) and pleading poverty either true or false, should be exceptions to a general rule which constant practise has sanctioned, and more strongly in Ireland than in Great Britain. You will remember that our Irish pensioners are, in general, those whose pretensions do not enable them to look to office, and that their poverty alone compels them to accept that mode of provision, which they always wish to avoid if possible; this rule therefore would apply to every person now holding a pension in either House of Parliament, and the case of Lord Strangford is not on this ground separated from the rest.

The second ground is indeed separate and distinct (except in very few instances,) for the pension was certainly granted to Lord Strangford in consequence of the address of the House of Lords, in consideration of his circumstances; and the grant evidently points to them. In point of

fact a material difference exists in them *since* that grant, for he has received from me a living of 200*l.* per annum, and his claims have been admitted, in right of his wife as an American loyalist, to a compensation which you can more easily ascertain than I can, but which I understand to be about 6,000*l.* These additions, you will observe, exceed the value of the pension, and entirely change the ground on which he stood when the House voted that address; but I am ready to give up that plea, and to defend the step as an abstract measure, conceiving that the question must be treated upon this ground.

"Had Lord Strangford, at the time of that vote, been in the habits of opposing Government, I do not conceive that any one would have seriously entertained the idea of granting him that pension; for though the House recommend him to his Majesty's notice, yet the bounty is, and always ought to be considered as an act of grace from the Crown. Now I cannot understand the difference which makes it necessary to leave a pension in the possession of such a person, who, from the moment in which he received it to the present hour, has never voted with Government, and repeatedly against it; for, on the Regency question, he divided (I think) four times against us, and once against the supplies, which he terms a question between malt and spirits! But I object to the principle of admitting a line between such grants and those which flow spontaneously from the Crown; for the consequence of it would be a constant struggle in both Houses for votes of this sort, which every wise Government ought to keep down, and which I never ought to have allowed in this instance. Let me however say (what is strictly true) that my acquiescence was wrung from me against my judgment by a foolish pity for this wretch's poverty and sufferings. Perhaps you have little idea of the difficulty of preventing the two Houses in that kingdom from dipping their hands into the public purse. The only use which Opposition made of their temporary majority was for a purpose of this kind, in the shape of a grant. Is it wise then, under such circumstances, to tempt a popular assembly, always profuse of public money, to vote pensions, by holding out to them the additional temptation of a further security to their grants beyond those proceeding from the Crown? Upon these grounds I advise the recall of that grant; but I conceived it unnecessary to state the very particular case which separated Lord Strangford from every other pensioner, as a peculiar object of the King's displeasure. On the first blush of the Regency business in the House of Lords, I heard he was to vote against us. I would not see him because I mistrusted him, and because I knew the impossibility of contradicting with effect the operation of a false statement of a conversation in my closet. I therefore directed Fitz-Herbert to see him, and to inform him that 'as it was necessary for us to know before-hand the support which our measures were likely to meet in the House of Lords on that important subject, he troubled his Lordship with this interview that he might be informed whether his Lordship had made up his mind upon it.' Lord Strangford asked whether he meant to threaten him if he voted according to his conscience, and Fitz-Herbert, who spoke the words from a paper, answered 'certainly not; his duty being simply that of endeavouring to collect the opinions of the friends of Government before measures of such moment were brought forward; but God forbid that he should be supposed to threaten his Lordship for voting according to his conscience.' From the Castle he went to the House of Lords and stated to Lord Charlemont, Lord Portarlington, and the Archbishop of Cashell, that Fitz-Herbert had written to him 'that if he dared to vote against us on this question he should lose his pension next day.'

On this information it was determined to make a complaint of breach of privilege, at a moment when you will remember we were decidedly beat in both Houses; but some other Lords mistrusted this wretch, and they put off the idea to the next day. In the mean time poor Fitz-Herbert was frightened out of his wits, and sent Lord Carhampton to Lord Strangford to ask, as from himself, this story, which Lord Strangford told him; but, upon being pressed to shew the note, retracted it, and said that the threat was verbal. To cut short this story, it ended in the conviction of every body that the whole was a lie; and Lord Strangford was reprobated by all parties, having endeavoured to injure the personal credit and situation of the King's Government in so unjustifiable a manner, and to an extent so dangerous, in a moment so critical. And yet, to such a man, upon such grounds, you propose to me to sacrifice my public consistency, by recommending to the Crown to regrant the pension, without any ostensible new ground, save that his Lordship declares that he is not engaged in a systematic opposition; and without any real new ground whatsoever save the newspaper clamour, and the murmurs of those who, looking upon every thing as fair plunder from English Government, would protect, if possible, the devil in possession of what had once been granted. Remember that these people are not to be dealt with or considered in the same point of view as in England. The first principles of good faith, of public honour, and fair dealing are unknown to them; and they can be governed only by a strict and heavy hand. I speak of the two Houses, rather than of the country; but, if ever the Crown gives up that rod of control, I do not conceive how the Government can go on. I call it giving up the rod to suffer such a being as this to enjoy the bounty of the King, and to hold it under a claim of a property in fee. If there is any thing really formidable in the association against Government in Ireland, it can be met only by the strongest measures. I have advised them because I think them wise, and because I would have abided by them, and at the moment in which all this was done (in May last) I had not an idea of quitting the Government.

"I have been thus diffuse because I wish you to know the reasons for my original opinion on this subject. In treating the question of a recommendation for a re-grant of the pension, I cannot entirely separate all *personal* considerations; for, retaining my full and decided opinion that the measure is right, I feel that *personally* I should fail in what I owed to the public, to you, and to myself, if, in this posture of the business, I could lend myself to the re-grant of the pension; not seeing in Lord Stangford's letter any ground upon which in duty or in honour I could advise it. But I think that there is an opening in it for a negotiation upon *new grounds*, and to such a negotiation I will lend myself if Mr. Pitt and you wish it, and will propose it to Hobart.

"The vote and support of a peer are well worth the 400*l.* pension; and if Lord Strangford had availed himself of the amnesty, he certainly would have been allowed to sit down 'infamous and contented'; but I know that he trusted to the persuasion that we did not dare attack his pension, and declared so to a person who repeated it to me; it being (I fancy) his speculation that he might sell himself for an increase of his pension. He now seems alarmed, and by his letter disclaims systematic opposition, and assures us of his loyal wishes for his Majesty's Government. I construe this into a wish to support, and to keep his pension; and therefore I have no objection to any negotiation through a safe hand, (suppose Cooke,) which may tell him that I understood him to be engaged in a systematic opposition, but that if he will specifically assure

Hobart of his intentions to support his Majesty's Government, I will consider *that* as a *new and sufficient* ground upon which I will act.

"I have now gone as far to meet your wishes and those of Mr. Pitt as I can; for I will freely confess that I am very seriously hurt at this transaction, and at the proposal which I would have spurned from any other Minister, as marking most strongly a distrust of my judgment and conduct, and an improper indifference to my personal feelings.

"As to my successor's line of conduct, I will only say that he cannot injure me, but may hurt himself and the interests of English government most materially; but, if he acts to me half as fairly as I have done to the memory of my predecessor, I shall be content; and even if his measures could tend to disgrace me, it will only add one more to the bitter sensations which I feel, whenever I reflect upon the career which I am now closing."

*Postscript.*—"I had omitted to take notice of Sir Skeffington Smyth's business; his pension stands upon different grounds from the others, and, you will have seen by the letters, that he calls upon the faith of Government to consider his pension as an 'annuity indefeasible during his life.' If any promise or encouragement of this nature was given, I am the first to say that it must be observed; but you do not, I am sure, understand that the purchase of his office, *standing alone*, gives him that sort of property in fee which he claims; and you will remember that, in the case of Sir E. Newenham, Lord Townshend did this very thing, which stands upon different grounds in Ireland (where so many offices have been sold) from what it would do in England. I have always understood that he entirely neglected the office which he had bought of Secretary to the Revenue, and that he got into Parliament for the purpose of preventing his removal, which was in contemplation; and which ended in the grant of this pension, which was granted *during pleasure*, specifically as a lien upon his good behaviour. Upon these grounds, which are all that I have ever heard upon it, I did not consider his pension as distinct from those which have been revoked, and recommended it to be recalled; but at my request it still lies at the Treasury.

"As to Lord Loftus's Viscounty I cannot have a wish about it; I think that he will reject your proposal if he was in earnest; but as I always doubted that, it is probable that he will engage to support, and will betray you as soon as he can.

"You clearly understand that if you make Lord Loftus a Viscount, I am bound most solemnly to Lord Belmore and Lord Conyngham."

#### W. W. GRENVILLE TO GEORGE III.

1769, September 20, Wimbledon.—"Mr. Grenville is extremely concerned to acquaint your Majesty that, at the close of the Old Bailey session yesterday evening, three of the convicts to whom your Majesty had been graciously pleased to extend your mercy on condition of transportation, being brought up to receive their sentence, obstinately refused to avail themselves of your Majesty's clemency towards them. This had been the intention of a much larger number, but, in consequence of the endeavours which were made to dissuade them from it, 8 only refused to submit to the condition, and of these 5 were persuaded to make their submission to the Court before it was adjourned. But the other three, being brought up again at the end of all the other business, and being strongly urged to reconsider the consequences of their obstinacy before it was too late, nevertheless persisted in their refusal.

"The names of these three unhappy men are Davis, Crewther, and Chaffey.

"Davis was convicted of a street robbery, unattended with any circumstances of violence, and in which it appears that no weapon was used except a stick cut so as to resemble a pistol.

"He was not positively sworn to, but the watch which was taken from the prosecutor was found upon him.

"Crewther was convicted of a burglary. He came into the house between 9 and 10 at night, and stole several articles of plate, and some other things. He was convicted solely on the evidence of the pawn-broker who received them.

"There was some doubt of the admissibility of this evidence, but that was overruled by the judge. But the Recorder, whom Mr. Grenville has seen this morning, states the witness to be a man of very notorious and infamous character.

"Chaffey was convicted of an highway robbery. He was convicted on the evidence of the prosecutor, and of an accomplice.

"The robbery was attended with some circumstances of violence, by beating the person robbed. It does not appear that Chaffey was the man who actually beat him, but that he was the first man who demanded his money, saying, that they would not hurt him if he made no resistance; and that he took the money out of his pocket, after he had been beat.

"The accomplice states that some resistance was made by the prosecutor, but the latter takes no notice of this circumstance.

"Mr. Grenville has thought it his duty to trouble your Majesty with these particulars because he fears that, under these circumstances, however reluctant your Majesty must feel to leave for execution any of these unhappy men, whom your Majesty has once judged to be fit objects of your Majesty's mercy, yet, that some example will be of absolute necessity, in order to prevent the evil effects which would arise from an impression being conveyed to this class of people that, by refusing to accept the condition of pardon, they may exempt themselves from all punishment.

"Mr. Grenville submits with all humility to your Majesty's judgment, that the immediate execution of one of these unhappy men might be sufficient to answer this object; and that the others would probably be thereby induced to accept, with proper sentiments, the conditions on which your Majesty has been graciously pleased to extend your Royal mercy to them.

"It is painful to make a selection of this nature; but Mr. Grenville feels it his duty to submit to your Majesty what occurs to him on this point, after consulting with the Recorder upon it; and to say that, weighing all the circumstances of the degree of guilt in the different cases, and of the comparative strength of the evidence given at the trials, he thinks that Chaffey appears to be, the least of the three, an object of mercy.

"Under this impression, Mr. Grenville has desired that if the Recorder does not hear from him again after receiving your Majesty's pleasure, steps may be taken for executing Chaffey to-morrow morning; as the speediness of the example (if it must take place) will certainly have a good effect; and Mr. Grenville will, if your Majesty should not disapprove of it, direct a further respite to be sent for the two other men for one week from to-morrow." *Copy.*

GEORGE III. to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, September 20. Windsor.—"It is shocking that men can be so lost to every sentiment of gratitude not to feel the mercy shewn them

in sparing their lives after they have been forfeited by the laws of their country, though on the terms of transportation. The idea of Mr. Grenville that Chaffey must suffer tomorrow morning is perfectly groundless, and may perhaps induce the two others to solicit what they now seem to think worse than death. I therefore approve of the law taking its course on Chaffey, and the two others having a respite for one week."

#### HENRY DUNDAS to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, September 20. Melville Castle.--"I send for your perusal a letter from Sir Archibald Campbell, as it refers to subjects connected with some of our conversations recently before my leaving London. You will of course communicate them to Mr. Pitt, if you think any thing arises from them worthy of your joint consideration. I suspect Mr. Sullivan must not be in Britain, for I never received an answer from him on the subject of Negapatnam, concerning which I wrote to him as well as Sir Archibald Campbell before leaving London. But I have a perfect distinct recollection that the train of his reasoning was of a nature similar to that contained in Sir Archibald Campbell's observations.

"From the state of the rank of the different officers in India, I perceive no difficulty *gradually* to bring the old and useless Indian officers home, so as to leave the important military commands in the hands of the King's officers, who fortunately happen to be among the best, as I am informed, of any in the King's service.

"It is scarcely necessary to desire you not to mislay my papers, for I have no copies. You'll therefore either cause copies to be taken for yourself, or cause Cabell take them for me."

#### W. W. GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1789, September 21. Whitehall.--"Mr. Grenville begs leave to inform your Majesty that the Recorder of London has just been with him to state that doubts are entertained by Mr. Justice Gould respecting the legality of the carrying into execution the sentence of death passed on the convict Chaffey, under the circumstances of the notification which has been made to him of your Majesty's gracious offer of conditional pardon. Mr. Grenville feels himself by no means competent to decide on the grounds of these doubts, or on the degree of weight which may, on a full consideration of the subject, be found to be due to them. But he is persuaded that your Majesty will approve of his having, under these circumstances, written to the Sheriffs of London to desire that the execution of the sentence might be stayed, until he could have an opportunity of receiving your Majesty's farther commands on the subject.

"Mr. Grenville has desired that the Recorder would state to him in writing the grounds of the doubts entertained upon this subject; and Mr. Grenville humbly submits to your Majesty whether it may not be proper that a respite for a week should be granted to this man, in order that there may be an opportunity, in a case so unprecedented, to consult with the Lord Chancellor; and to receive the opinion of the judges, if he should advise a reference of that nature.

"Mr. Grenville thinks it right to mention that, when he saw the Recorder yesterday, immediately before his having the honor of writing to your Majesty on this subject, he was not apprized of the existence of any doubt of this nature, nor did the Recorder appear to entertain any such doubt." *Copy.*

## GEORGE III. to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, September 21. Windsor.—“The Recorder having reported verbally to Mr. Grenville Mr. Justice Gould entertaining doubts of the legality of letting the sentence of death on Chaffey take effect after the conditional pardon offered him had been notified; it is perfectly clear that no proper line of conduct could be followed by Mr. Grenville but that he has adopted; the respite for one week is consequently approved of, as well as the transmitting to the Lord Chancellor the written report the Recorder is to draw up, stating the grounds of Mr. Justice Gould’s opinion; which seems to me erroneous, and tending to render it highly difficult to continue the plan of transportation.”

## HENRY DUNDAS to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, September 21. Melville Castle.—“My reason of writing to Mr. Pitt, enclosing Lord Cornwallis’s letter respecting Mr. Dunkin, was that, a very considerable time ago, Mr. Pitt put a letter into my hands from Lord Hillsborough warmly soliciting his protection to Mr. Dunkin; and, if there was no objection to it, I rather thought Mr. Pitt seemed disposed to aid. I have since, either directly or indirectly, heard much in his favour through Lord Macartney, and Scot[t] the Chief Justice of Ireland, and the Salisbury family, and Sir James Stuart, all of whom are in some shape interested in him. I never heard any thing to his disadvantage; and, when Lord Cornwallis wrote so strongly in his favour, I thought it justice to him to transmit it. It is true the whole proceeds on the supposition of the promotion of one of the Judges there. I have no knowledge of any of them except what I derive from some correspondence with Jones, who is preparing a digest of the Indian law, which, if well executed, will be a curious and useful work. Sir Robert Chalmer’s character I only know from Lord Hawkesbury, who takes a warm part in his favour and speaks highly of him. Under those circumstances you will perceive I am very incompetent to judge of the propriety of passing them over; but, if Mr. Pitt and you feel the objections strong, I daresay you are in the right. Have you ever spoke to the Chancellor upon it?”

## W. W. GRENVILLE to the MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

1789, September 21. Whitehall.—“I have just received your letter of the 18th, which I wish to acknowledge without delay, to remove from your mind any idea that I supposed that, in this unfortunate business of Lord Strangford, you can have acted on grounds or feelings of personal resentment. What I meant by the expression was to put out of the case (as I fear in considering it justly we must put out of the case) what you state of Lord Strangford’s personal conduct in the transaction with Fitz-Herbert. I was not ignorant of the business, and it is certainly such as would justify not only personal, and individual, but public resentment on public grounds. I am afraid however that this cannot be assigned in this instance as the motive for the King’s withdrawing his bounty; and, if it cannot, the question of policy will remain where it was.

“I do not feel that the ground of poverty alone would be a reason for distinguishing this case from the others, though it certainly gives a greater handle for inflaming people’s passions. But I connect this with the other, and consider the light in which other people will view it, in

the case of pension granted to a peer in consequence of an address of the House of Lords, which address was grounded on the poverty of the person in whose behalf it was made.

"The argument which you state of the impolicy of giving to the two Houses the habit of granting pensions to themselves, and securing them by this mode against the chance of future events, appears to me to apply solely to the propriety of consenting to such address, but by no means to that of advising the King to refuse or withdraw his compliance with it. In truth the very reason why these addresses are most objectionable is because they stand on different grounds from other pensions, and are not revocable with the same facility.

"I have had no time yet to consult Pitt on the expedient which you suggest of opening a new negotiation. I give you therefore no decided opinion upon it, for the whole subject is of too much consequence; but I fear that the very circumstance of his former transaction with Fitz-Herbert makes it very unsafe and unwise to trust him, by making an opening to him of which he will be able to make so dangerous an use when this business comes forward next year.

"I cannot conceal from myself, in reading your letter, that it is written with an impression of my conduct in this business which I cannot help flattering myself you will, on consideration, not continue to feel. It surely is not necessary for me to clear myself to you from any suspicion of *indifference to your personal feelings* on a subject of this nature, or indeed of any other. But I do seriously and deliberately think that I consult your personal feelings much more by stating to you with truth and freedom, as it is my duty to do, the consequences which I apprehended from this measure, than by concealing them from you till you have the mortification of seeing by the event what, if you had known it earlier, you might have prevented. You seem indeed to doubt the reality of the clamour which I mention. I can only refer you on this subject to Hobart, though as I told you before, that is not the only quarter, nor the first, from whence I heard it.

"You shall hear from me again as soon as I have conversed with Pitt on the idea of your new negotiation; but, for God's sake, do not, because the subject itself is and must be unpleasant to us both, mix in your communications upon it intimations which would not be so painful to me as they are, if they were in any degree merited." *Copy.*

W. W. GRENVILLE to the LORD CHANCELLOR [THURLOW].

*Private.*

1789, September 22. Wimbledon.—"I am extremely sorry to break in upon you again so soon after having troubled you so much at length on the subjects of my last letter. But I feel myself under the necessity of transmitting to your Lordship the papers which I now inclose, without any delay. The doubt which was mentioned to me by the Recorder had been stated to him by Mr. Justice Gould, and it was evidently impossible, in a case of life and death, to hesitate a moment in giving opportunity for the examination of any point of this nature, which was thought of weight by any well informed man, but particularly by one of the Judges.

"Speaking merely with a view to the effect of this delay, it has certainly been very unfortunate. The obstinate and hardened contempt of the King's mercy shewn, in open court, by these unhappy wretches is certainly of very bad and dangerous example. The resolution of executing only one of the three, in hopes that some effect might still be produced on



the minds of the others, was unquestionably a striking instance of lenity. And it is much to be feared that our having found ourselves under the necessity of countermanding this execution, and of suspending it at least for a time, will give an impression among this class of people that so glaring an instance of a contempt of the laws and civil government of the country, has not met with that punishment which would naturally have been expected to follow it.

"This was however an evil which could not be avoided. It remains only to consider what steps it would be proper now to take; and, on that subject, I feel that I can only refer myself entirely to your Lordship's judgment, both as to the grounds on which this doubt is founded, and as to the best mode of bringing it to a decision." *Copy.*

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, September 22. Teignmouth.—"I have nothing to add to my former letter except my sincere regrets that a proposition so unexpected, and so painful to my feelings, should have made it necessary for me to state to you very strongly my opinion that it should not have been made to me, particularly as you was informed of the personal misconduct of this man to Fitz-Herbert, and consequently to my official situation. I differ with you *in toto* as to the propriety or possibility of assigning that reason for the recall of the pension. I do not know that it would in any case be wise to give any reason; but, if it should, I shall certainly insist that this should be given. I do not wish that any negotiation should be opened with Lord Strangford, and I have sacrificed much of my private feelings in the proposal which I made, and which I felt to be in compliance with your wishes, that some mode should be found for the re-grant; and I have pointed out the only solution which appears reconcileable to my personal honour. I certainly do not mean to wound your feelings, but I cannot but lament that we should differ so much upon the point of view in which I see this proposal. As to the event to which you refer, I have tasted so bitterly the cup of mortification, that I am necessarily very indifferent to all that can now happen to me as a public man; for I assure you that a vote of censure can no more encrease, than a vote of approbation could relieve that which incessantly preys upon me; but I will acknowledge that such a marked dissatisfaction from Mr. Pitt and from you, and such a proposal in the moment of my resignation, adds very considerably to my pain. I have now only to add that having, as a public servant of the Crown, exercised my discretion to the best of my judgment, and having taken this step when I expected to meet the Parliament, from whom you seem to apprehend so much, I am ready to relieve those apprehensions by the only step in my power; but I beg that I may not hear more upon a subject so unpleasant to me.

"Mr. Hobart has probably shewn you his list both of the present and future House of Commons. I must state that I think it less sanguine than it might be, but I wish that Mr. Pitt and you should observe that there exists at this hour (including Lord Loftus's 8 members) a decided majority of near 50 members who may be depended upon, except on particular questions where their election politics oblige them (as in England) to shuffle. You will remember that this majority is near one 5th of the House usually voting, and that of these, the bulk are held by actual favours; and that, excepting Colonel St. George and one other member (a Mr. Chatterton), not one *specific promise*, except for peerage

at a future day, remains unsatisfied. Upon this view Hobart agrees with me that though it is probable that the sessions may be warm, yet there will be little real difficulty in it; but I must explicitly state to you that I am ready to take any measure which may appear likely to ease my successor, and certainly mean to entail upon him every advantage; though I do not expect or wish from him the adoption of my opinions, prejudices, or system, further than he may himself think wise or honourable.

"I am sorry to hear from Hobart that you had not been well; I trust however that you are better. As to my own health it is still uncertain, and at times reminds me most painfully of the necessity of the step which I have taken."

#### LORD THURLOW to W. W. GRENVILLE.

N. D. [1789, September 23-30].—"This case has nothing to do with a respite during pleasure, which is usually, I believe, ordered by the Secretary of State in his own name, communicating the King's pleasure; and which may therefore be superseded in the same manner, especially where the first order is indefinite.

"In the present instance the first question is, what is the operation of a Secretary of State's letter *signifying the King's intention of mercy*; for that is the point, I believe, to which the statute of 4, George I. applies; though, between the preamble and the directory parts of such letters, it seems to be wholly omitted.

"Within these last four-score years, more statutes have passed on this subject than I remember the number of; and it would be too hazardous, at this distance from books, to give definitive advice on a matter so important as the life of a subject on one hand, or the example of punishment on the other.

"The King's intention of mercy being signified by a Secretary of State, the gaol-delivery was in use (no matter under what idea of law) to take this sort of notice of it; they let the prisoner out upon security to perform such condition as should be inserted in the pardon, when the same should proceed legally under the Great Seal. And that form is still referred to in the Secretary's letter; though, by statute, the Court is authorised to allow the pardon notwithstanding it wants the great Seal; that is, for the purpose of founding upon it an award of transportation.

"This having been introduced above 80 years, it would be proper to examine the usual forms of proceeding upon it with some attention, before any material question is disposed of.

"The warrant, that is, the signification of his Majesty's intention of mercy, is still addressed to the Recorder and Sheriffs; whereas, always supposing the matter intire, one would have expected it to be addressed to the Court by its proper style, and also to the Sheriff.

"The instrument seems to belong to the prisoner; and that, properly, it should be on his carriage; but I believe it is usually transmitted to the Court, and properly, because the prisoner has no [domicile?].

"In the Court one would imagine it should be inrolled, and serve as the foundation for a warrant to call the prisoner up, by plea or suggestion on record, to crave the allowance, analogously to the manner of pleading a pardon at the common law; whereupon the allowance should be entered of record as the foundation for the award of transportation, which should be recorded in like manner.

"If, declining the condition, the prisoner should refuse to crave the allowance, an entry of that should be made on record, as the foundation for an award of execution.

"In this view of the matter, the Secretary of State has nothing to do with it after issuing the original warrant, or, more properly, the signification of the King's mercy; any more than the Chancellor would in the case of a pardon issued under the Great Seal. And this, in all views, is so much my opinion, that I can by no means advise the King to order execution; or even to declare that his intention of mercy ceases, or is suspended; for I do not think the King able in law to recall this act of mercy, more than he could a pardon.

"In short the business seems to rest wholly with the Old Bailey. And I should have advised it to be left there, if a warrant of execution, and a week's respite had not been issued since; which, in effect, create all that remains of the question, namely, whether those two last mentioned instruments should be recalled; or whether a respite during the King's pleasure should not issue for the avowed purpose of referring the general question to the Judges. It will be observed that nothing like a respite during pleasure has yet issued; though the original warrant seems to have been considered in that light; and this was in truth the Scottish case, and that on which the Lord Chief Baron Smythe pronounced, somewhat hastily as it appears.

"Perhaps the more correct as well as shorter way would be to supersede the warrant of execution of the 21st of September; but, as a delicate business seems to have got into some confusion, it will probably be thought a safer and kinder way of treating the matter, to issue an indefinite respite, that the Judges may decide upon it. But in the choice of these two methods, I don't see why you should have any difficulty in complying with the wishes of the Court.

"The conclusion I have now submitted to you would have been still more satisfactory, if the original warrant, which follows the established form in the Office, instead of barely reciting the King's intention, had been an indicative expression of it."

#### W. W. GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1789, September 24. Holwood.—"Mr. Grenville begs leave to inform your Majesty that one of the Sheriffs of London called upon him yesterday to inform him that the three convicts were all desirous of availing themselves of your Majesty's gracious offer of pardon on the condition of transportation, and of making such submission for their former obstinacy as your Majesty should think proper to require.

"Mr. Grenville begs leave to submit to your Majesty whether it may not be right that their respite should be continued from time to time, and that they should make their submission in court at the next Old Bailey session." *Copy.*

#### GEORGE III. to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, September 25. Windsor.—"The three convicts having now availed themselves of the lenity shewn them, and ready to make such submission for their obstinacy and [as?] may for example be thought necessary, the proposal of Mr. Grenville that they should have respites from time to time that their submission may be made publicly in court at the next session of the Old Bailey is the best method of preventing similar difficulties with future convicts; it may be advisable for the

Lord Chancellor to lay the Act concerning transportation before the judges, Mr. Justice Gould having started a difficulty, that the mode of acting on any similar occasion may be clearly ascertained."

THE MARQUIS OF STAFFORD TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, September 27. Trentham.—"I was desired by the justices the other day, when I was at Stafford on business relating to the new gaol which we are building, and which will cost the country above twenty thousand pounds, to transmit to you the inclosed state of our convicts, where, in the present bad state of the old gaol, there is constant apprehension of sickness and escapes. The convicts really have not so much room to lye in as the mercenary African merchant *used* to allow his negroes. The justices therefore desire, if it is possible, that you will dispose of some of these miserable and desperate people.

"I cannot conclude this letter without informing you that I am convinced that you may be a very useful instrument in bringing about that reconciliation between two persons that, by every true lover of his king and country, is devoutly to be wished.

*Postscript.*—"The Chancellor left me two days since and will probably be in London tomorrow; from expressions from him concerning you, I have formed the above conjecture."

HENRY DUNDAS TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, September 29. Edinburgh.—"I am truly sorry to acquaint you that, by a letter from his son, I have this instant learned that the Lord President of the Court of Session died on Sunday last. Lord Advocate will of course be looked upon for his successor, and, in that event, I take it for granted nobody will be preferred to the Solicitor as Advocate. My near connexion with him forbids me from saying what I think of him. If I had been to chalk out his fortune to my own wishes, perhaps I should for his sake not have wished that situation for a year or two; but there is the less objection as he meant, at any rate, to come into Parliament the first general election. If Mr. Dundas is appointed Advocate, I have not the least scruple of recommending Mr. Robert Blair to the office of Solicitor General. I know not a better man, or an abler lawyer. I have troubled you with these few lines, and have not time to write another before the post goes; so that I trust to your communicating the President's death to the Chancellor."

W. W. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF STAFFORD.

1789, September 29. Whitehall.—"We have been for a considerable time taking measures for sending a fresh embarkation of convicts to Botany Bay, and I am assured that I may now expect the transports to be ready in the course of a fortnight or three weeks from this time. This will enable us to relieve the gaols, which are extremely crowded in every part of England. But until this takes place, it will, I fear, be impossible to remove any of the convicts from Stafford, as the hulks are all quite filled.

"It would give me great pleasure to see any prospect of being of use in the manner which your Lordship mentions, as I am persuaded it would be one of the most essential services that could be rendered to the king or to the country." *Copy.*

## THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, September 30. [Teignmouth.]—"I write to you simply to acknowledge the receipt of your last letter. I can have no wish to renew the subject of Lord Strangford by opening a new negotiation, and I again repeat that I see no necessity for it; but possibly Hobart may not have told you what passed between Lord Carhampton and Lord Strangford in consequence of which that letter was writ. If therefore *you* wish for a negotiation *without risk*, I should think that there was an opening.

"You will of course let me have the earliest intimation of my successor that I may settle the very little business which I should wish to transmit before his actual appointment. You will not suppose me to wish to interfere in that arrangement, by throwing out to you some few names that have occurred to me as eligible; of these Lord Graham is in my mind decidedly the fittest of all. Perhaps you may not have thought of Lord Euston, or Lord Aylesford, either of whom I think preferable to Lord Harrington, or to Lord Effingham, whose names had occurred to us at Stowe; or than Lord Winchelsea who has been talked of in the papers. I am fully aware of the difficulty, but I trust that for the sake of the public service and my private ease, it will not be long delayed. Hobart will, I am sure, explain to you how much the appointment presses.

"I have writ to Hobart to recommend to him to write to Lords Belmore and Conyngham for their new titles, and I should think that we should consider Lord Welles's pretensions, who will certainly be strong enough in the new Parliament to press this distinction with advantage, and we may as well get his seat by doing it now.

"You should take the King's pleasure upon a Lieutenant-General to our Irish staff. Lord Ross's time is expired, and he ought not to have any mark of *favour* after his conduct. I understood you that Ward is the man. Major General Lyons' time expires likewise, but as he is really very useful, he may be continued (if the King pleases) till the spring. In truth the term of two years is too short for the Major-Generals, many of whom hardly learn the routine of our duty before they quit us; and the other two Major Generals are in the infantry line and know nothing of cavalry.

"As to Sloper's request it is most improper; his Cornet (though his commission is dated June 1788) was not appointed till June 1789. I have however sent the case to General Pitt, who understands with me that he is to object in all such cases.

"We think of staying here till Saturday the 10th, and then set our faces to Stowe, as I really am not equal to the fatigue of standing at a levée, not being able from weakness in my back to walk 100 yards, or to stand without support 5 minutes. I think however that I am better in the last week; you will explain this to the King."

"I wait impatiently for the effect of this appeal which the French King seems to have made from the National Assembly to the people, but I take it for granted that all resistance is at an end.

"Is the Duke of Dorset out of the question for Ireland? In many points I think he would succeed, and his French career seems closed."

## THE SAME to the SAME.

1789, October 1. [Teignmouth.]—"You will receive by this post two official letters respecting the Engineers and Artillery. Upon the first I have nothing to add but that it is earnestly pressed by General

Pitt, and that, in the arrangement, I know nothing of the parties but their character, and that the final succession is in fact left by the plan to the Duke of Richmond. The Artillery arrangement is proposed by General Stratton, and is eligible in every point of view. I wish that these subjects may be dispatched, because it will enable me to give the vacant commissions to Lady Buckingham's two pages, who are her first cousins and in want of them. I trust therefore that you will oblige me as soon as you can."

**THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.**

1789, October 3. Teignmouth.—"The newspapers have this day announced to me the death of the Duke of Chandos. I am persuaded that you did not think that this event could interest me, or I should have had an earlier intimation of it from you; but I feel the greatest difficulty in writing to you upon this subject for reasons which must be obvious to you, notwithstanding the unlimited confidence with which I have always communicated with you.

"I have now six weeks since apprized you of my intention of not returning to the government of Ireland, which I should conscientiously have done if I could have flattered myself that my strength of mind or body had been equal to it; and I have studied to make this step, both in the manner and in the time of it, as easy to Mr. Pitt as I could. At the same time you know the bitter reflexions which have preyed so deeply on my mind in consequence of the unmerited neglect which the King has so strongly shewn to me for a conduct which, to say the least of it, was honourable towards him, and steadily faithful to the just rights of Great Britain. It has however so happened that, neither in the first moments of convalescence, nor in the moments of his recovery, nor in the moments in which he was bountiful of his graces elsewhere by office or by promotion to those in office, nor when Mr. Pitt notified to him ten days since the state of my health which made it impossible for me to return, has the King thought my services entitled to favour. You will say that though this may be true, yet that it is equally true that it did not depend upon Mr. Pitt; and to that answer I have acquiesced, because I do not think he would, and I know that you would not deceive me. But the lapse of this great office must open the means of soothing these feelings of disappointment in my mind, and of apparant neglect in the eyes of both kingdoms, as it must give the means of some arrangement, or of pressing upon the King the indecency of suffering the one amongst his servants who personally risked and bore the most, to remain neglected and forgotten. I know so little what is going on in the political world that I do not speak upon sure grounds, but I imagine that the persons in your contemplation for this employment must be either the Duke of Dorset or the Duke of Leeds. The first will naturally wish to leave France, and the last has talked openly since his father's death of his wish to quit the seals. Now as to either of these offices I possibly should not be thought of, because I certainly do not think of myself, even if my wretched state of health did not make such an undertaking impracticable; but the opportunity might occur of pressing the King to promote me in the peerage, as the strongest mark of his equal regard to me as well as to those whom he has rewarded, and whom by this opening he probably will reward; and the extinction of the Duke of Chandos's title obviates his objection to the multiplication of this high rank; the Dukes of Cleveland and Kingston having been already replaced by Northumberland and Montagu. I think I can say most

truly that personal vanity has no share in this request; I have sickened of such nonsense, but personal feelings of another sort make me most anxious for a testimony of this nature to my public services.

"If this is impracticable, I feel the latter sensation so strongly, that, although in many points of view the office of Lord Steward is very much below my wishes or pretensions, I would accept it as a stepping stone which would let me down from my present situation with rather less disgrace (from apparent neglect) than that which I feel must, under all the present circumstances, accompany my retreat from Ireland, unthanked, unrewarded, and supposed from thence to be at variance with the King's Government. After stating this I will add that if you should, after communication with Mr. Pitt, be obliged to write to me that the King will not do the first, and that the second arrangement would materially distress Government from any considerations which you may be to state to me, I certainly shall not think of sacrificing the most essential interests of Mr. Pitt's administration by exacting (if I may use the term) that compliance with my wishes; but I owe to you, to him, and to myself, this explicit statement of my present feelings, of my wishes, and of my intentions whatever may be the result."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1789, October 4. Teignmouth.—"I have just received yours of the 2nd, and the post is going out immediately. I think your choice of the Duke of B — is perfectly good, but I have no idea of his acceptance; Lord Graham is in so many points so much more eligible than Lord Westmoreland, that I cannot conceive how you can doubt between them. I should think Lord Euston much preferable to the latter, but upon all this I speak from a general and not from a particular knowledge. I trust however that *it* will soon be determined.

"I remain very anxious for Marzon's return with your answer, not for the sake of the Lord Steward's office which is in so many points below me, but from the pain which I shall feel in seeing this given as a reward, and added to the list of those so distinguished, whilst the King's neglect of me is so strongly marked. This is the only consideration which makes me think of this staff; but I again repeat that, whatever be the result, I shall always conceive that Pitt will have done fairly by me in the object which I do wish for; for surely Lord Sydney and Duke of Dorset will have retired very differently marked from me."

#### W. W. GRENVILLE to the MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

1789, October 5. Holwood.—"With respect to the other point (that of a Dukedom) I need not say how desirous I am, and have always been, that the King would consent to comply with your wishes in this respect. But it has, as you well know, been more than once mentioned to him by Pitt, and the objections which he has already stated to it, whether they are or not the true reasons which decide him, are of a nature which the death of the Duke of Chandos does not seem in any degree to remove. And I am perfectly persuaded that this is a point which nothing but the utmost extremities could carry, even if they could do it, or if you could wish them to be resorted to for that purpose.

"I am grieved to see the weight which you allow to such impressions as you dwell upon in your letter. There is no possible mark of honour or distinction that could accompany your retreat from the government of

Ireland which would not rejoice me, both in itself, and in proportion as it relieved your mind from any uneasiness. But surely, if you will consider the subject in a manner to do justice to yourself, that retreat stands in a much better and more dignified light with a view both to your own feelings, and to the public opinion, when placed on its true ground, that of health, than when disguised by any such stepping stone as you mention. The Dukedom would certainly be a mark of distinction and reward, but it surely cannot be necessary to justify your own conduct to yourself, and I am sure it would neither raise you in point of consequence or of public opinion. Your being supposed to be at variance with the King's government is, as you must feel, a Grub-street lie, which does not obtain credit with the lowest class of coffeehouse readers ; and, if it did, would be destroyed by the notoriety of the contrary in a very few months at furthest. But surely none of these considerations ought to be suffered to weigh upon your mind for a moment, much less to depress your spirits or to retard your recovery, which is, I am sure, delayed principally by your giving way to this sort of reflections. In this persuasion there is nothing that depended on me that I would not do to remove them. But I feel that the true cure must be looked for in your own mind ; and I can only entreat you to exert yourself for that purpose. I entreat this for your own sake, and I entreat it for my own also ; for I can with truth assure you that what I have seen of these impressions, and of the effect which you suffer them to have upon your mind, has given me, and now gives me, more uneasiness and pain than I have ever felt on any other account.

"I could dwell long upon these topics for they press much upon my mind ; but I could only repeat what I have already said, that, in a situation where everything of affluence, rank, and domestic happiness seems to conspire to make you happy, you suffer the peace and tranquillity of your mind to be destroyed by considerations which are hardly worth your bestowing one thought upon. The sincerity and warmth of my affection make me speak to you on this point with earnestness, because I feel it so, and because I am vexed to the heart when I see you throwing away, as I think, your health, and with it your happiness, which I feel to be so completely within your own reach." *Copy.*

[The first part of the foregoing letter, now omitted, has been published by the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos.]

#### W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, [October.—] Downing Street.—"I have just had a conversation with Lord Effingham who very cheerfully accepts. He expresses a wish to have full instructions on all points which may require any, of which I apprehend there are very few ; but I imagine you will wish to let him see the correspondence, in order to judge of the present state of the island, and the sooner you can see him for that purpose the better."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1789, October.—"I am extremely happy in the good account which I have just received from you.

"I return the Honduras papers. Tho' I feel the force of many of the arguments, I cannot satisfy myself that they sufficiently support the construction for which we should be to contend. If it suits you, I wish you would propose to the Chancellor to have a Cabinet at one tomorrow. Half an hour's conversation will dispose of my doubts one way or other, and we may then take the opportunity of discussing Flat Island."



## The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1780, October 7. Teignmouth.—“I shall certainly relieve you from the pain of hearing again from me upon the subject of my public services, after the bitter mortification which I yesterday felt in reading your letter, referring me to my own reflexions and to my domestic happiness as the most natural relief to my mind after them, in the moment in which the King’s servants, by going before the wishes of the Duke of Dorset, have added that instance to the case of Lord Sydney, in proof of their opinion upon the justice, honour, and policy of distinguishing by particular graces those who have served in high stations; and in the moment in which every species of reward is given to those, in and out of office, who have stood fairly by the Crown in the late struggle. I will not degrade myself by the comparison of my conduct and services but conceiving from your letter that Mr. Pitt does not imagine that the King sees those merits sufficiently strong to induce him to separate my claims from those who may have looked to the same object without any public merit; and seeing now no line open in which he can relieve me from that exception, which you tell me is so honourable and so dignified; I must strive to reconcile this treatment to my mind by endeavouring to find one single instance in which such an exception has ever been deemed a reward for personal risk, for unshaken firmness, and for loss of health in the King’s service; or in which it has been deemed politically wise that the King should neglect in so marked a manner a Governor or Foreign Minister, who, in the most important crisis, has staked so much by asserting and supporting the King’s personal rights, and those of the crown of Great Britain.

“In stating this I do not mean to break in upon the private affection which subsists between us, for I am sure that you have done all in your power to remove this impression so fatal to my peace; but meaning to relieve you after this letter from all private discussion upon this subject so painful to you, I think it fair to inform you that the question of my situation appears to me materially altered since we conversed upon it at Stowe; and that I do not intend to acquiesce in the line of exception so strongly marked against me by the high distinctions, which have so clearly spoken to the public the King’s sense of the merits of others.

“I now close this correspondence with you assuring you, that I feel every degree of love personally to you.”

“I quit this place on Saturday, and shall only lose one day at Burton Pynsent in my way to Stowe, where I shall arrive about Thursday.

*Postscript.*—“I open my letter again to explain that no part of my observations are founded upon a wish for that staff which, in the moment of my writing to you on the subject, I conceived so much beneath my claims. That is now wholly out of the question; but the other object shall be formally proposed to his Majesty; and if he persists in his refusal of a Dukedom to me after the proofs which I have given of attachment and duty to him, by personal risk, by meeting the censure of both Houses of Parliament, and the mass of obloquy thrown upon me for that conduct, I shall resent with every degree of open violence that exception which his late graces to others now make so glaring; but I again repeat that I shall not change, for any injury, my public measures or opinions.”

The SAME to the SAME.

1789, October 11. Taunton.—“I return you your letter of attorney properly executed, and sincerely hope that it may secure to you some-

thing out of that wreck. I am not surprised at the Duke of B.'s refusal, but I shall be very much so at Lord Westmoreland's. Lord Mornington is anxious that Arthur Wesley should continue *aide du camp upon pay*; but I must recommend R. Williams, who has older claims upon me, and therefore I will trouble you to give Mornington the earliest notice that he may apply in time.

"I am going to dine at Lady Chatham's, and tomorrow at Butleigh; this will prevent me reaching Stowe till Thursday."

GEORGE III. to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, October 13. Windsor.—"I have read the paper Mr. Grenville has drawn up concerning the new modelling the constitution of the Province of Quebec, and trust, that as the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Pitt agree with him on the leading points, that it has been drawn up with as much as attention to the interest of the old inhabitants who, by the capitulation, have every degree of right to be first attended to, as its ever having been started in Parliament will permit. I owe I am sorry any change is necessary, for I am aware to please all concerned is impossible, and that if things could have gone on in its present state for some years, it would have been very desirable."

W. W. GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1789, October 15. St. James's Square.—"Mr. Grenville begs leave humbly to submit for your Majesty's approbation the draft of a letter to Lord Buckingham, in answer to his letter in which he requested your Majesty's permission to resign his office on account of the situation of his health, which renders him unable to discharge the duties of it.

"Mr. Grenville feels some difficulty in presuming to lay a draft of this sort before your Majesty on account of his near connection with the person to whose conduct it relates. At the same time he cannot help flattering himself that the expressions which he has made use of are not dictated by his partiality, but that your Majesty will think them proper to be used by the person, whoever he might be, thro' whom Lord Buckingham was to receive the notification of your Majesty's acceptance of his resignation." *Copy.*

W. W. GRENVILLE to the MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

[Draft inclosed in the preceding letter, with the alterations made afterwards.]

1789, October 15. Whitehall.—"Having had the honour of laying before his Majesty your Lordship's letter of the 30th of September last, in which your Lordship requests that, on account of the situation of your Lordship's health, his Majesty would permit you to resign the government of Ireland, I am commanded by his Majesty to acquaint you that, in compliance with your request, His Majesty has accepted your resignation, and has thought proper to declare the Earl of Westmorland his Lieutenant-General and General Governor of that kingdom.

"His Majesty was graciously pleased to express his concern at the present state of your Lordship's health, which renders you unable any longer to serve His Majesty in that situation; and I am commanded to signify to your Lordship His Majesty's Royal approbation of your Lordship's attachment and zeal for his service in the discharge of the important duties of the station which you have filled; \*(and particularly I have His Majesty's express direction to acquaint your Lordship with the satisfaction which his Majesty has felt from your attention to maintain the honor and dignity of his crown, and to preserve the constitutional connection between his two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, under the interesting circumstances which were occasioned by his Majesty's late indisposition.)" *Copy.*

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, October 16. Stowe.—"I write to Lord Westmorland, in the civilest terms, to offer every communication and assistance, but Hobart's appointment relieves my mind much. After this evening, I sign no official paper, save the October successions, which have been sent to me by General Pitt and must bear date that day.

"I have enclosed to Hobart a strange performance from Lord Clonmel for your information. I have already given my opinion to his Lordship in my answer, which he will shew you."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1789, October 17. Stowe.—"In discussing this day with Mr. Hobart the various arrangements and engagements to which the King's government in Ireland stood pledged, I found, with the most serious regret and alarm, that difficulties had occurred upon the subject of Colonel St. George's negotiation, which did not appear to him likely to be surmounted, particularly as it seemed doubtful whether it *could be proposed* to the King. I will not allow myself to suppose that it could ever have been in your contemplation to place me in a situation with Colonel St. George which no man of honour can submit to. I must remind Mr. Pitt and you that, in a moment most critical to the King's government, and when I was encouraged by every assurance which letters could convey to me to hazard every thing for the purpose of saving, or rather recovering, the House of Commons from the scene of anarchy in which it was engaged, I thought it most material to detach St. George from Lord Shannon to whom he stood engaged by old promise, and to secure him to the support of Government, by promising to him the office of Quarter-Master-General of Ireland, which I had then the means of vacating by an arrangement with Lieutenant-Colonel Fawcitt, and which had *in every* instance, been allowed by the King to be held without any other commission whatsoever. The delay induced Colonel Fawcitt to retract his engagement, and I was obliged to propose to Colonel St. George the office of Inspector of Recruits, which was held by Major Hobart precisely on the same tenure, without any other commission. To this his Majesty has refused to accede, and has directed me to find some other mode of gratifying Mr. St. George. I have proposed that mode by an arrangement with Lieutenant-Colonel Cradock, and in the fullest confidence that every attention would be paid to my positive and

---

*Note.*—\* "The words between crotchets [are] added in consequence of the King's answer to my letter inclosing this draft."

specific promise, to which my faith and character as a public and as a private man stand pledged, I have put it out of my power to correspond officially with you by my resignation. I have stated to you the grounds and moment of making this promise. I had no private wish on the transaction, but should have conceived myself to have betrayed the King's service if I had hesitated upon it at a time when I could not communicate with the King's servants upon the hourly changes which every day presented to me. I have therefore no favour to request, but claim as a right that this shall be proposed to the King, and that my engagement or the compensation proposed (with Colonel St. George's acquiescence) should be made good. You will therefore let me know, as soon as his Majesty shall have decided, what I am to expect upon that head; for if he refuses, I shall bless God that it will still be in my power to redeem my private faith and character as a gentleman, by making to Colonel St. George a compensation from my private fortune, equal to that which he and I have a right to expect as long as good faith is binding between man and man. I am sorry to be obliged to write in this style, but my credit is at stake, and I can propose no solution to this difficulty, *which ought not to have existed*. I forbear any comment upon this business, but content myself with stating the fact and desiring an answer, that I may take such steps towards Colonel St. George as my honour requires. I need not observe to you that I cannot do this without stating to him fully the circumstances of this transaction. I will still hope however that there may have [been] some mistake on this business; but if not, my line towards Colonel St. George is decided; and it is incumbent upon you to give me the earliest answer upon it which the nature of the subject will admit."

GEORGE III. to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, October 17. Windsor.—"The draught of an answer to the Marquiss of Buckingham's letter of resignation meets entirely with my sentiments; if I thought any alteration necessary it would be by more explicitly stating the allusion to his very commendable conduct during my late calamitous illness, which would render the approbation in effect more marked."

W. W. GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1789, October 17. St. James's Square.—"Mr. Grenville is extremely sorry to feel himself under the necessity of intruding upon your Majesty by presuming again to mention a subject which has been already submitted to your Majesty. And he begs leave humbly to assure your Majesty that nothing should induce him to do it but the strongest impression of the extreme importance of the request, which he now ventures to state again for your Majesty's consideration, respecting the disposal of the office of Inspector of Recruits in Ireland, which Mr. Hobart has now resigned. The assurances which were given to Lieutenant-Colonel St. George, of being to be recommended to your Majesty for some considerable and immediate mark of your Majesty's favour, were so strong and unequivocal, that the faith of your Majesty's government is in the strongest manner pledged to that gentleman. They were founded on his very meritorious and honourable conduct at the late interesting crisis, in which he took a steady and decided part in favour of the measures pursued by your Majesty's government, notwithstanding his former connection with some of these

persons, who, on that occasion, adopted a different line of conduct ; and in his adherence to these opinions, he rejected prospects of very considerable advantage to himself. It is under these circumstances, and on account of his great anxiety for the maintenance of the credit of your Majesty's government, and for the personal honour of those who stand pledged to Colonel St. George, that Mr. Grenville ventures again to submit to your Majesty the proposal of appointing that gentleman to be Inspector of Recruits with liberty to sell his commission. Mr. Grenville can, with the greatest truth, assure your Majesty, that nothing should have induced him to take the liberty of doing this, if Mr. Grenville was not himself perfectly informed, and thoroughly convinced of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of finding at this time any other mode of fulfilling the engagements which were taken with Colonel St. George. Mr. Grenville is aware of the force of the objection which your Majesty feels to the admission of this practice in general, and should therefore certainly not have presumed to trespass any further on your Majesty's goodness, with respect to it, if it were not for the extreme urgency and necessity of the case. But as the peculiar circumstances are such as he has ventured to state to your Majesty, Mr. Grenville feels himself encouraged to hope that your Majesty will be induced to allow of the rule being relaxed, in this instance, as the reward of very meritorious attachment, and as the only means of enabling your Majesty's government to redeem an engagement contracted at a period so critical in itself, and during which the service of every individual was of such extreme importance.

"From his extreme anxiety upon this subject, Mr. Grenville is fearful of troubling your Majesty by a repetition of what he has already said, but he feels it his duty to mention, that in consequence of your Majesty's former decision upon this subject, other modes of arrangement have been tried in vain. If Mr. Grenville could allow himself to hope that his personal solicitation could add any thing to the force of what he has already stated, he would venture to take the liberty of mentioning to your Majesty the strong and personal interest which he feels in the success of an application, which nothing but the circumstances which he has already mentioned could have induced him to renew.

"Mr. Grenville has, in obedience to your Majesty's gracious commands, made such an addition to his letter to Lord Buckingham, as was pointed out in your Majesty's note. And he is certain that the particular and marked approbation of Lord Buckingham's conduct in Ireland, which your Majesty has been graciously pleased to authorize him to signify, will be a source of the highest gratification to Lord Buckingham." *Copy.*

#### GEORGE III. to Mr. GRENVILLE.

1789, October 17. Windsor.—"Mr. Grenville's letter on the vacant Inspectorship of Recruits in Ireland is this instant arrived ; perhaps no subject could be stated wherein I feel more difficulty to comply ; for I feel that every argument of propriety lies against the proposed arrangement, it being diametrically in the teeth of every military rule practiced in this or any other service, and the late Lord Lieutenant ought not to have engaged himself in what he must, by every dispassionate person, be thought much to blame. But as he is now out of office, I will consent to this unfortunate measure ; but trust it will be remembered that it must never be brought forward as a precedent for continuing

this irregular practice; and Lieutenant-Colonel St. George must feel, that having sold his regimental commission, he can never have any claim to farther advancement in the army. I am aware how unpleasant it must be to Mr. Grenville to have renewed the subject, and he may rest assured that I have no reason to blame any part of his conduct."

W. W. GRENVILLE to the MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

1789, October 18. St. James's Square.—"Having written to the King to press, in the strongest terms that it was possible for me to use, that he would, in consequence of Hobart's having resigned the office of Inspector-General of Recruits, comply with your original recommendation of suffering St. George to be appointed to that office, allowing him at the same time to sell his regimental commission; I have now the pleasure of being able to tell you that the King has acceded, though reluctantly, to this proposal. This is certainly a full and complete discharge of any engagement which you could feel yourself under to St. George, being in fact equally beneficial to him with what you yourself suggested in the last instance.

"I can enter into no distinction of matter of *favour* or *right*, having always considered every exertion which any circumstances enabled me to make to promote your wishes, as a claim of right due to you from me on every ground of affection and gratitude."

*Postscript*.—"Hobart writes to day to St. George to announce the arrangement, and I hope to send it over tomorrow." *Copy*.

HENRY DUNDAS to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, October 18. Melville Castle.—"I have your letter of the 14th, I am obliged by your kind attention to me, but there are many circumstances both public and private which must prevent me from entertaining any wish respecting the President's chair. It was certainly for many years the ultimate object of my ambition, and I would not speak true if I was not to admit that I see it pass by me, both on occasion of the former and present vacancy, with considerable regret. It is a situation of great respect, and if the duties of it are ably and conscientiously discharged, it is a situation of great dignity and utility to the public service. I could not however accept of it at present without acting unfairly to the Government with which I am acting, and dishonourably to the pretensions of the present Advocate. You are a better judge than I can be, of part of this proposition, but I am disposed to believe, without arrogating too much to myself, that I could not at present leave my share in the government of India without some inconvenience to the public service. But I speak with more confidence when I state that my secession from all political life at this time would be a very fatal step to the strength and hold Government has of Scotland. It is unnecessary to enter into the reasons, but it is a truth that a variety of circumstances happen to concur in my person, to render me a cement of political strength to the present Administration, which, if once dissolved, would produce very ruinous effects. I feel and state this to you with infinite regret, for I do not see a speedy remedy for it, and the situation to me grows every day, as I advance in years, more irksome and disagreeable, and, in truth, takes from me every comfort and enjoyment I have while I am in Scotland. But if I was to give it up, the activity of the adherents of Opposition would, under the sanction of the name of the Prince of Wales, gain a strength which would become irresistible;

and, in the meantime, the Treasury and your Office would be kept in constant hot water, amidst the jarrings and jealousies and counteracting pretensions of the great men of the country.

"But, if all these considerations could with propriety, in the present instance, be sacrificed to my happiness and repose and dignified retirement, attention to the present Advocate would render it totally impossible. When I was dismissed from the King's service, he was at that time acting with me as Solicitor-General. His regard for the general principles of government which at first constituted the present Administration, joined perhaps to his personal attachment to me, induced him not only to refuse the Advocate's gown, but to resign the Solicitor's which he held. In like manner when the question of the Regency came forward last winter, his adherence to our cause left to him no prospect, as then appeared, but that of retiring to the situation of a private barrister, in which he would certainly have grown grey, without the means or prospect of a dignified retirement. You know how much it is my opinion that no one opportunity should be omitted of marking, with favour and honour, those whose conduct was distinguished with fidelity and firmness on that occasion; and, under that feeling, you will concur in being of opinion that I could not interfere with the Advocate's pretensions to the President's chair, without doing what my own mind and the sentiments of the world at large ought to consider as ungenerous and dishonourable.

"I have troubled you with so long a letter on this subject to satisfy you that I am neither actuated on the present occasion by folly nor false ambition. I assure you the recollection of a Rigby and a Welbore Ellis are never out of my mind as a warning to leave the bustle of politics, and the House of Commons, before the vigour of your body and the activity of your mind leave you. I therefore conclude with earnestly recommending you to proceed in the arrangement as first proposed, and which, on account of the near approach of the term, ought not to be a moment delayed."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1789, October 19. Melville Castle.—"A Mr. John Hockbat is dead. He possesses two small offices, Clerk to the Mint, and Clerk to the Register of . . . ? I believe there are two old recommendations of mine at your Office for them; the first to Mr. William Bell, the second to Mr. James Newbigging, both writers in Edinburgh. I shall write to you again in a day or two in case any thing should occur to render it proper to change these recommendations for any other more urgent application. I am not sure on second thoughts whether the warrant for the Clerk of the Mint flows from your Office or the Treasury. I have wrote to Steele about it. The office is not forty pounds value, and I have been kept at home this whole forenoon pestered with letters about it."

#### W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

Private.

1789, October 22. Burton Pynsent.—"I see there is a new opening by Lord Waldegrave's death. I have also had a new application from Lord Winchelsea, on the report that Lord Buckingham would not return to Ireland, wishing to give up his present office for any that might

become vacant. This has led me to think of a different plan of arrangement which I enclose. If the post of Master of the Horse to the Queen is better than the Bedchamber it would be a good way of taking Lord Fauconberg off our hands. If not, Lord Delawarr seems the most likely person to be fixed upon, and either will make an opening for Lord Wentworth. The Treasury would, from what I have heard, gratify Lord Gower, and it is making him part of the Government, even more than the Embassy; and Lord Winchelsea would do extremely well at Paris. For the other vacancy in the Bedchamber I see no candidate with any strong pretensions; and as Lord Macclesfield has taken it into his head to apply for some office, in consequence of Lord Parker's being turned out by the Prince, I think he would do as well as any, unless Lord Thanet could be prevailed upon to take it. I send you all these *speculations* to turn in your mind, and make use of as you see occasion, if the conversation in the closet should turn on these vacancies before I return, which will, I hope, not be till Saturday sen'night.

"I enclose an application which seems properly to belong to you or the Secretary at War. I have only returned a general answer, and know nothing of the merit of the parties either political or military, but the object seems not to be unreasonable. I also send you a letter from Honiton, which certainly comes within the province of your Department from which you are the most plagued, and which I ought to have given you before I left town. Sir G. Yonge can, of course, tell you who the writer is; and if you think any thing should be done in consequence, you will be so good to write to him, or let me know what I shall say."

R. HOBART to W. W. GRENVILLE.

*Private.*

1789, November 3. Dublin.—"I have by this day's post enclosed an official letter to Lord Westmorland for his signature, applying for the advancement of the Lords Belmore, Conyngham, and Loftus to the rank of Viscounts; and I understand from Mr. Conyngham that he has written to Lord Sydney, desiring that he would put in a claim on the part of Lord Conyngham for precedence of Lord Belmore; stating, that had it not been for a mistake in signing the King's letters in 1780, Lord Conyngham being an old Viscount, his Barony, which was given in remainder to his nephew, would have taken place of the new creations; and that he had reason to expect that the mistake would be rectified on Lord Conyngham's advancement in the peerage. I find, however, that the King's letter for Lord Belmore's Barony is dated four days prior to Lord Conyngham's, and therefore I should apprehend that we cannot accede to Lord Conyngham's claim without great offence to Lord Belmore, which ought to be avoided. Should you be of that opinion, I must request you would write a civil letter upon the subject, stating the difficulty to be insurmountable. Lord Belmore, who is I believe in England, and to whom I have written to desire he would call upon you respecting his title, has desired to be Viscount Fermanagh; but I find, that *your friend*, Earl Verney, is also Viscount Fermanagh, and I do not conceive that he has consented to Lord Belmore's taking that title; indeed I am certain that he has not been spoken to about it. I have therefore left a blank in the official letter for Lord Belmore's title, which you will be so good as to have filled up."

"You will be surprised at finding neither Lord Welles' nor Lord Leitrim's name amongst those recommended for Viscountcies; but as I



found that either both, or neither of them could with prudence be sent over, I preferred the latter; first, because, we are certain of Lord Welles's support on account of his son's office; and, secondly, because Lord Leitrim having but one vote in the present Parliament, we might as well defer obliging him until the next."

GEORGE III. to W. PITT.

1789, November 7. Windsor.—"I have just received Mr. Pitt's letter on a subject which I thought I had so fully explained myself, that it would never have again been brought forward; but as Mr. Pitt desires me not to give him a final answer till he has personally laid this request before me, I will defer it till I see him on Wednesday."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, November 8. Stowe.—"I have just received your letter of yesterday, and I certainly feel it due to you, in return for the zeal and affection with which you have pressed this unhappy business, to spare your feelings upon my disappointment; but I must beg that when Mr. Pitt receives his Majesty's final negative on Wednesday, he would state explicitly that the only point of view in which I considered this feather as an object to me, was, and is, as a public testimony of his Majesty's approbation of my conduct, under circumstances to which I could not imagine what had formerly passed upon this subject could apply; and that it is impossible for me not to feel that this refusal will be considered by the public in both kingdoms as conveying his Majesty's sentiments upon my conduct in the government of Ireland. This declaration I feel necessary, because it does not seem fitting for my character that I should appear so anxious for such an object upon any other ground. As to the wisdom or propriety of my feelings which look for such a testimony I say nothing, because I find that we do not agree on that point; but I am still further convinced by every day's reflexion that the public service in Ireland will materially suffer from the public neglect shewn to the principal agent in the late busy scene; and that if my private feelings were (as they unfortunately cannot be) out of the question, I should not do honestly by you, if I did not state to you my conviction of this truth, that the King may not be uninformed of it. You are no stranger to the stories circulated in that kingdom upon the subject of my resignation, and you probably do not imagine that this event will tend to remove them; and if so, I do not pretend to be personally indifferent to the obloquy or attack which will be encouraged by the treatment which I have received; but I will venture to prophecy that his Majesty will be to feel the effects of it longer and (ultimately) more sensibly than I shall.

"It only remains now for me to be explicit (as far as my mind is made up) upon my conduct in consequence of this refusal; and my line is determined to make it as public as I can, by stating that I requested this mark of the King's satisfaction, never having received any intimation upon that subject till officially from you after my resignation; and, having been refused, I conceive it necessary to justify my conduct by this public complaint. I feel the consequences of this step (which I shall mark more strongly by the resignation of the Lieutenancy of this county;) but I consider it as rendered unavoidable, although it is decisive upon any political prospect of my future life. I repeat to you that it will not be possible by neglect or any other circumstance to drive me to oppose

measures or men with whom I have acted ; but the King makes it impossible for me to hold the smallest political situation, so long as he leaves me not only unnoticed, but marked by a refusal, and consequently exposed to every consequence of a political system and conduct which this refusal will appear so strongly to disavow. I need not add the assurances of the strong regret which I feel to a step which appears to put us at a distance in our public lines. My first object will be to do every justice to your exertions on my behalf, and to state that it is my earnest wish that the King's injustice to me, and my conduct upon it, may not affect your situation and prospects ; but the unfortunate misconception of my pretensions to the first vacancy of the two Cabinet offices of Lord President or Privy Seal ; the strong marks of favour lately given to persons holding office and retiring from office, and certainly not more entitled than myself to distinctions for their public conduct ; and the King's subsequent refusal have so entirely altered my political situation, that I conceive myself not only at liberty, but obliged by these circumstances, to disclaim any connexion with the King's government save that of great personal goodwill to Mr. Pitt for his uniform support whilst I was in Ireland, and for his endeavours to persuade his Majesty to this act of justice ; and of the sincerest affection and love for you. As soon as I receive from you the result of Wednesday's conversation (though I agree with you that nothing can be expected from it) I shall write to James, meaning to leave him fully at liberty to take whatever line he may think proper on this occasion ; but from conversation with him I know his feelings.

"In all this I act with the most heartfelt concern and regret, but my situation leaves me no alternative. I am however sensible of the difficulty which you will feel in writing to me upon this subject, and I unaffectedly wish you to spare to yourself that unpleasant task ; your letter therefore of Wednesday need only to state the negative to have been finally given."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1789, November 10. Stowe.—"As I understand from your letter that you do not wish to convey to Mr. Pitt my sense of my present situation, I have written to him, and have enclosed my letter open that you may converse with him upon it if he should wish it. You will observe that I touch very shortly upon the points which you know are uppermost in my mind. You seemed when we last conversed upon this painful subject, to agree so little with me upon the propriety of my feelings, or upon my situation in general, (though with a real anxiety, to which I give the fullest credit, for my peace of mind and for my gratification) that I conceived myself to have consulted your ease as well as my own in avoiding a discussion which was evidently so painful to you ; but if it would contribute to your satisfaction to converse with me upon the step which I have stated to Mr. Pitt, I am ready to meet you at Missenden any evening that you will name, provided that you do not delay it so long as to make the step itself less decisive in its appearances. But upon two propositions my mind is made up ; the first that it is essential to my character and peace that the King should mark his approbation of my conduct in Ireland by some favour ; and the second that my present situation is such as a public man cannot in honour submit to, as it puts that mark of favour (either by office or promotion) at so great a distance that a negative would be less offensive.

"As far as I can collect your opinions we do not agree on either of these points. But I again repeat that, as public men, the King's servants shall still have my best wishes; and that my affection to you is the same; though I grieve most sincerely that our first political difference should have been upon my sense of my situation and the propriety of my feelings for it."

LORD THURLOW to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1789,] November 12.—"The Chancellor presents his best respects to Mr. Grenville. He has read his Lincolnshire case, and the Act of Parliament; but without much edification.

"This is one of the Acts which was passed by Lords with white staves in August last sessions, without being read, for fear of trailing on the sessions too long, in that way which the *Assemblée Nationale* has reduced into form; *il ny a pas lieu de le discuter davantage*. In consequence of which the Legislature has avoided that umbrage, some times too invidiously given by Westminster Hall, when Courts of Law have found a sense for them, which they never dreamt of. Here both parties seem precisely on the same level. It will be difficult for either to put any sense at all upon the Act.

"In such a situation the justices will be lucky indeed if they should happen to light upon the same opinion with Legislature or Court of Law. But they may safely execute their own notion of the general intention; and should therefore be encouraged to proceed; for it seems to be of little consequence, whether the information comes from twelve towns with or without the addition of exempt jurisdiction on the sea side. In the appointment of Inspectors, it would be more expedient that the different Ridings should arrange with each other, at least so far as not to exceed the number.

"Mr. Grenville's part will be quite absolved by referring the case to the Law Officers, transmitting their opinions, and exhorting the gentlemen to proceed as far toward the execution of the law as those opinions will allow them. The day however seems passed upon which they can act at all."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, November 13. Stowe.—"The decision of Wednesday has not surprised me; Mr. Pitt has expressed a wish of conversing with me upon the letter which I sent to him, and I certainly feel too much what is due to him in return for his attention to me, to precipitate any step before I see him. But I do not see daylight upon either of the propositions which I mentioned to you in my last as points upon which I feared that we differed; on the contrary every hour convinces me that I am the most disgraced *public man*, if no mark of favour or of approbation is given to me, and that my character will suffer less by the open resentment of such treatment than by my acquiescence. When I offered to meet you at Missenden I meant an attention to you upon a point on which (from your letter) I conceived you hurt; but I can have no wish about it, particularly if you accompany Mr. Pitt, which I need not say I shall be glad of."

W. W. GRENVILLE to the LORD CHANCELLOR [THURLOW.]

1789, November 17. St. James's Square.—"I have received by this morning's post the inclosed papers from Admiral Milbanke, and from

the master of the vessel hired by him to bring the Irish convicts to this country. I lose not a moment in transmitting these papers to your Lordship, and should be much obliged to you if you would have the goodness to let me know what measures you think can, with propriety, be taken in the present state of this business." *Copy.*

LORD THURLOW to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1789, November 17.]—"There can be no question, I think, but the Irish convicts must be sent thither, to be dealt with according to law; as their sentence seems not to have been executed. But, in order to make your warrant for that purpose as apt as possible, I have sent to Mr. Nepean for the dispatch of 20 September, and all other papers relative to them. In the course of tomorrow morning I will send you my thoughts more at large. I believe the case will be sufficiently clear to proceed in the usual form by your warrant. But if any doubt should remain on that head, I should incline to have it backed by an order in Council, in which I will attend."

W. W. GRENVILLE to the LORD CHANCELLOR [THURLOW.]

1789, November 18. St. James's Square.—"I find upon enquiry that Admiral Milbanke will be in town either to day or tomorrow. I return the draft of the warrant which your Lordship put into my hands. I have taken the liberty to mark in the margin two parts on which I have some doubt. The first relates merely to the wording. The second is where they are sent to Ireland *to be there tried*, and which seems to me to clash with the recital of their having been actually convicted and sentenced. I still incline to think that the novelty and peculiarity of the case makes it a fit object for an order in Council, rather than for a warrant from the Secretary of State, though, if your Lordship thinks otherwise, that would be a sufficient reason for my putting the business in whatever train your Lordship thought best. If your Lordship sees no objection to its being done in Council, I should be obliged to you to let me know what time would be convenient to you for that purpose." *Copy.*

LORD THURLOW to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1789, November 18.]—"You will find in the list of the Irish convicts that they have been, many of them, transported for other crimes than felonies, and by other authority than formal judgements, such as rules and orders of the Court. Therefore I believe the description must be confined to the point of their being transports."

"The words in the order for delivering them were meant to refer to the manner in which, apparently, they must be treated on their return; namely be called upon to answer why the sentence should not be executed, and the usual word seeming to apply to it was therefore adopted. At the same time the phrase seems liable to your observation; and the words left out will leave the warrant clearer."

"As to the Council, I don't think it a subject to discuss. If, upon thinking the thing over, it will be more satisfactory to you, that ought to decide. In that case I suppose you will assembe them, as was done in Margaret Nicholson's case; only not in such numbers; and summoning the lawyers in the Council, with only so many more as to make

up six ; for it would elevate the thing too much to make it the subject of *éclat*.

"I shall see you at St. James's by and by."

The SAME to the SAME.

1789, November 19.—"The business appointed for tomorrow in the Court of King's Bench will draw to length, and render it uncertain when Lord Kenyon will be able to attend you. But on Saturday he will not fail at half an hour after one. Considering that a vessel must be prepared to tranship the convicts, I fancy no time will be lost in putting off the meeting to that time ; and I propose it, subject to your engagements. If those should not suit that time, I will endeavour to appoint some other with Lord Kenyon more agreeable to you.

"To such a meeting, regularly, the Attorney and Solicitor Generals should be summoned. But the business appears to me so simple and easy, that I cannot resist a certain degree of inclination that it should pass *sine formâ et strepitu*. You will therefore summon such of the Privy Counsellors as you please.

"I have this moment received your box ; which I will look over tomorrow morning."

The SAME to the SAME.

1789, November 22.—"The only use of Coish's attendance would have been to verify the identity of the persons now under his charge, with those delivered to him by the Governor's warrant, and contained in his receipt ; unless perhaps their conversation on the passage had further confirmed their condition, of convicts transported for terms not expired ; and this he may do in some short deposition to be taken before some Justice of the Peace on the spot. Perhaps some of the Dock Officers are in the commission. In truth Robinson may probably be able to speak to all which is necessary or material. At the same time I hope their mutiny is better guarded than by the presence of any one therein.

"I have this moment received and answered Lord Westmoreland's letter on the subject of the Irish prorogation. Considering it only as a question whether that should be to the 15 of January or at most a week later, I have agreed with him to adopt the first day, but I have, at the same time, hinted some doubt whether it will answer the purpose proposed. Though I do not at present recollect it, I have some faint idea the point has been decided in the way Mr. Hobart supposes. But without a foregone decision, I should not wish to rely on such a point as clear, while it remains in the choice of Government to raise it or not.

"It was understood, I apprehend, that our Parliament was to be put off till after the Birthday ; if so, I will order the commission to be made out for the 21 January."

The SAME to the SAME.

[1789, November —.] House of Lords.—"You must answer the first question, which (previously) is, what sort of warrant you mean to countersign.

"Lord Somers, if I remember, in obedience to a private letter from King William, sent him similar instruments to the Hague, and was

impeached for it. His answer however breathes the spirit of braving it out; but the occasion was, in point of object and circumstances, much more important, urgent, and in all respects justifiable than the present; which seems scarcely of a size to bear out such an irregularity."

LORD THURLOW to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1789, November —.] "Perhaps in such a case as this, the short method we proposed at first might have been sufficient, namely, to lodge orders at Portsmouth for the Captain to proceed to Ireland, and give notice to the Government there of what had been done. But the condition of the ship, if Coish's account of her leaking condition be not aggravated, seems to make that improper; and if the sending transports to the American States be a point upon which that country takes an obstinate turn, it may be proper, on that account also, to observe more form. Something must be hazarded at last; because it is of course impossible to manifest their true condition by the best evidence, the record of their conviction, and proof of personal identity. But considering that examinations have been taken in the island from some of them, who have confessed their situation, and that other grounds sufficient to establish the belief may be deposed by Admiral Milbank, who, I understand by Mr. Barnard, is now in England, there will be ground enough for the usual warrant, founded on suspicion, to send them over. Not going to Westminster myself this morning, I have sent my thoughts to the Judges of the King's Bench, and it will be an additional satisfaction if they concur. If this last method is adopted, Admiral Milbanks should be sent for to town; but I shall be at St. James's by and by, and will talk of the matter there more fully.

"I dont know where to send to Mr. Cotterell, but the Judges have conceived a doubt whether the reference from the Council, on Coffin's case, was regularly made. And I wish to have the Council Books examined, to see whether there be any precedent of the sort. Where the King wants information, the usual method has been for the Chancellor to write to the Judges, and receive their answer"

W. W. GRENVILLE to R. HOBART.

*Private.*

1789, November 25. Whitehall.—"I send by this post a dispatch to the Lords Justices notifying my having signed a warrant for conveying to Dublin 80 Irish convicts who have been landed on the island of Newfoundland and were sent by the Governor to Spithead. Although our lawyers here are all agreed that the proceeding thus far is perfectly legal and regular, there seems to be more doubt with respect to that which is to take place in Ireland on the arrival of these convicts in Dublin. This is certainly a point the decision of which rests with the Court of King's Bench there, and not with the executive Government; at the same time, as any delay or difference of opinion may lead to some awkwardness, I should think it highly expedient that you should converse with the Lord Chancellor, and perhaps with Lord Clonmell on the subject. I am not authorized to state to you any opinion of Lord Thurlow's on this point; but, as far as I collect his sentiments generally in conversation, it appears to me, that he is inclined to think that the Court of King's Bench will remand these persons to the prisons of the several courts before whom they were tried. And the conclusion then seems to be, that they must remain

there till provision is made by Parliament respecting them. But I give you this rather as the reasoning of my own mind in consequence of the conversations I have had with Lord Thurlow, than as stating his opinion, which, I must again repeat, I am not authorized, and must not be understood to do.

"Another idea which had been suggested is that of trying these persons as convicts returned from transportation. But the objection to this is obvious, that it cannot be proper to charge that upon them as a crime which is the consequence of the conduct of the officers of the King's government; and that no jury either would, or ought to be suffered to convict them on such grounds; and if acquitted, they must then be discharged.

"The awkwardness, inconvenience, and expence of this whole business is so very great, that I must earnestly request of you to consider again with the Lord Chancellor as to the means of preventing any repetition of it. The landing convicts in the territories of the United States (even if the masters of the ships perform their contracts for so doing) is an act highly offensive to a country now foreign and independent; and as such, very improper for Government to authorize. And it is besides an act of extreme cruelty to the convicts, who, being turned on shore without any of the necessaries of life, are either left to starve, or (as has sometimes been the case) are massacred by the inhabitants. And as to transporting to the King's American colonies, you may depend upon it that, after the example set them by Admiral Milbanke, none of our Governors will suffer any of these people to be landed in their governments; and that, if landed by stealth, they will send them back at a heavy expence which must fall upon the Irish government.

"I own I do not see why Government might not, under the words of the Irish act, *legally* suspend the carrying the sentences into execution till Parliament shall make some provision on the subject. But, at all events, the doing this appears so indispensably necessary, that I think there could be no risk in their taking this step upon themselves. If it is thought that any direction from this Office would give greater safety or facility in doing this, I am ready to do whatever depends on me.

"I had some little conversation with you before you left this country on the subject of the expence to be incurred by Ireland by transporting to New South Wales. The convicts whom we now send out are contracted for at 17*l.* per head, besides which they are victualled for the passage, and for one year after their arrival. This is the whole expence which Ireland would pay on account of the convicts themselves, and this might be lessened to the Government by charging a proportion of it on the counties who formerly bore the expence of transporting to America.

"Besides this, if the King authorized the receiving these men into the settlement in New South Wales, we should naturally expect that Ireland should contribute to the increased body of troops which an increased number of convicts would require. This might easily be done by raising an additional company in Ireland to be added to the New South Wales Corps, and to be borne on the Irish Establishment, in the same manner as the troops which Ireland now furnishes for the protection of the West India colonies. This mode would avoid the introduction of any new principle of contribution."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, November 26-27. Stowe.—I am much obliged to you for the *explanation* history which you have given me. I think that I still see

the same contemptible conduct as clearly in the explanation as in the quarrel. Your letter, though upon a difficult subject, is tolerably clear, but I own that I am not very sanguine in my hopes of any cordial co-operation resulting from this explanation, though I think that enough will pass to enable both to retain appearances in public. At the same time I fear the consequences may ultimately be very embarrassing to the public service, and particularly so from the difficulty of replacing him in [the] particular line in which he has been so useful. I am anxious for the result, though I have little doubt upon the event of the *immediate* negotiation.

"If any thing could more effectually ruin the Emperor, his conduct to Schroeder and Dalton at such a moment would be decisive. I own that I do not like the prospect of the difficulties which this Flemish revolution opens. I feel better in spirits, though still low at times; but I am losing appetite and flesh very fast."

LORD FITZ-GIBBON to W. W. GRENVILLE.

*Private.*

1789, November 28. Dublin.—"Mr. Hamilton has just now laid before me your dispatch of the 23rd of November, by which I find that Governor Milbank has sent a number of persons, stated to be Irish convicts ordered for transportation, to Portsmouth, and that it is probable it may be thought proper to send them from thence to Ireland, to be dealt with according to law.

"Whether we may be justifiable or not in sending our convicts to the British plantations in America I cannot say. Certainly the British government may prohibit their colonies from receiving them, if a law is made for the purpose. But we have now, for time immemorial, been in the habit of sending our convicts to the British colonies in America without objection on the part of the colonies, till very lately. And if an objection had been stated whilst our Parliament was sitting, certainly we should have been bound to make some provision for the disposal of our convicts, which could not be deemed injurious to Great Britain or her colonies. But I request of you to consider the consequence of sending back these wretches to Ireland at the present moment. They have already been dealt with here according to law. If any of them are found at large in this country within the term limited by their sentences, by a law of this country they may be indicted, and punished capitally. If they are sent back to us by order of the British Government, I do not know of any law which will warrant our magistrates to detain them in custody. I intreat therefore that the measure of sending them back to Ireland may, at least, be postponed till we have time to consider of some method of dealing with them when they may arrive here; and, I am free to acknowledge that, at the moment, it does not occur to me that we can in any way get out of the difficulty, if they are returned to us by an act of Government."

R. HOBART to W. W. GRENVILLE.

*Private.*

1789, December 1. Dublin Castle.—"Immediately on the receipt of your letter of the 25th I communicated with the Chancellor, who, at the same time, received your official letter and papers on the subject of the Irish convicts sent home from Newfoundland; and as the measure seemed to be attended with very serious difficulty, it was judged expedient



by the Lords Justices to consult with Lord Clonmell and Lord Carleton and the Attorney General, who fully discussed the business in my presence. The result of their deliberation will be sent to you officially by the Lords Justices ; and whatever has occurred upon the subject that is not proper to be stated in an official letter, will be mentioned privately by the Chancellor either to Lord Westmorland or yourself ; but it is my duty to inform you that, unless the greatest caution is used in the further progress of this business, one of the most angry and unpleasant questions is likely to arise in Parliament here that has been agitated for many years.

"An Act passed in the year 1786 (a copy of which will be transmitted by the Chancellor) authorizing the Lord Lieutenant to send *convicts to any of his Majesty's plantations in America, or to such other place out of Europe as shall be expressed in such sentence, rule, or order* ; by which Act (which it is presumed was considered by his Majesty's Ministers in England previous to the Great Seal being put to it) the Lord Lieutenant is directed to transport convicts in the manner therein pointed out ; and the Act has taken care that he shall have no other, for it repeals all former Acts made for that purpose. The Lord Lieutenant, in conformity to that Act, sends out the convicts ; and they are now to be returned to this country, without its appearing that Admiral Millbanke had any justification whatever for so doing ; for he has stated in one of his letters that it did not appear that these persons, who are supposed to be convicts from Ireland, had been guilty of any crime or outrage that could even justify his committing them to prison. Admiral Millbanke probably did not know that his Majesty had authorized the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to transport those convicts to any of his plantations in America, and that an Act of the Irish Parliament (to which the King's consent was of course given) had directed the measure. It cannot be urged against the Lord Lieutenant that he had notice of the orders that might have been given by the British Government to Admiral Millbanke ; because these convicts were sent out previous to any communication having been made upon that subject to the Government of Ireland.

"I have said thus much to shew what impression the discussion of this business has made, not wishing in any shape to soften it, least by so doing I should deceive you with regard to its tendency. The Chancellor will, of course, enter more at large upon it, and express to you what appears to him to be the law upon the subject. Lord Clonmell is of opinion he cannot commit these convicts on their arrival ; had they wilfully returned from transportation, he says, there could be no doubt ; but as that appears on the face of the proceeding not to be the case, he does not think himself justified in committing them ; and, if they are to be considered as persons returned from transportation, they must be identified by the different gaolers of the several prisons in the kingdom, before they can be committed.

"Should the Government of England support Admiral Millbanke, the Parliament of Ireland will be much pressed to resent it as a national indignity.

"The most prudent step that could be taken here (the only one indeed that suggested itself) was to prevent the landing of these convicts until further communication could be had with the Government in England.

"A revenue cruiser is sent out, with provisions and a confidential person, to bribe the Captain of the ship to delay until he receives directions from England ; and I would submit to you whether it may not be right for the British Government to send them back to some part of America, or to some place out of Europe.

"As the matter now stands, Admiral Millbanke has superseded an Irish Act of Parliament, and you may well imagine what a ferment that will create in the Irish House of Commons.

"This subject must be taken up in Parliament in the course of the next session, and some plan devised for disposing of our convicts; but in the mean time you will, I hope, endeavour to obviate the present difficulty.

"I have enclosed a copy of the instructions to the person sent in the revenue cruiser. This whole day and yesterday have been taken up with these convicts."

LORD FITZ-GIBBON to W. W. GRENVILLE.

*Private.*

1789, December 2. Dublin.—"Our official dispatch, which was forwarded by a messenger yesterday, will have apprized you of the steps which have been taken here by the Government, in consequence of Lord Clonmell's opinion that he is not warranted by our laws to commit the convicts returned by Governor Milbanke, upon their former sentences; in which opinion I have good reason to believe the other judges of the King's Bench concur.

"I think it right however, to state particularly for your information the laws under which we have now for more than eighty years been in the habit of transporting our convicts to the British colonies in America, that you may be enabled to judge how far Governor Milbanke can be justified, first in confining these convicts at St. John's, and then in sending them to England; and that you may judge also the difficulties which will necessarily occur in this country, if they are to be sent back to us by an act of the British Government. You will observe that Governor Milbanke in his letter to the magistrates of St. John's, marked in your last dispatch No. 9, states explicitly that there was not any charge against these persons from the time of their having been landed there, which could justify the magistrates in committing them to prison. So that in detaining them in confinement from the month of July to the month of October, and in sending them to Spithead in irons, he must have proceeded on an idea that we are prohibited by the laws of Great Britain or Ireland from sending our convicts to the British plantations in America. I cannot suppose that Mr. Milbanke persuaded himself that he could stand justified in such a proceeding against any description of men, merely from his apprehensions that they might commit acts of depredation, and corrupt the morals of the King's subjects at Newfoundland. Whether there is any modern British statute prohibiting the British colonies in America from receiving Irish convicts under rules of transportation, I cannot say. Sure I am however that if any such statute exists, no notice has ever been given to this country of its having been enacted. And I am equally certain that from the reign of Queen Anne down to the present time, this country has been in the habit of transporting her convicts to the British colonies in America not only without objection, but with full permission from the British Government. From the 4th of Queen Anne down to the year 1786, the Acts passed in this country for the transportation of felons limited their transportation to the British colonies in America. Till 1786 we could not by law transport them to any other part of the world, and I believe I am warranted in saying that when the idea of sending the English and Irish convicts to the British colonies in America was first adopted, it was considered to be a measure of good policy, and tending to the population of the colonies. The mode of transporting them from this country till

the year 1786 was, by sending the convicts separately from each county in the kingdom. The different sheriffs were authorized by law to contract with masters of ships trading to the British plantations in America for the transportation of the persons convicted in their several counties. And the different counties were assessed to defray the expense. This mode, however, of transporting them was found to be productive of many inconveniences; and, accordingly, in the year 1786, all the Acts for the transmission of persons under sentence or rule of transportation were repealed, and a new provision was made for the transportation of all felons from Ireland under the immediate direction of the Government for the time being. I send you a copy of the several clauses in the Act which relate to this subject. They are continued in the Act for the better execution of the law within the city of Dublin—26th of the King, cap 24.

“You will observe that this Act was returned to us from England by the present Ministers; that it expressly recites the laws theretofore passed in this country for the transportation of our convicts to the British plantations; and that it authorizes the Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governor of Ireland for the time being, to appoint a person from time to time who shall contract with the master of a ship for the transportation to, and landing of convicts under rules of transportation in some of his Majesty’s plantations in America, or to such other place out of Europe as shall be expressed in their sentences. The wretched creatures who have been seized by Mr. Milbank were all sentenced to be transported to the British plantations. They were removed by warrant from Lord Buckingham out of the custody of the sheriffs of the different counties where they had been convicted, up to Dublin, at the public expense. They were discharged from the custody of the sheriffs of the city of Dublin by Lord Buckingham’s warrant, and shipped off for some of the British plantations by the same authority, and at the public expense. This whole proceeding was had under the authority of a law which passed with the approbation of the present British Ministry so lately as the year 1786; and now they are to be returned to us in a body, by an act of that very Government which had assented to the law under which they were transported. You will see, upon reading the Act of 1786, that it is utterly impossible to commit them to custody in the counties where they had been convicted. The moment the sheriffs of these counties received Lord Buckingham’s warrant for transmitting them to Dublin they were bound to obey it, and having, under that warrant, delivered them over to the sheriffs of the city of Dublin, they were fully discharged from the custody of the county sheriffs. And the moment that they were put on board the ship contracted for by authority from Lord Buckingham, the sheriffs of the city of Dublin were also completely discharged of them, so that they cannot be committed again to the sheriffs of Dublin as having escaped. You will plainly see, therefore, the difficulties which will occur if unfortunately they are landed here. How to commit them in the first instance?

“Lord Clonmell seems fully aware of these difficulties, and, as I have already mentioned, has declared his opinion most decidedly that he never can commit them on their arrival here except on informations against them for having returned from transportation, in which event they must be tried for a new offence. The utter impossibility of proceeding against them in that way is obvious; besides, if they are to be proceeded against upon that ground, the persons who bring them here, knowing them to be felons sentenced to transportation, are

certainly by our laws highly criminal. Possibly Governor Milbank, acting for the safety and well-being of the colony at St. John's, might have done well to have driven these wretches from thence. I cannot but wish, however, that he had sent them any where but to England. If he had even shipped them off directly for Ireland, and had them landed on our coast, we could easily have managed matters so as to prevent any serious difficulties to the Irish Government; but proceeding as he has done to send them to England with a regular invoice to the British Government, to be re-exported under an invoice from that Government to us, I cannot but feel that he has done an act highly indiscreet at best. And I am very well satisfied that if he had acted in such a manner by any description of the King's English subjects, that he would hear of it very unpleasantly in Westminster Hall. And if we are driven to the necessity of defending their return upon us under all these circumstances, I freely own to you that it appears to me to be as difficult a task as could well be assigned to the friends of Government in this country.

"What I have stated to you on this subject you may be assured I have not, nor shall, communicate to any person whatever, save to Lord Westmorland and Hobart. But I entreat it of you, if it is possible to devise any means of disposing of these wretched creatures, except by sending them here by act of the British Government, that it may be done. Let the act of returning them to us, if they must be sent here, be the act of Governor Milbank. Probably he never will come to Ireland, and I do not suppose that he will very much feel any comments which our worthy Whigs may make upon him. I should ask you a thousand pardons for troubling you with this very long letter; but I really feel very strongly the difficulties which must necessarily occur if these rogues are to be landed here, in custody of one of your messengers, by your warrant."

W. W. GRENVILLE to LORD FITZ-GIBBON.

1789, December 2. St. James's Square.—"I am this morning honoured with your Lordship's letter on the subject of the Irish convicts, returned from Newfoundland. My subsequent dispatch will have apprized you of the steps which have been taken with these men, which it is, at all events, now too late to recall. But even if this were not the case, I apprehend that we could have adopted no other line of conduct. The opinion of the judges of the Court of King's Bench was taken by the Lord Chancellor on this subject, and they concurred in opinion with him that the only step which could legally be taken by us was to send these people over by a warrant, the form of which was settled with their approbation. The Lord Chancellor seemed also to be of this opinion, although he was not called upon to determine this point officially, that the King's Bench in Ireland would be justified, and even bound, to remand those men to the gaols of the several counties where they appear to have been convicted, in order to await the decision of the Courts of Gaol Delivery, or such provision as Parliament shall make respecting them; and there appears the less difficulty in this, as the session begins so much before the next assizes.

"No convicts have been transported from this country to any of the British colonies in America since the last peace, and all the colonies have uniformly expressed a decided resolution not to receive them. And under those circumstances, I think it might very well be doubted, whether the degree of legislative authority which is allowed even to the British Parliament, would extend so far as to compel the admission of

persons of this description into the colonies, or to authorize their confinement and servitude when they are there. There is another circumstance which seems very material in the present case, which is, that Newfoundland is in no respect a British colony, and is never so considered in our laws. On the contrary, the uniform tenor of our laws respecting the fishery there, and of the King's instructions founded upon them goes, as I apprehend, to restrain the subjects of Great Britain from colonizing in that island. I am not quite certain of the fact, but I believe that this policy is carried so far as even to authorize the Governor to remove by force the British fishermen who may show a disposition to settle on the island, and remain there during the winter. I know that many do in fact remain, but I believe this is only from the want of means for bringing them away.

"Under all these circumstances, I apprehend that these men must be considered as standing in the same situation as if their sentences had never been attempted to be carried into execution. On this point your Lordship and the judges in Ireland are, however, much more competent to decide than I can pretend to be; but you must, I am sure, feel that, if there is any difficulty in detaining them in confinement in Ireland till their case can be decided on by Parliament, that difficulty would have been much greater here, where they have committed no crime, and incurred no sentence. The only alternative therefore which we could have was that of sending them to Ireland in the manner we have done, or of letting loose upon the people of this country a set of desperate ruffians, who could have no resource here but that of depredations upon the property of others." *Copy.*

R. HOBART to W. W. GRENVILLE.

*Private.*

1789, December 2. Dublin Castle.—"I sincerely wish it was in my power to hold out to you expectation of this country being able to supply Great Britain with any considerable quantity of wheat upon the present occasion; but a rumour of scarcity at home having circulated generally throughout this kingdom, I cannot flatter myself with any hopes of our being able to supply England. It is at the same time however to be observed, that no accurate statement can yet be obtained of this year's harvest, because it was particularly late, and the sowing season has come on in most parts of the kingdom before the farmers have been able to thrash out their corn.

"There is every reason to believe that contracts have been offered by the French for a greater quantity of wheat than can actually be found in the kingdom, and that many storehouses are now full, with a view to exportation at a convenient opportunity. Upon those rumours reaching Government, the first measure that occurred was an embargo, but on further consideration it was not thought expedient; because the law having in fact laid an embargo, it was judged more advisable to let it take its course; and if we afterwards found that the law was evaded, then we might be justified in resorting to that measure.

"I have enclosed for your information all the statutes on the subject of corn. You will find by them that no wheat can be exported when the price is above thirty shillings the barrel; an average to be struck from the price of the respective markets for three days preceding the shipping. The law has already shut the ports of Dublin, Drogheda and Cork; but it is to be apprehended that persons who have large contracts, may think it worth their while to send corn at a low price into the market,



in order to avail themselves of the export. To counteract this expedient, a sum of money has been advanced to a confidential person, who has undertaken to raise the markets in all parts of the kingdom, and, by constantly watching them, to keep them up above the exportation price. You will observe that the 23 and 24 of George 3d, page 11, directs an average to be struck once a quarter in the city of Dublin, from returns made from all parts of the kingdom; and if that average is above 30s., no wheat can be exported from any port in Ireland during the following quarter. The last quarter day was November 10th; the next, February 10th; if the price is kept up until that day, of course the ports will then be shut; and as Parliament will at that time be sitting, any measure that is necessary may be taken.

“With regard to a partial embargo, allowing the exportation to Great Britain only, nothing can justify an embargo but the best-founded apprehension of scarcity at home, and that would preclude the possibility of supplying England.

“By the enclosed letters you will see that every attention has been given to this subject by Government, and that directions have been sent to require the utmost vigilance in the revenue officers and magistrates, that every delay that the law would admit of might be thrown in the way of exportation. With these precautions I should hope little wheat would go out of the kingdom at present; and possibly the harvest may turn out better than we have reason to expect.”

W. W. GRENVILLE to the EARL OF WESTMORELAND.

1789, December 5. St. James's Square.—“The dispatches which I now send you will, I take it for granted, enclose a copy of the letter from the Lords Justices which I have received to day, notifying to me their having taken the step of sending a revenue cruiser to sea, to forbid the transport with the convicts from entering any Irish port. I cannot enough lament the precipitation of this ill-advised step. It is, however, now to be considered what are the measures which must be taken in consequence of it. I have written to Pitt to beg that he will be in town for this purpose in the course of Monday, and I have sent this to you by a messenger, lest, by any accident, you should have intended to put off your return to town.” *Copy.*

W. W. GRENVILLE to R. HOBART.

1789, December 5. St. James's Square.—“I have this morning received your letter on the subject of the Irish convicts, and the dispatch from the Lords Justices notifying their having directed a revenue cruiser to endeavour to prevent the transport from proceeding on her voyage to Dublin. I will freely own to you that I most sincerely lament this step, which I think may occasion much trouble and uneasiness. I have not time to write to you today fully upon it, nor do I think myself authorized to decide on the steps to be taken in so new and singular a situation, without consulting the rest of the King's servants. I wish however to point out one circumstance to you, which you do not seem to have adverted to. It is this, that the King's assent to an Irish Act of Parliament neither gives it, nor ever was supposed to give it, the smallest force in any of the King's colonies. No more indeed than the King's assent to an Act of the States of Jersey would do. The question therefore of Milbanke's conduct must be decided solely by his instructions, and by English laws. The former certainly

authorize him to send these people out of his colony ; and the latter give no authority to bring them into it, or to detain them in confinement as convicts where they then were, for any other purpose than that of sending them out again. I am not ignorant that, as clear as this point is, it may be made a matter of discussion in the Parliament of Ireland, and that it would have been desirable, if it had been possible, to avoid even that discussion, though upon a point so unquestionable. But when the case has arisen we have no other mode of acting ; as the proposal of our sending them to any place out of England, except Ireland, would, if acceded to, put us in the situation of doing an illegal act because the judges in Ireland feel an unwillingness to do what all our lawyers consider as a legal act." *Copy.*

LORD THURLOW to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, December 6. ——"Your letter to the Lieutenant-Governor is perfectly conformable to the ideas we agreed on yesterday, and consequently I can have no other observation to make upon it.

"As to the first business, I see no means of extricating it from such embarrassments as these which, founded in nothing but caprice, while they object to the thing which has been done, suggest nothing else.

"I take Lord Clonmell's idea to be as wrong as if the same convicts had been driven by storm or otherwise on Ireland, England, Jersey, or any other place, which certainly would not have received their ruffians ; but would, of course, have sent them back. If his first idea be wrong, his second is still more absurd ; and can only occasion the trouble of sending to countermand any impertinent order so foolish a Government may have given."

R. HOBART to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, December 9. Dublin Castle. — "I this moment received your letter of the 5th instant, and should not have thought it necessary to trouble you until I had the honour of hearing further from you respecting the convicts, except to apprise you of one circumstance, that the revenue cruiser is returned, and will not again be ordered out for the purpose of preventing the arrival of the convicts, should you judge it expedient to send them. The only object the Lords Justices had in view was to gain time until his Majesty's confidential servants had an opportunity of considering what weight should be given to the objections from this side the water. If, notwithstanding the representations made from hence, you persevere in your intention of sending the convicts, they will of course be received ; and we must get out of the scrape as well as we can. I yesterday had a conversation with the Chancellor and Lord Clonmell upon the subject ; and I believe myself justified in saying Lord Clonmell will remand them to their several prisons upon the ground you have given, that Newfoundland not being considered a colony, the sentence has not been executed. Permit me to say, that I never conceived that the King's assent to an Irish Act of Parliament could give it force in the King's colonies ; but that His Majesty having given his assent, and thereby authorized his Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to transport convicts to the colonies, it was a justifiable presumption that the English law enabled the Governors of the British colonies to receive them, and that his Majesty's instructions ordered them so to do.

"I wrote some days ago to Lord Westmorland relative to the manner in which Lord Buckingham's name should be introduced in the Speech at the opening of our session, and take the liberty of referring you to that letter for my sentiments upon it. It is scarcely necessary for me to assure you, that whatever line of conduct most clearly conveys a respectful and honourable attention to Lord Buckingham, and a determination to maintain his system, is that which will be most agreeable to me; and it is my most decided opinion that any other would be weak and impolitic."

W. W. GRENVILLE to LORD FITZ-GIBBON.

1789, December 9. St. James's Square.—"It does not appear material now to enquire under what authority Admiral Milbanke has acted. His instructions do not go so far as I had apprehended, but both they, and all our Acts relative to Newfoundland, point out the uniform policy of this country in preventing any settlement there, as far as it is possible to prevent it.

"But supposing that instead of being right, as I am inclined to think him, he had been wrong in what he has done, I do not see that this at all changes the question with respect to the measures now to be taken. He has actually sent them, whether right or wrong, to this country; and all our lawyers are clear in their opinion that, under these circumstances, we can do nothing else than send them to Ireland, in order that their sentences may be put in execution if that is possible, and, if not, that Parliament may make such further provision as the case may require.

"It cannot be said that *we* ought to set them at large, because their being at large would make them guilty of a capital felony.

"It cannot be said that *we* ought to send them to the British colonies or to Newfoundland. First, because we have no law to compel the colonies, or Newfoundland to receive them; and, secondly, because we have no law to empower the Government to send them there, they having committed no crime and incurred no sentence here.

"It is equally impossible to detain them in custody in any prison in England, or on board any transport or prison ship. Because, if they were once within the body of any county in England, they might claim their Habeas Corpus, and we could justify their detention only on the ground of such a warrant as I have already signed for conveying them to Ireland.

"This being then not only, as I conceive, the natural way of disposing of them, but as far as I can see the only way, it remains to consider what difficulties arise upon the subject in Ireland.

"Two seem to be principally stated and relied upon in your letter, and in the public despatch:

"First, that the sentence of the law has been executed upon these men, and therefore that no further legal proceedings can be had for the purpose of confining them when landed in Ireland.

"Secondly, that the persons landing them under the circumstances of the present case are guilty of a capital offence, and are liable to be proceeded against accordingly.

"With respect to the first of these points, I wish you would consider in the first place, whether landing the men in *Newfoundland* is an execution of their sentence. You have not sent over to us any papers from which we can judge with certainty to what place these convicts were sentenced to be transported. I conclude however that the sentence was *to some*



of his Majesty's colonies or plantations in North America. I have already stated to you that Newfoundland is neither a colony nor a plantation; and you will see in the Act of William and Mary, and that of 1773 respecting the fishery there, how much pains are taken that it should neither be colonised nor planted. And there is no instance of any convicts being sent there as to a British colony or plantation, even at the time when both kingdoms were in the habit of transporting to the other colonies.

"Another doubt may be started; whether setting the wretches on shore without provisions, tools, or clothing in a place where they must have perished but for the humanity of the inhabitants, is a mode of transporting them that falls either within the purview of the laws for transportation, or within the contract which the master of the vessel makes with the Irish Government. To this point however I am not able to speak, not having seen that contract.

"But supposing that the master had performed all that was in his power for the execution of the sentence, other circumstances will then have arisen, not depending upon him, which have prevented the full execution of the sentence, which was that they should be transported for 7 or 14 years, or for life; instead of which they are now brought back within one year. Is not their situation then exactly that of convicts whose sentence has not been executed, and is it not legal and proper to confine them as such, in order to the due execution of their sentences? There are many accidents which might have brought them back to Ireland within their terms, without their incurring the guilt of being at large."

"The only remaining question, the guilt incurred by the persons who should land them, is certainly not of much importance, because if any magistrate of Dublin was so absurd as to commit them for this offence, the Government could have no difficulty in offering, nor the King's Bench in receiving bail; and the King's pardon must of course be granted, if it could be thought necessary.

"You do not refer to the statute which applies to this point, and therefore I cannot speak to the precise words. But I have great difficulty in believing that any words could make it criminal in the messenger or captain to land these men under circumstances in which the men themselves who are landed will clearly incur no guilt"

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, December 13. Stowe.—"Your last says nothing upon the subject which your former letter stated to be still undecided, but which I collected to lean the way that you would wish. Whatever becomes of it, my mind is now made up; and I only resume the subject for a minute to tell you that, though my feelings are the same, yet they shall neither give you nor Pitt any uneasiness. I should have come to town *pro forma* to the levée, but that I really am still unequal to it. My back is better, and I can walk and ride longer than when you saw me; but I have no appetite, and am astonished at not losing strength from being unable to eat. Dr. Austin has, in consequence of this, changed his system of medicines; but every day convinces me (by the return of a depression of spirits which lasts about two hours) that nothing but absolute quiet can restore me.

"Robert Williams came here yesterday and alarmed us with a very unfavourable account of my sister Williams. I had heard that she was recovering, and had written to her on Friday to ask her leave to invite Watkin over here from Oxford. I am sorry to find that your accident

has been so serious ; but I trust that your confinement will have set you so forward in business as to enable you to perform your promise at Christmas ; and I trust to you to remind Pitt of it. If you see Mornington, pray tell him that I hate writing, and know that he does not wait for the formality of an invitation, and beg him to accompany you."

LORD FITZ-GIBBON to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, December 14. Dublin.—"Hobart has, I presume, long since informed you that immediately on receipt of your letter of the 2nd, and of one of the same date from Lord Westmorland, I gave directions that the cruiser which had been ordered out to watch the arrival of the convicts on our coast should be recalled ; and desired to see Lord Clonmell, who agreed with me that the best ground on which we can stand is that which you have suggested, *that Newfoundland is not a British colony, and that the subjects of England are restrained by law from colonising there.* Taking up the subject in this point of view, he seemed to think that he might commit these convicts on their arrival here, upon the ground of their sentences never having been legally carried into execution. I have looked into the statute of the 10th, 11th, William 3rd, for encouraging the trade to Newfoundland, and I observe that advantages with respect to a temporary property in the stages at Newfoundland, are given to the ships which shall first arrive there in order to fish ; but I have not been able to find any Act passed in 1773 on the subject. Certainly, if the King's subjects are by law prohibited from remaining at Newfoundland after the fishing season, with a view to prevent them from interfering with the persons who carry on the business of the fishery, this will go a great way to justify Governor Milbanke in the act which he has done ; and if we are enabled to stand upon his conduct as justifiable by the laws of England, I am ready to agree with you that the British Government could not dispose of our convicts in any other way than that in which I fear they have already been disposed of. I shall thank you most extremely, at your leisure, to desire Mr. Bernard to send me a list of the several Acts which have been passed in England for regulating the trade to Newfoundland. Do not let him trouble himself more than may be necessary to enable me to recur to them in the Statute Book.

"I trust it is unnecessary for me to assure you that I am truly anxious to relieve the British Government from embarrassment in this business. The Speaker and I, acting under very particular instructions from Lord Westmorland, thought it our indispensable duty to state to him and you the difficulties which are likely to occur in this country, upon the return of these convicts to us in custody by your warrant ; and to give an opportunity to the King's Ministers to weigh the difficulties on all sides before the measure of retaining them was put into final execution. But if they do come back, you may be assured, whenever the matter may become the subject of public discussion, I shall be very anxious to prove their return to us to be a mark of high respect on your part to the people of Ireland. You will not, I trust, be offended that I cannot agree in opinion with you, that in this business it is not material whether Governor Milbanke was right or wrong ; and therefore it is that I take the liberty to trouble you upon the subject of the several Acts relating to Newfoundland. If I can but satisfy myself that he was right in sending these convicts to England, I shall feel no difficulty whatever upon the subject. And if I am once satisfied in this point, I do not think

that we should act merely on the defensive. In that extent I should be inclined to call the Lord Mayor of Dublin, who contracted with Government for the transportation of these rogues, to account for a breach of his contract. With respect to what I mentioned to you that the person landing them here might be prosecuted for a capital felony, you will see that I stated that to be one objection amongst others to proceeding against the convicts as felons returned from transportation within the times limited by their sentences. If they were to be proceeded against in that way, I mentioned to you that the messenger and captain might be prosecuted as accessories to the felony, should any person, be so mischievous as to swear informations against them."

W. W. GRENVILLE to the LORD CHANCELLOR [THURLOW.]

1789, December 16. St. James's Square.—"I have the honor to inclose for your Lordship's consideration a draft of a letter to the Duke of Leeds on the subject of Newfoundland, together with Captain Drew's report. I have looked with much care into what passed on this subject at the time of the treaty, and the result appears to me to be such as is stated on this draft. As your Lordship was not here on Sunday when I read the rough sketch of this paper to the King's other Ministers, I have taken the liberty to request that you would look it through previously to its being sent." *Copy.*

LORD THURLOW to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, December 16.—"I have read your draft, and think the substance of it perfectly proper, and conformable to that which was agreed on at a former meeting. My doubt about the form is probably referable to my ignorance in a subject of which you are the best judge. While you state the pretensions and conduct of those who exercise or superintend the national rights, under your orders, or those of the Admiralty, you write like a Secretary for the Home Department; when you specify the application to be made to the Court of France, you write usefully as a friend, in a private letter; but I doubt whether that should make part of a letter to remain in the Office; and whether, in such a paper, you should do more than desire the Duke to take his Majesty's pleasure what communication it may be fit to make to the Court of France on that subject."

HENRY DUNDAS to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, December 17. Melville Castle.—"I have your letter respecting the employment of convicts in public works in Scotland, and I shall endeavour to collect what information [there is?] on the subject. But I think I see enough already to enable me to be very apprehensive that you will not [nor] can carry the plan into execution. I do not believe that people are so eager about a canal in the line you mention as they originally were, for the communication by the present navigation answers most of the material objects proposed by it. It would be impossible to embark our landholders in such an undertaking, and they would not feel easy to have great number of convicts quartered in their neighbourhood. The forts you mention are too distant from each other to answer the objects of separate confinements, and, at all events, it would require a very large military force in addition to what it has hitherto been found convenient to allot for Scotland. I am not surprised

you would wish to substitute something in the room of the hulks. I believe it a very mischievous institution, and produces many more crimes than it punishes. I believe you will find nothing so good as transportation, and I cannot see any good reasons why in smaller offences, which are chiefly committed by boys or very young men, some plan might not be adopted to convert them into recruits for regiments situated in our colonies abroad, either east or west; and after being inured to exercise and military discipline for a few years, they are very likely to lay aside their idle dispositions, and become good subjects. If their crimes are of a nature not to give hopes of this, they are very proper objects for transportation. I had the same opinion as to the hulks, that I now entertain when they were first proposed; but the plan was rather a popular one, and any objections to it were not listened to. Death, transportation, and Bridewell are, in my judgment, the only variety of punishment that the manners of our country will admit of."

R. HOBART to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, December 22. Dublin Castle.—"I enclosed to you, some days ago, a pamphlet addressed to the secretary of the Whig Club which I have taken care to circulate in all parts of Ireland. It is calculated to place the Whig Club in their true light; and I have the satisfaction to know, that they are extremely sore upon it already. I have every reason to believe that Lord Westmorland's Administration will in no shape suffer by the establishment of that society. It is evidently intended to introduce English party here, which it is our business to decry, although we may feel the necessity of acting on a similar principle."

W. W. GRENVILLE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

1789, December 24. St. James's Square—"I am much obliged to you for your letter. I was not ignorant of the difficulties which might obstruct the execution of the plan which I mentioned to you, and yet I cannot help still thinking that they are not insurmountable.

"I agree with you that it might, and probably would be, difficult to embark individuals in the expence of such an undertaking; but I own that the importance of it appears to me such as to make it by no means an improper object for public expence, provided that such expence were incurred gradually.

"The great object seems to be the opening a passage between the east and west coasts of this kingdom for such vessels *as usually are employed* in the north trade. And this, as I understand it, is not done by the Forth and Clyde navigation. There are other important ends that would be answered by a canal on that scale, which are evidently out of the question with respect to that now executed.

"The other objections which seem to strike you are, the danger of a body of convicts quartered in the neighbourhood, and the difficulty of guarding them. These are unquestionably points fit to be attended to, but I am persuaded that by a little attention they may be got over. The whole distance from Fort George to Fort William does not, upon such a rough measurement as I can make by my maps, much exceed 60 miles, and this is broke by Fort Augustus, and Inverness; and the parts where the most labour would be required are within 10 miles of one of those points. I cannot therefore but think that, with a little arrangement, the convicts might be guarded in one of those forts during the

whole or nearly the whole of their work ; and a very small addition to the force usually stationed there would be sufficient to prevent the possibility of danger to the country from their escaping.

"But, however attached to this plan from a strong impression of its utility, both as a public work, and as a mode of employing these unfortunate people, I am certainly not so bigotted to my own ideas as to persist in them, if, with the local knowledge you possess, you should, on consideration, continue to think them impracticable. I own, however, that I should abandon the plan with reluctance.

"Before it is finally decided, I could wish that you would enquire from Mr. Whitworth what the expence would be of making such a survey as would enable us to judge how far the scheme is at all practicable upon so large a scale as I speak of ; and what additional expence it would require, beyond the labour of the convicts or other persons employed upon it.

"You will observe that if any of these people are to be kept in this country they must be maintained at the public expence, and, therefore, the applying their labour to any work of real advantage is, in fact, so much clear gain. The other idea which you mention, that of inlisting persons convicted of small offences is, I am convinced, quite impracticable, not from any real and considerable difficulty in the thing itself, but from insurmountable prejudices in those whose consent or acquiescence is necessary to its execution.

"So much for this business of convicts, on which I ought to apologize to you for taking up so much of your time.

"Lord Sydney has put into my hands a private letter from Lord Cornwallis to him, in which he recommends an answer to be sent to the Nizam, but refers to you for particulars. I should therefore be obliged to you if you would let me know what he says to you upon it, as I should otherwise not be sufficiently informed to know how to set about writing a letter of that sort.

"The accounts from Bengal appear very satisfactory ; and no part of them more so than the assurances that we shall receive, by the next ships, information of the permanent revenue settlement being actually begun to be executed." *Copy.*

HENRY DUNDAS to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1789, December 28. Melville Castle.—"I have your letter by last post, and I shall certainly give every consideration to the subject of it, and shall be very happy if I can contribute any thing to the removal of the difficulties from a plan which seems to be a favourable one with you. I shall enquire about Mr. Whitworth, and, if he is in this country, get from him the information you desire.

"I send you my letters both from Lord Cornwallis and Mr. Shore. You will of course see that, except to Mr. Pitt, Lord Cornwallis's is for your own eye only. I used sometimes to send Lord Cornwallis's private letters to the King, and he seemed pleased with the communications ; you will do in that as you please. I believe things at *Bengal* are as well as we could wish. Mr. Cabell brought me down volumes on Madras subjects. I have nearly got them all finished. How it is to be managed I cannot take upon me as yet to suggest, but depend upon it if an end is not put to the Nabob's administration of the Carnatick, it will be completely ruined before we are aware of it."

## W. PITT to LORD CAMELFORD.

1789, December 30. Downing Street.—“I must plead guilty to the delay of answering your former letter, which arose from my not having immediately an opportunity to make the inquiries which struck me as necessary; and a variety of business afterwards intervened. When your last letter came, I was unluckily out of town; and, since I received it, I have been endeavouring to get some legal information; but the Christmas holidays have made this more difficult, and I am unable to collect light enough respecting the law connected with this subject, to give an answer on as satisfactory grounds as I could wish. From what has passed on the Helstone case and on other occasions, I should imagine it is by no means clear that a new charter, under the circumstances you state, would be admitted to carry with it a right of voting, at least unless it was accepted by the majority of the members now remaining of the old corporation. And there seems to be so much nicety, and even in some respects contradiction in the proceedings which have been had at different times in Westminster Hall, and before Committees, on questions of this nature, that I should think it would be desirable not to decide even on the first step of applying for a *mandamus* to choose a Mayor, without having had the best advice on the whole question, and on the safest mode of conducting the business. If upon consultation there appears a reasonable prospect of success, I should think it extremely worth embarking in it; and you may be assured of my giving all the support and assistance that depends upon me for carrying it into execution. In the mean time, as you talk of leaving the country immediately, I hope it may be possible for you to keep it open till after you reach this part of the world. I will, in the mean time, endeavour to ascertain all the points respecting the question as clearly as I can, taking care that your design shall not transpire. If you have the means of procuring a copy of the charter, and could have the goodness to let it be sent to me, it might, I think, be of use. I understand you are likely to take Stowe in your way to town, where I am not without hopes of having the pleasure of meeting you.”

## LORD CATHCART to W. W. GRENVILLE.

*Private.*

1790, January 13. Dover Castle.—“I have wrote to you by this express a sort of public letter, to notify Prince Edward’s arrival.

“His intention is to use the Prince of Wales’s mediation with his Majesty; and he means to remain at Shooter’s Hill till he hears from the Prince, or from the Duke of Yorke.

“He seems extremely agitated, and in very great uneasiness about his reception. He made no secret of this to me, and said he had received no letter for 23 months; and that he was so much disatisfied with his governor, who was gone to make a report to his prejudice, that he thought it right to state his own story in person. That, as it was entirely a *family matter*, he thought it most natural to use the mediation of his brother, and to consult with him about announcing his arrival to his Majesty.”

## W. W. GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1790, January 14. St. James’s Square.—“Mr. Grenville has the honour of transmitting to your Majesty a letter which he has received



this morning by express from Lord Cathcart, notifying the arrival of His Royal Highness Prince Edward at Dover. Mr. Grenville has also thought it his duty to inclose to your Majesty a private letter which he has received from Lord Cathcart, as it may afford your Majesty further information on the subject." *Copy.*

W. W. GRENVILLE to R. HOBART.

1790, January 16. St. James's Square.—"His Excellency and yourself have been guilty of an omission in not sending me over the draft of his Speech to be laid before his Majesty for his approbation, which is always done, and, as I believe, even before it is communicated to any one in Ireland except the *most* confidential servants of Government there. You will, I believe, neither of you suspect me of being very intent on forms, but I think this ought not to be neglected another time, especially as it might be considered as an omission by the King." *Copy.*

W. W. GRENVILLE to the LORD CHANCELLOR [THURLOW].

1790, January 19. Whitehall.—"The settlers on the Mosquito Shore have again applied to me, previous to the meeting of Parliament, for the decision of the King's servants respecting the petition which they are desirous of presenting for compensation, on account of the losses which they suffered by their removal in 1786. When this business was last mentioned at the Cabinet, your Lordship's opinion seemed adverse to the admission of this claim. I fairly own that, upon looking into it then, and recently again, I find great difficulty in distinguishing this case from that of East Florida. The latter was ceded at the Peace, the former by a convention purporting to be in fair execution of the treaty of peace. Both of them defended themselves unsuccessfully against attacks during the war.

"There is, unquestionably, some difference in the right under which the settlements were originally made, and the degree of formal recognition by this Government of their existence and relation to this country. But taking together all that passed during the last peace, I doubt whether this difference is one which will justify the exclusion of the Mosquito settlers from all compensation, though it may affect the amount to be allowed to them.

"I have shortly stated these points for your Lordship's consideration, as these people are very urgent for an answer, and as my own opinion inclines to the suffering their petition to be presented.

"I was extremely glad to hear this morning that your Lordship was better." *Copy.*

THE EARL OF WESTMORELAND to W. W. GRENVILLE.

*Private.*

1790, January 21. Dublin Castle.—"I understood before I left England that Pitt settled the Speech, or at least the substance of it with you; however, as soon as possible after my arrival here, I enclosed the Speech to Pitt, begging that he would show it wherever form required; though I considered nothing else to be attended to, as the contents had already the approbation of so many persons. If he has neglected any due forms, I beg he may have the blame; and that

it may be added to the many reasons that, at the moment I am writing, you probably are hearing for his dismissal from his Majesty's service. I have got a famous manifesto from the Archbishop of Dublin, with which I shall trouble you, when I have leisure to speak to Hobart; but I fear, that will not be tonight.

"Both Houses have risen without any amendment proposed; Grattan said he should make some observations on the state of the country tomorrow."

#### R. HOBART to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, January 22. Dublin Castle.—"The Newfoundland convicts arrived last night; they will this day be identified, and committed to the custody of the sheriffs of Dublin. I am in great hopes, that you have given us a loop hole, which will get us out of the scrape . . . We had every reason to believe that Opposition intended to move an amendment to the address yesterday. Considering it was the first day of the session, the House was very full. I am persuaded that our numbers made them apprehensive least a division should give courage to our friends, and make us stronger upon questions where their ground is better. Mr. Grattan, however, has threatened us with observations on the state of the country this day. My hope is that they will divide, as I am grossly deceived if we should not find an advantage in it. Lord Shannon's language is that of moderation. He has taken care, in a variety of ways, that I should be told so; but I have taken no hints."

#### HENRY DUNDAS to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, January 27. Edinburgh.—"I have not discovered anything further, in the course of my discussions of the subject in this country, to encourage you in your plan of employing the convicts in Scotland. But I think it right to apprise you that there was once a survey of a navigation in the line you point at, made under the direction of the Board of Police before it was abolished. I learnt this from their late Secretary, who informs me that he carried all the papers belonging to the Board to Lord Cathcart the head of it, and delivered them to him. I thought it right to inform you of this, as it may give you an opportunity of enquiring at Lord Cathcart about them."

#### The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, January 31. [Stowe].—"I am extremely obliged to you for the obliging attention of sending me your *précis* upon Cherbourg. Perhaps my wishes made me more sanguine, but I have uniformly conceived that this *dénouement* would inevitably conclude their labours in this very great and daring undertaking. Bernard has sent me a paper which will take some time and attention to correct, and I really feel very little inclined to bestow either upon the subject. I will, however, return it to him with a few alterations.

"I hope that you have read Mr. Grattan's attack upon you with the same *sangfroid* as I have studied his elegant proof how much the milk of good nature and universal benevolence gilds his prospects, and soothes his mind, during the recess of Parliament. Hobart writes to me in very high spirits upon his prospects in the House of Commons, and poor Lord Portarlington has proved the impression due to his oratory



in the House of Lords. Nothing can be more eligible to Government in Ireland than to see the sessions wasted in these nonsenses levelled at me, who (*croyez-moi*) care as little for it as I do for the proceedings of the French Assembly.

"In this county, Lord Verney's friends have begun a sort of blind canvass in some few parts, but without any *éclat* or parade. I perfectly agree with you as to the inutility of any steps of that sort upon our part; it could only provoke reports of an apprehension which we do not feel. I own, however, that I wish the election over, as I dread the possibility of an opposition to Lord Verney. Aubrey has declared his intention of abandoning this county for ever; Dorton is to be let, and Llantrythd to be blessed as the scene of his contentment and repose. It is certain that he has held this language, but I cannot conceive him quite so great a fool."

R. HOBART to W. W. GRENVILLE.

*Private.*

1790, February 14. Dublin Castle.—"I yesterday received your letter of the 10th instant, and am happy to find that Mr. Burke and Mr. Sheridan are likely to do each other so much justice. It is strange, however, that two Irishmen in the British Parliament who have for so long agreed in politics, should at last separate on a French revolution.

"I should hope you was not in any degree alarmed at our numbers decreasing on a question of pensions; it is the only difficult subject we have.

"I enclose two letters, one from Sergeant Hewitt respecting the exportation of *fire clay* to this kingdom; should it be prevented, I fear the injury to Ireland would be very considerable. Will you have the goodness to speak to Mr. Pitt upon it."

Copy of a letter from Joseph Hewitt, enclosed.

The SAME to the SAME.

*Private.*

1790, February 17. Dublin.—"After many attempts to prevail on Lord Westmoreland to promise to recommend him for the Primacy and a peerage, the Archbishop of Dublin has determined to go to England, with a view, I do suppose, of laying his services in person before his Majesty, and making his own representation of the engagements of Lord Buckingham. I think it necessary to apprize you of this, that you may take such steps as appear most advisable. The situation in which the Archbishop stands with Lord Westmoreland is, briefly, as follows—

"His Grace claims a promise from Lord Buckingham of a peerage at the next creation of peers.

"Lord Buckingham acknowledges that he promised to recommend his Grace for that honour, but positively denies that he had made any engagement for its being carried into effect; not considering himself authorized by his Majesty to enter into such an engagement.

"Lord Westmoreland has signified to his Grace that he was willing to communicate to the King's confidential servants, for his Majesty's information, the Archbishop's claims and pretensions; but that he could not state, as an engagement of Lord Buckingham's government, that which he did not acknowledge to have been made.

"My private opinion of the business is that Lord Buckingham had gone very far in his expressions to the Archbishop upon the subject,

always looking to the possibility of its being refused in England; and I also think that the making the Archbishop a peer, would be attended with extremely bad consequences to the Government. It would be a precedent which others would avail themselves of, and be productive of great dissatisfaction and difficulty.

"With regard to the Primacy, I do not find that Lord Buckingham ever held any other language than that it was a point absolutely reserved for England; although he might have given the Archbishop to understand that he thought his services gave him fair pretensions.

"Upon both subjects Lord Westmoreland stands perfectly clear, resting the whole business on the claims derived from Lord Buckingham, and not having encouraged his Grace to expect more or less than he was entitled to from those claims."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1790.] February 21. [Stowe.]—"I have just time, after writing to Hobart and finishing the enclosed, to say three words to you upon the same subject. I have hitherto sent all these correspondences through Hobart, and I should have referred this angry prelate back to Ireland but that he was determined to see you. You will therefore ask him for my letter of the 30th which he has got in his pocket, and you will see from thence the sort of way in which to treat his *claims*.

"Hobart is very uneasy, in his letter to me of the 16th, at a sort of official communication, avowed by Beresford, to be opened, upon commercial and finance subjects, between him as first Commissioner and Lord Hawkesbury and Rose. You remember that this sort of thing is not new, having been begun in the Government[s] of the Earl of Bucks and Lord Carlisle. I have written to him to tell him that I would write to you to inform you of this, and to interest you in putting an end to it, as much as depends upon you. The object is to appear to pass Hobart by, as unfit for such discussions, and I find that there is ill blood between Lord Waterford and him upon his Lordship's *further wishes*."

The EARL OF WESTMORELAND to W. W. GRENVILLE.

*Private.*

1790, February 24. Dublin Castle.—"The messenger conveys to you the most material Bills; in a few days I hope to forward the remainder. The advanced state of the King's business enables me to desire his authority to prorogue and dissolve this Parliament and call a new one. The fear of being misrepresented in their counties at the election forces the country gentlemen, however unwilling, to go all the lengths of opposition; and their addition to the aristocratic league, though not effective at present, would be most formidable should any popular clamour arise. Be assured no engine however desperate has been left untried to work upon the people, on the cry of corrupt views in the creation of the new places. I am very happy in being able to give my opinion that neither art nor malice has prevailed; that the country is calm, if not favourable. It would be imprudent to continue this Parliament another session, for, though I have reduced every expenditure as low as the public service will admit, and the revenue is certainly encreasing, such is the expence and arrear of the establishment, that it appears hardly possible to pass another year without getting money by some manœuvre or other. We ought not, I think, to omit the present favourable opportunity, and risk being forced to an election under the impression of such a measure, independent of

the various occurrences that the interested industry of faction may trump into grievance in the course of a few months. I therefore request the King's authority to dissolve as soon as the Bills are passed, that the election may take place before patriotism has had the opportunity of fomenting dissatisfaction at the assizes and county meetings.

"If a speedy dissolution does not take place, the canvass through the summer will produce a ferment in the counties extremely prejudicial to good order and the public peace. I have no doubt we can procure a sufficient return of friends, if we are assisted by the creation of four peers, Mr. Alexander, Mr. Pery, Mr. Agar and Mr. Dillon. Hobart writes to you upon the peerages, as they were nearly settled before I came here, and he is better acquainted with the particulars. Mr. Pery and Mr. Alexander are engagements absolute of your brother; the other two had received much encouragement, and, I believe, his approbation. It is my duty to tell you, that these creations are unavoidably necessary. You are too well acquainted with the state of this country for me to argue to you, that the maintenance of the King's government depends upon the return of friends to the new Parliament. With the assistance I request, with the greatest attention and management, we shall be able to defy the hostile league; without it I assure you we shall find very serious difficulties in the return of our friends; and a disappointment to these gentlemen, after the continued encouragement they have met with, might have very unpleasant effects.

"The Irish politicians, alarmed at an opposition of all the great interests, cannot be persuaded fairly to face the orators, and return their abuse, for fear of future proscription and resentment; some mark of his Majesty's favour is wanted to give spirit and encouragement to our friends. There is some difficulty in deciding, whether the creation should be made to the Bishop of Limerick or Mr. Pery. The Bishop unquestionably is preferable, unless you think the objection of opening the door to prelates too strong; but as this reward is not for House of Lords, or ecclesiastical, support, that objection is removed from my mind. By creating the Bishop, we keep down the addition in the Lords, and retain Mr. Pery in the Commons, whom I much wish to retain, as he is an honourable and respectable supporter; besides we shall probably lose his seat; if you will give me the option, I will be chiefly guided by the appearance of the election of Limerick. Much arrangement depends upon the certainty of his Majesty's approbation to these peerages. Most earnestly let me entreat you to obtain a speedy decision upon both points, and return an answer by an English messenger without loss of time. I have troubled Mr. Pitt upon the same subject."

LORD THURLOW to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1790, February 24.]—"You do not mention the peculiar urgency of passing the Money Bills to-morrow. I suppose therefore it means that Directors of the Bank meet on the Friday morning; and must either meet again in the afternoon, or act on the expectation of the Bills meeting the Royal assent, which at the highest computation cannot exceed a dinner. If any notice of the expediency had been given yesterday by Mr. Steele, they might have passed without inconvenience to any body to-day. But I don't see how it will be possible to pass them to-morrow before 12 o'clock, when the trial ought to begin. At the utmost the difference is whether the contract be signed to-morrow or the next day; though it must be confessed, that

difference may include giving a sufficient number of Directors the trouble to meet again, either in the afternoon, or the next day. And I doubt whether it will not appear strange, that putting off the business of both Houses should be thought the less inconvenience."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, February 24. [Stowe.]—"Hobart has prevailed upon Coote to stand for the Queen's County, and I am earnestly pressed to endeavour to get for him Lord Stanhope's interest, and that of Pole. As to the first, I should think that Pitt might manage it; but it [is] clear that I cannot ask any favour from his Lordship, as we hardly exchange bows. As to the latter, I know that he supports Warburton, but I do not know how far he may be prevailed upon to support Coote with his second votes. You know that Warburton is *ame damnée* to Lord Shannon, and my private regards are very warm to Coote.

"Nothing can be more triumphant than Hobart's language to me, and nothing can be more flattering than the high praise which is given to him by all my correspondents; and I trust that he has credit with Government for his steadiness and conduct. As to myself, I have profited so much by the lovely weather, that I do not regret having for three weeks resisted the idea of London; however I must at length give way, and I shall be in London either on Monday night or on Tuesday morning."

"I asked Pitt to give me Lord Portsmouth's interest in the county of Wexford for Lord Valentia, it having been given to Pitt's disposal. I am not very anxious about it, but I am most anxious for an answer, as I am much teased about it. His Lordship's member is Sir Frederick Flood, who is with Government."

W. W. GRENVILLE to the LORD CHANCELLOR [THURLOW].

1790, February 25. St. James's Square.—"The nature of the inconvenience, as it is stated to me, is that the Directors of the Bank either cannot, or at least, according to their constant practise, do not ever sign the contract but in their regular courts, which are only on Thursdays.

"The delay of passing the Bill to day would therefore, in fact, be that of a week, during which time there is a necessity for a considerable issue for the subsistence of the Army. The reason why this was not mentioned before was, as I understand, because in consequence of what passed between your Lordship and myself on Thursday last, it was expected that there would have been a Commission in the beginning of the week.

"The Speaker informs me that he will be at the House before 12, in order that no delay may arise from his absence." *Copy.*

W. W. GRENVILLE to R. HOBART.

*Private.*

1790, February 26. St. James's Square.—"I have just seen the Archbishop of Dublin, and have heard from him a long statement of his claims and services.

"The only answer which I made him was, that I had, at the time, been apprized by Lord Buckingham of his decided conduct during the business of the Regency, which I felt as strongly as any man. That

with respect to the object which he solicits, that of a peerage, I had from Lord Buckingham himself a positive disavowal of his having made any such engagement as his Grace stated; and that the King's servants could receive only from the late Lord Lieutenant alone statements of the late Lord Lieutenant's engagements, and from the present Lord Lieutenant alone recommendations to those marks of favour to which, by constant practice, the Lord Lieutenant is allowed to recommend. That as his Grace's present application did not come before the King's servants in either of those shapes, I could not even enter into it, or discuss with his Grace the propriety of his wishes.

"This is the substance of a long conversation, as far as I had any share in it. What was stated by him was only a repetition of what you have already heard, and which it is therefore useless for me to repeat; but I thought it very necessary to apprize you for my Lord Lieutenant's information, and your own, of what passed on my part." *Copy.*

#### W. W. GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1790, March 1. St. James's Square.—"Mr. Grenville has the honor of transmitting to your Majesty a letter which he received yesterday from your Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Mr. Grenville thinks it his duty to lose no time in laying this letter before your Majesty, as the Lord Lieutenant appears to be so anxious for a decision on the points which he submits for your Majesty's consideration.

"Mr. Grenville takes the liberty of mentioning, that he imagines your Majesty will think the state of affairs in Ireland, as described by the Lord Lieutenant, renders a dissolution of Parliament at the time proposed by the Lord Lieutenant, a wise and prudent measure. And Mr. Grenville hopes that, if this step is approved by your Majesty, the Lord Lieutenant's recommendation of four gentlemen for the honour of Irish peerages, will also meet with your Majesty's approbation. But Mr. Grenville thinks it necessary to observe, with respect to one of these recommendations, that the measure of conferring peerages on any of the Bishops appears liable to so much objection, that Mr. Grenville thinks the granting a peerage directly to Mr. Pery, would be far more desirable than the mode suggested by the Lord Lieutenant of conferring that honour on the Bishop of Limerick. If, therefore, your Majesty approves of it, Mr. Grenville will state this opinion to the Lord Lieutenant, and express his hope that the latter of these modes may not be recommended unless, on re-consideration, the Lord Lieutenant should think it a point of very material consequence to your Majesty's service." *Copy.*

#### GEORGE III. to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, March 1. Windsor.—"The Lord Lieutenant's opinion is so decided as to the necessity of calling a new Parliament that it would be highly imprudent to object here to this measure; I therefore authorize Mr. Grenville to give my consent to it, and to the four additions to the peerage, provided Mr. Pery and not his brother be of the number; I agreeing entirely with Mr. Grenville as to the impropriety of granting it to the latter."

#### W. W. GRENVILLE to the EARL OF WESTMORELAND.

*Private.*

1790, March 2. St. James's Place.—"I have lost no time, since the receipt of your private letter of the 24th of February, in laying before

the King the points to which it relates. I most entirely agree in the propriety of the measure which you recommend ; and I have the King's orders to inform you that, whenever the measure of the dissolution shall be formally recommended from your side of the water, his Majesty's consent to it will be immediately notified from hence. I am also authorized to say, that no difficulty will be made in acceding to your recommendation of the four gentlemen whom you mention for Irish Peerages. But the King would feel the greatest reluctance to opening the door for conferring this distinction on any of the bench of Bishops, and I cannot but say that I see very strong objections to it. These are strengthened by what has lately passed on the subject of the Archbishop of Dublin. He came over here, as you know, to state a complaint on this subject ; and he received for answer, both from Mr. Pitt and myself, that, as his pretensions to a peerage were neither supported by any engagement stated by the late Lord Lieutenant, nor by any recommendation from you, it was impossible for the King's servants here to enter into any discussion with his Grace on the subject, without breaking in upon that line which they were determined to adhere to with respect to Irish Government. As this matter now stands, I think he has no ground of complaint. I should not be quite so clear of this if another Bishop was made a peer, though on different grounds.

"I hope, therefore, that you will not find any considerable inconvenience from the making Mr. Pery himself a peer, rather than the Bishop of Limerick. The whole difficulty would be obviated by a fresh creation to Lord Pery, and it is certainly not easy to find any reasonable objection which he could make to this proposal. I am however not ignorant that an objection is not always less strongly insisted on for being unreasonable, and I conclude you have tried this point as far as you could.

"I think the stand which has been made against these great powers has been a glorious one, and that it will be productive of real and solid advantage to both countries, provided it can be carried through ; which I trust there is every reason to hope it may."—*Copy.*

The EARL OF WESTMORELAND to W. W. GRENVILLE.

*Private.*

1790, March 3. Dublin Castle.—"I have by this post sent you an official letter requesting the promotion of Mr. Talbot to a baronetage. I trouble you further with the information, that this promotion is with a view to Lord Donegal's boroughs and interest at the election ; that we gain completely Mr. Talbot, who has perfect dominion over Lord Donegal. You will, I flatter myself, think the terms not unreasonable."

The SAME to the SAME.

*Private.*

1790, March 9. Dublin Castle.—"The Bishop of Limerick will not consent to the peerage being given to Mr. Pery, nor to any terms but the peerage being granted to himself, insists upon the performance of the engagement, and all arguments are useless. You are to be informed that an absolute engagement was signed, in March 1789, that the Bishop of Limerick should be created a Baron, on the condition of the uniform support of the Bishop and Mr. Pery, as well as the seats ; the former part of the engagement has been very honourably complied with on their part, the faith of Government is therefore pledged ; and respect to Lord Buckingham, as well as the interest of his Majesty to support the credit

of his servants, enforces the necessity of fulfilling this engagement on the part of the Administration, to a degree that cannot be resisted. It is too late to consider the objections. The Archbishop's case seems quite separate. The promise of honours which brought the Bishop and his son *immediately* from a different line of political pursuit; and the advantage the Administration will receive in the new Parliament, is plainly an House of Commons transaction and agreement, and cannot give any force to his Grace's pretensions, who has not still, I hope, the modesty to claim an engagement, and who can plead no service but in House of Lords; a service I should think very fairly to be expected from an Archbishop of Dublin.

"Many thanks for your speedy attention to our business. I have the pleasure to tell you that the opposition is over for the session. Could anything be so absurd as the conduct of these great patriots, who perfectly wiped out the smallness of our majority upon the Pension Bill, by their absurd address of Saturday last."

W. PITT to LORD CAMELFORD.

1790, March 11, Downing Street.—"I called this morning to mention to you the result of my researches, with a view to the object we talked of. There are three persons that occur, any one of whom would I believe, readily close with the proposal; but before I determine which to apply to first, I wished to know whether you prefer a Scotchman, an Irishman, or an East Indian, as my friends divide themselves into those three descriptions. The first is Mr. Grant, a lawyer rising into eminence, and very eager for Parliament. The second, Mr. Coote, nephew and heir to Sir Eyre Coote, and, as I am told, a very respectable man. The third, Mr. J. Sullivan, who was a considerable time in India, and returned both with a good fortune and a good character. I have little doubt that any one of the three would close. But I should add that Mr. Coote is at present in Ireland, and I imagine that whoever is fixed on will be expected to pay his respects immediately on the spot."

W. W. GRENVILLE to the EARL OF WESTMORELAND.

*Private.*

1790, March 17, St. James's Square.—"Your letter, which I received on Sunday last, supersedes all further consideration on the subject of the Bishop of Limerick's peerage, and I have therefore stated it this day again to the King, who has consented to its being done in the manner which your Excellency recommends.

"We are not yet quit of the troublesome subject of Irish convicts. I have, within these few days, received information of a fresh set of these miscreants having been landed on the Island of Barbuda, by a Captain Christian, as I think. I, however, expect a more detailed account from Sir Thomas Shirley. They have been hitherto maintained by the inhabitants, but as this cannot be expected to continue, this untoward accident must, I fear, bring forward the question which we have before so much discussed, and it will now come in the case of an island which is a British Colony. I cannot imagine how this vessel can have been so long on her passage, as I conclude she must have been; as she can hardly have sailed since the point has been under discussion.

"I sincerely congratulate you on the successful struggle of this session, which is so well concluded by the last division."—*Copy.*



## THE EARL OF WESTMORELAND TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, March 20, Dublin Castle.—“About three days ago the Speaker desired that I would recommend Mrs. Forster to be made a peeress; it was answered, that the King, having at present consented to a batch of peers, I could not venture to propose any thing new. He replied, these promotions caused the immediate pressure of his application, that his family might not be lower in rank than the new peers. I was in hopes that I could have satisfied him, by holding an expectation of Viscounty at a future period; but that offer would not do, and, at last, it came plainly out, that he wanted to secure this honour to his family, which Speakers had ever obtained; and that he was apprehensive (as indeed is most probable) that whenever a change of government happens, it will happen suddenly; and that being particularly marked by Ponsonby, he should be deprived of the honour, to which he considers himself entitled. This creation is not open certainly to the general objection of creating peers, namely, increasing the numbers in the Lords, it being a point universally admitted that a faithful Speaker has a right to the peerage; and it would be peculiarly pleasant to me to make the Speaker my friend, by serving him in a point which he has most anxiously fixed upon; and this favour would tend to allay any jealousies that, you know, possibly may arise upon the many marks of favour that the Chancellor and that connexion have received. I therefore wish and think it should be done; but I told him, and repeat to you, that his Majesty having consented to a list, it would be very unreasonable to press the present creation if any objection occurred, and that I would on no account permit this application to interfere with the previous engagements. In truth, I suppose you will concur with me in opinion, this favour costs Government nothing, and will be an argument of great force and utility in resisting applications for bishoprics with boroughs. If, however, the King has any objection, or any thing serious occurs to you, have the goodness to write me an ostensible refusal; though, to repeat what I have said, I cannot recommend this measure as absolutely necessary, yet I think it a means of shewing favour to, and attaching, a very able man, and considerable connexion, at a price very reasonable to the King's Government.”

## HENRY DUNDAS TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1790, March] 27.—“I return you Mr. Shene's letter. You know he is Fergusson's competitor for the county of Aberdeen, and Sir William Forbes is one of his chief supports; but from the way he states it, if it is perfectly accurate, there seems no reason for your refusing to gratify him in what he asks; only cause Mr. Nepean [to] look over his memorandum book, whether there is any previous recommendation to the Crown presentation in the event of a vacancy.

“Since writing the above it has occurred to me that, in all probability, Lord Fife could explain to you the circumstances of the parishes. I think he must be a considerable heritor in the parish of Kildrummle.”

## THE EARL OF WESTMORELAND TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

*Private.*

1790, March 31. Dublin Castle.—“Mr. Curran, in the House of Commons, called Mr. Gifford, an officer in the Custom House who is supposed to take notes for Administration, a *miscreant*; Gifford,



without opening his lips, shook his stick at Curran in the streets. About three days ago, Mr. Egan, in Mr. Curran's name, demanded of Hobart the dismissal of Gifford from his office, and the cooperation of Government in the House of Commons to punish this insult and breach of privilege. Hobart replied he would communicate the message to the Lord Lieutenant. The enclosed correspondence contains the remainder of the transaction, except a message of challenge delivered by Egan. It was thought impossible in this country of valour that Hobart, as a military man, could submit to Curran's impertinence, or refuse his challenge; but conceiving that, in his official situation, this meeting might be judged improper, he sent me this morning a letter of resignation of the office of Secretary; which resignation I have not accepted. Any step taken by me to prevent mischief would have been injurious in the extreme to Hobart's reputation; the story was so public, that I entertained no doubt that the Officers of the Law would have interrupted them. I thought it incumbent on me to avoid any positive knowledge of what might be intended.

"The parties met this morning near Luttrellstown; Curran fired at Hobart. Hobart asked if Mr. Curran had any farther commands; Lord Carhampton and Egan interfered and thought the business should end. This scheme, it is universally believed, was hatched at Lord Charlemont's and proceeded upon with consultation of the party. Some persons advise the striking Curran and Egan from the list of King's Counsel, and prosecuting them by the Attorney General. I much doubt if they would be hurt by the first proposal, and equally question the legality of the second mode. The business has ended so much to Hobart's credit, and Mr. Curran's conduct is so universally execrated by the public, that nothing can reconcile the world to him but the angry interference of Government. I would therefore by no means propose any attempt of punishment, but leave the heroes in their own disgraces. You will easily conceive the anxiety I have felt for some days past, and my pleasure and satisfaction at the *finale* of this business."

R. HOBART to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1790, April 1. Dublin Castle.]—"As I find the mail is not gone, I write in great haste to say the House of Commons is this moment up. Mr. Curran moved for an address to the King to lay before the House the reason for dividing the Boards of Accounts and Stamps, and the names of the persons who advised the measure. After a long debate, in which much invective was thrown out against Government for increasing the influence of the crown, we divided;—

For Mr. Curran's motion	-	-	81
Against it	-	-	141
Majority			60

"I shall transmit an official account this day."

W. W. GRENVILLE to EARL OF WESTMORELAND.

1790, April 1. Whitehall.—"I have only time to say that the messenger who carries over this, brings with him the letters and licence for the dissolution, which will I hope arrive in time.

"His Majesty has expressed his consent to your wish of recommending Mrs. Forster for the Irish peerage."—*Copy.*

## HENRY DUNDAS to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, April 3. Somerset Place.—“I have wrote to the Duke of Buccleugh, and I have suggested to him to take Wimbledon in his way from Portsmouth, and that I would be there before dinner, next Thursday. I have likewise mentioned to him that, as it would be right that Mr. Pitt and you had an early conversation with him on the subject of the Scotch peers, I would write to you that, if convenient for both of you, Mr. Pitt and you would perhaps meet him at dinner next Thursday. If you can therefore, I wish you would settle it with Mr. Pitt, and I shall be there before dinner on Thursday in hopes of meeting with you. I have seen Lord Findlater's friend; he thinks I can easily smooth every thing else, but that he suspects the idea of sitting on the Baron's Bench below Lord Fife, will be a hard pill to digest.”

## The EARL OF WESTMORELAND to W. W. GRENVILLE.

*Private.*

1790, April 5. Dublin Castle.—“The public letter conveys to you the speech delivered this day. . . I feel myself much flattered by His Majesty's concession of Mrs. Forster's peerage.

“I went to the House very late that Mr. Curran might have an opportunity of complaining of breach of privilege in Mr. Gifford's insult, but not a word was said. As the business is over, you will understand that I have *persuaded Hobart* to continue in his situation.”

The SAME to the SAME.

*Private.*

1790, April 10. Dublin Castle.—“I have written to you a public letter desiring to be empowered to appoint Colonel Cradock to the Irish Inspectorship, and recommending him for the English part. Pray fight hard for me, for it would be most disgraceful to lose what my predecessors have enjoyed, and if the exception to the English following the Irish appointment was first made in my case . . . Lord Buckingham's archbishop is in great rage.”

## W. W. GRENVILLE to the EARL OF WESTMORELAND.

*Private.*

1790, April 10. [Whitehall].—“I received yesterday your letter, marked private, of the 31st ultimo, and this day yours of the 5th instant. I cannot express the satisfaction which I felt in reading the statement of the transaction between Hobart and Curran, which I think is, in all its parts, highly honorable to him personally, and to Government. As I knew that some account of this business must reach his Majesty, I ventured to send him the statement which you had enclosed to me, although the business was evidently one of a private nature; and I have the satisfaction of finding that the impression which it has made is, as I trusted it could not fail to be, extremely favorable to Hobart.

“I perfectly agree with you in thinking that any measures bearing the appearance of revenge or persecution on the part of Government, on account of this transaction, would weaken the very good effect which it appears likely to me to produce, as it now stands.”  
*Copy.*

W. W. GRENVILLE to the LORD CHANCELLOR [THURLOW].

1790, April 10. [Whitehall.]—"I had the honor of mentioning to you some time ago, that, in consequence of the pressing application of the Mosquito settlers for a decision on their request for compensation, I had given them assurances that they should receive a final answer on that subject in the course of the present session. I also mentioned the general outline of the idea which I entertained upon it, but it has not been till in the course of the present week, that I have found time to put upon paper, as your Lordship requested me to do, the grounds on which this question appeared to me to rest.

"I have now the honor to inclose a short statement of what occurs to me upon it. I have ordered the printed case of the settlers, and the volume of correspondence relating to this business, to be sent with this letter; and if, on the whole, this mode of settling the question does not appear objectionable to your Lordship, steps shall be taken, without delay, for introducing a Bill for that purpose into the House of Commons. If however any difficulties should occur, or if there is any part of the subject on which you wish for further explanation or description, I shall be happy to obey your Lordship's commands." *Copy.*

The EARL OF WESTMORELAND to W. W. GRENVILLE.

*Private.*

1790, April 12. Dublin Castle.—"The arrangement I shall take the liberty of recommending upon the death of Bishop of Kildare is that the Bishop of Kilmore, whose very honourable and steady support during the Regency deserves the favour of Government, should be promoted to Kildare, that the Bishop of Cork should be translated to Kilmore. This translation is very beneficial to the interest of Government, and decisive of the election of a supporter for the county of Cavan, and so critical is the interest of the Bishop, that I have thought it necessary to tell the Bishop of Cork that I should recommend him. I shall propose to be Bishop of Cork, Dr. Bennet of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, a man both in learning and character extremely well qualified for the situation; he is my first chaplain.

"I shall wait your answer before I take further steps; pray write immediately, as dispatch is of importance to the election for Cavan."

The SAME to the SAME.

*Private.*

1790, April 13. Dublin Castle.—"The enclosed papers contain a state of Lord Drogheda's claims; what sense his Majesty may entertain of them, and whether he may consider the pretensions done away by Lord Drogheda's conduct of last year, is not my business to discuss. With respect to my part, I must say, that Lord Drogheda made the most zealous professions in favour of Government; that his conduct has corresponded with his declarations. He is at present engaged in a most earnest contest for the Queen's County, to bring in his son to support us, has given a positive refusal to Ponsonby for the Chair, will bring in a friend for Lord Hertford's borough of Lisburn, and has given us the preference in having two friends returned for the borough of Ballinakill, which he commands. Considering that he is a relation and connexion of Ponsonby's (and it is surely peculiarly advisable for the English Government to detach from the army of that potentate,) and that he is a man of considerable influence and property, I am of

opinion it would be very useful to hold to him favourable expectations, *at least*; and I am induced to hope he would be satisfied by an assurance that he should be made a Marquis during my government, and that no one should be promoted to the Marquisate till he was. You will recollect that he has already suffered in having two junior Peers placed above him. I think what passed in Lord Harcourt's and Lord Hertford's governments would be a justification for promoting him singly at any time, and prevent any difficulties on that score. You will plainly understand that I am under no engagement but to deliver Lord Drogheda's statement to his Majesty, with my representation of his faithful services to Government, and my belief of his intentions to continue them; but I thought it equally incumbent on me to say what I thought would be advisable, and what I hoped would satisfy his Lordship. If in England you entertain a different opinion, you must send me an ostensible answer.

"I was made particularly happy this morning by your letter of the 10th, and am very glad you concur with me in leaving Messires Curran and Egan to their own disgraces."

Enclosing a letter from Lord Drogheda, forwarding copies of letters to him from Lords Hertford and Harcourt.

#### LORD THURLOW to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, April 13. ——"I never acceded to the principles of the last Florida case, or understood them, or indeed heard them explained. I remember, the project was once proposed to the Cabinet in general terms, which I thought inapplicable, and insufficient to support it. What the rest of the Cabinet thought, I had never, that I remember, an opportunity to learn. It was carried easily through Parliament, for the same reason which will probably carry the present project through. In support of the peace it had been argued, that all the stipulations had been made for the property of subjects, which could no longer be defended, that were usual, or that could be expected. Those who claimed that pretension to merit, acquiesced, or rather rejoiced in the admission of the falsehood of that defence, and concurred in repairing, what they had always called, an injury. Government has contended, that the Mosquito shore stood on the same foundation as all other British establishments on the Spanish main, a privilege to be exercised *in solo alieno*; in which they were supported by many more documents than I find in the volume you have favoured me with; and, in particular, by a paper supposed to be drawn up by Lord Mansfield in 1761.

"The interposition of Government, which you now seem to rely upon so much, was then considered only as so many measures to prevent complaints on the part of Spain; whose territorial claim was continually made, never denied, and often allowed solemnly. On the other hand, no pretension was ever set up to establish a colony, or any other settlement. The liberty of cutting logwood, and scanty accessories to that right, was the whole of our demand. Whatever it may be the fashion now to think, these things were neither unknown, or unconsidered at the time of making the peace; although the Cabinet now seems to take it for granted, that we had never seen *Newberry's Mappemonde*, or *Trusler's Chronology*. It must be confessed that our unworthy haggling with Spain enlarged our claims to mahogany, and to a district equal to both claims. This notwithstanding, we were attacked in the House of Lords. We defended ourselves, not in the wretched way represented in that very foolish paper you have sent me, en-

titled *the Case* . . .) but by a fair deduction of the history, which proved irrefragably, as it then appeared, that an ample compensation had been obtained, not only for the logwood we had always claimed, but for the mahogany, which we had never pretended to. If the question should come on again in a different shape, I don't expect to be supplied with the same materials; but I don't despair of recovering my notes, or, upon memory, of maintaining the same points.

"A commission seems to me only a more disgraceful manner of covering our ignorance. If we have been wrong, it is manly to say so; if right, to maintain ourselves. This and another now depending in Parliament will be the fifth, sixth instance, when the ignorance of old establishments has been exposed by such an attempt to supply it."

HENRY DUNDAS to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1790, April —.] Somerset Place.—"I return you the draft. We have already given orders founded upon the prospect of a rupture with Spain. But leaving out what I have underlined respecting Spain, the draft is strictly within our power, and perfectly justified by the advices received since the departure of the *Foulis*. The *Swallow* will be despatched to-morrow, but there will be the opportunity of sending letters for two or three days more, till she actually sail from Portsmouth."

W. W. GRENVILLE to the LORD CHANCELLOR [THURLOW].

*Private.*

1790, April 17. St. James's Square.—"I collect from the general tenor of your Lordship's answer to my letter of the 10th inst. that the ideas which I have stated on the subject of the claims of the people removed from the Mosquito Shore, do not meet with your Lordship's concurrence.

"Any opinion which I have expressed on this subject is certainly open to discussion, and even liable to be entirely changed by fresh lights derived from the better information or judgment of others. But from the line of argument and observation used in your Lordship's letter, I cannot help fearing either that I must wholly misconceive the nature of the point in discussion, or that I must have expressed myself with some extreme inaccuracy respecting it.

"I have reconsidered the paper with which, in compliance with your Lordship's request, I troubled your Lordship on this subject. I cannot, on the most attentive examination, find in it any expression conveying censure on the peace of 1783, disrespect to those who concluded it, or so strange a presumption as that of supposing them ignorant of the first elements of geography and history.

"Nor does the point now in discussion appear to me to call in question the propriety either of that peace, or of the subsequent convention.

"The cession of property, territory, or rights which we are unable to defend, and the adjusting by precise stipulation, and by mutual accommodation, unascertained claims which were likely to lead to hostility, are merely measures of political expediency, not depending on any subsequent pretensions which individuals may or may not be thought to have to compensation, for their particular loss in transactions of public benefit.

"With respect to the particular grounds of the present question, I almost entirely agree with your Lordship in your statement of the situation of the British inhabitants of the Mosquito shore; and if I see

any part of the question in a different light, it is probably from the want of those further materials of which your Lordship speaks, and particularly of the papers said to be drawn by Lord Mansfield in 1761, which I have not seen.

"That nothing like a right to form a colony on the Mosquito shore was ever asserted by the Government of this country, I think a point perfectly clear, and stated it as such in the paper which I inclosed to your Lordship. That the territorial rights of Spain over that country were ever expressly or solemnly allowed by us before 1786, I must confess myself ignorant.

"But had the information which I have seen led me to think that such recognition had been so made, I do not see how it would alter the ground of what occurs to me on this subject, as far as I entertain any opinion upon it. The case would then stand thus; certain British subjects exercised, under the faith of treaties, a right to cut Logwood on the territories of Spain. This right necessarily implies the enjoyment of those conveniences without which it cannot be exercised; such are the building houses necessary for their residence; the cultivating provisions necessary for their subsistence; and the acquisition and possession of such implements and accommodations as are requisite for carrying on the business in which they are engaged.

"By a convention explanatory of the treaty of 1783, the British Government, acting for the benefit of the whole empire, stipulated to remove these people from the district where they enjoyed those rights, to another district at a distance from it, and which was supposed to be equally well calculated for the exercise of the same rights.

"If then the houses which have been built in the first district, the lands which have been cultivated there for provisions, and the accommodations which have been acquired or erected for the business which was to be carried on there, are of any value to the settlers, it is evident that this value is lost in the removal.

"Shall this loss fall upon the public or upon the individual?

"This appears to me the whole question to be decided; and in forming this decision, it was natural to look at the most recent case that seemed to bear resemblance or analogy to it.

"The proprietors of lands in East Florida had certainly a more ample interest in those than the Mosquito settlers had in any part of the coast where they were established; and this interest was surrendered by Government for the benefit of the whole.

"The present Administration and the present Parliament thought these proprietors entitled to compensation; for they passed repeated bills for that purpose.

"Unless the difference arises from the extent or nature of the interest possessed, the case of Mosquito settlers is the same. And I see no reason or principle which applies to compensating the greater interest which does not apply equally to compensating the smaller; though the amount of the compensation will naturally be different.

"It seems very difficult for us now to discuss the propriety of the principle itself of compensation, as adopted in the East Florida case. Because the Mosquito settlers will naturally and reasonably think it unjust that an objection, not taken in the former case, should be taken against them, if the grounds of argument which apply to both cases are the same.

"If these considerations lead, as they appear to me to do, to establish the propriety of some compensation, I am at a loss to understand the nature of your Lordship's objections to a Commission for that purpose.

"Commissions to enquire into the particulars of individual cases, for the examination of which neither Parliament nor any Office of executive government can have leisure, are, as far as I have ever read or heard, consonant to the established practice of Parliament. Nor do they seem to me to imply any ignorance either of those principles by which individual cases are to be regulated, when the particulars of them are known, or of those details which are of necessity, or importance, to the business of legislation or government.

"If these opinions are wrong, I shall be sincerely obliged to your Lordship for setting me right, and shall unquestionably be ready and desirous, as I have always been, to furnish your Lordship with any materials or documents for that purpose which may be in my Office.

"In what I have hitherto stated, I have carefully avoided saying anything with respect to the general impression and tone of your Lordship's letter; though, certainly, I could not but feel from it a considerable degree of concern and surprise, having, as far as I know, given no ground for anything of the sort. Whenever I have had this feeling with respect to the conduct of those with whom I have acted, I have always thought it fair and honourable to state it to them; abstaining, at the same time, as far as it was in my power to do, from anything at all resembling that of which I thought I had reason to complain." *Copy.*

LORD THURLOW to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, April 17.—"If I remember right, it was on last Saturday or Sunday, that you honoured me with your thoughts on the claim of the Mosquito people to a recompense. Your messenger sent up word that he was ordered to wait for an answer, in consequence of which I kept him, while I read over the papers, and put down my thoughts as they occurred.

"In a letter so hastily written, the expressions may have been too negligently and bluntly conceived; nay, if they gave you offence, they must have been so. Having no copy, or memory of the letter, or of that you censure most, the tone of it, I cannot enter into a more particular explanation. But this I can assure you with perfect confidence, that, whatever may have been the expression, it certainly was not my meaning to take so impertinent an occasion of saying anything offensive to you.

"It would not have been easy, especially in the hurry I wrote, and without more information, to have made a detailed discussion of the subject. In your present letter, so much better composed, only some general results are stated. They are principally two; first, the Spaniard never had an acknowledged dominion in the Mosquito country; secondly, the English enjoyed, under the faith of treaties, the liberty of cutting logwood there. Against the information which you possess, it would be presumption in me, who want it, to speak confidently. But, as I have no difficulty to expose my mistakes to correction, I confess I have taken the Spanish Dominion to stand as an admitted point for these 120 years, in all the disputes about logwood. The liberty of cutting that wood claimed by the English, I took to have been originally in the bay of Campeachy; and afterwards on the eastern side of the promontory of Yucatan; nay, I had entertained a notion that little or no logwood was found, or actually cut on the Mosquito shore, properly so called; that the white inhabitants there, English or others, were very few in number, notwithstanding Mr. White's exaggerated accounts, which differed, as I remember, from

all others in the possession of Government in 1786; in short, that, if the compensation were confined to their logwood cutters, it would have very little to work upon. Having no accurate maps, or papers, or time to look into them, I must leave this as a vague outline.

"These errors, I apprehend, were entertained in common with others; as perhaps would appear if the minutes of Cabinet in 1783 could be now recovered. I do not remember that the Treaty of 1786 was referred to Cabinet, or any minute, as usual in such cases. But the topics which then occurred were stated; and, as I remember, without any difference of opinion. At the same time I would not be understood, upon memory of things so long past, to vouch for the precision of any statement I can make now.

"As to the principle of the compensation made in the Florida case, I confess ingenuously that I don't know it; nor could I answer any man who should ask, why the Ministry went so far and no further. At the same time I do not presume to expect that the Ministry, thinking fit, for whatever reason, to apply the same line of conduct to the Mosquito shore, should turn aside from their purpose, in reference to any thing done or said by those who acted under them on a former occasion.

"I perfectly agree, that the application of any rule to individual cases can only be done by commission, or some other form of executive authority. And my letter, if it contained a different idea, was in that respect, at least, absurd. But I still think it (with submission) of some consequence, to know beforehand the numbers, condition, and sort of establishment of the persons to be relieved, that no part of their description may be left to commissioners.

"The last paragraph of your letter I hope has been answered by the first of mine. The sentiment I sincerely adopt, whenever it can be exerted without disappointing the good intended by it."

W. W. GRENVILLE to the EARL OF WESTMORELAND.

*Private.*

1790, April 18. Whitehall.—"The messenger who brought me your letter on the subject of the Irish Bishoprics, and the dispatch relative to the Inspectorship of Recruits, was above three days on his passage, in consequence of which I only received them yesterday morning. As you expressed yourself so desirous of being able to proceed in the arrangements for the first of these points, I wrote to the King immediately upon the subject, and have the satisfaction of informing you that His Majesty entirely approves of what you suggest relative to it.

"I wish I could say the same on the other point, as I perceive from your letter, and from what Lord Chatham said to me upon it, that you are very anxious about it. The King has consented to the nomination of Craddock to the Irish part of the office, but I have reason to know that it has been long determined by His Majesty that, on the first vacancy, the two appointments should be separated. Hobart can inform you of the extreme difficulty which arose on this subject when St. George was proposed; although I do not know whether even he is apprized of all that passed upon it. On the first rumour of St. George's death, Sir George Yonge wrote to Nepean a private letter acquainting him with this determination, which letter was by my desire sent to Hobart.

"I have not yet sent back any official answer to your dispatch, as such answer must necessarily express the King's determination on this point, which I was unwilling to do till I hear from you again. I hope you



are persuaded of my sincere desire to do every thing in my power to facilitate the execution of the troublesome business in which you are engaged; but I should deceive you if I did not express my full conviction that the circumstances with which this subject is connected are such, as leave no room to hope that the King will be induced to alter his determination on this point."—*Copy.*

W. W. GRENVILLE to the LORD CHANCELLOR [THURLOW.]

*Private.*

1790, April 19. [Whitehall.]—"It was with the greatest pleasure that I received your Lordship's letter of yesterday. Nothing would have induced me to say even as much as I did on the subject of our previous correspondence, but the feeling myself sincerely hurt at some expressions which had been used. But every impression of that sort is most entirely removed and done away, from the moment that I have the satisfaction of knowing that it was not intended to be given.

"It would require more time than I could command this morning to enter into the particulars of the subject itself with that attention which I should wish to give to it, and I am unwilling to delay the acknowledging your Lordship's letter, and the expressing the very sincere gratification which I have received from it. Permit me only to add the strongest assurance, that nothing is further from my ideas than that any line of conduct, now to be adopted on the subject of the Mosquito settlers, should either be, or appear to be, inconsistent with what was done in 1786, or with the line of defence on which that transaction was, as I understand, justified in Parliament."—*Copy.*

The EARL OF WESTMORELAND to W. W. GRENVILLE.

*Private.*

1790, April 26. Dublin Castle.—"I have by this post sent to you the recommendation of bishoprics; we had no answer from the Bishop of Kilmore, perhaps not conceiving an answer necessary; you may therefore as well, I think, see or hear from him, before you carry in the papers to his Majesty. I have troubled you publicly about the Inspector of Recruits. When Sir George Young has provided for the expence, difficulties, and inconveniences the separation of the offices occasion, Sir George will be puzzled to support his reasons that have induced his Majesty to alter his opinion, *after having decided upon the maturest deliberation that the Irish Inspector was the properest person to do both duties.* I shall however, if such is his Majesty's pleasure, submit most patiently; and be assured that I am fully sensible of your kind assistance on this as on every other occasion; but at least, in the language of the barracks, we have got . . . a sort of a grievance.

"The internal dispute in the Corporation of Dublin may perhaps produce some popular clamour. I will endeavour to keep the Government as clear of the matter as possible, but we are in some degree involved in it. The Lord Chancellor and the lawyers, namely Clonmell, Carlton and Wolfe, seem of opinion that James (the Alderman chosen by the Mayor and Aldermen) is the legal magistrate; but it appeared much wiser to avoid the question as much as possible, and to take the chance of another election. This conduct at least manifests to

the public a disinclination in the Government to take a part in their disputes.

"If the Commons continue obstinate, the matter will go to the Court of King's Bench; but the Council must give an approbation to one or other candidate; the opinion will probably be in favour of James, though Baron Yelverton supported in the Council a different opinion. I shall be sorry if it should go to the King's Bench; for, under the present unpopularity of that Court on the subject of *fiats*, the decision, which will most probably be against the cry of the populace, will give a fresh opportunity to the cry, that the Court of King's Bench is made a tool to oppress and infringe the liberties of the people."

The SAME to the SAME.

*Private.*

1790, April 28. Dublin Castle.—"I have received an epistle from Lord Chatham which, in addition to yours, has so fully explained to me *where* the objection to uniting the Inspectorship lies, that I think it proper, in aid of my epistle of yesterday, to say that, notwithstanding I publicly sent you a memorandum of inconveniences, I will endeavour as much as possible to arrange and accommodate matters, and to obviate any difficulties that may really occur in the double management of this business.

"I do not find that the elections vary much from what we have expected, as yet; but the same spirit of conciliation, and the same backwardness amongst our friends prevails to a degree, that I cannot write of with temper. Even the highest officers and persons most interested in support of Government act in this manner; what can we expect from the inferiors? There is no use in troubling you with my spleen, which might, *if it dared*, be better employed.

"Both Hobart and myself would be obliged for a hint of your dissolution, if it is nearly settled; be assured the intelligence shall not escape from hence . . . It may not be amiss that you should know by the enclosed handbill, Sir F. Flood's sentiments, to whom Lord Portsmouth's interest has been given in the County of Wexford by interference, but I do not know *whose*."

*Handbill.*

"We do hereby solemnly pledge ourselves, that if we shall have the Honour of being chosen Representatives of the County of Wexford, in the ensuing Parliament, we will cheerfully obey the instructions of our Constituents, whenever they shall favour us with them; and that we will zealously endeavour to procure a Pension Bill, a Place Bill, a Bill to repeal the Dublin Police Bill, and to restrain the arbitrary extent of the County Police, now depending on the Will of the Minister; a Bill to disqualify certain descriptions of Persons dependant on Government, from voting for Members to serve in Parliament; a Bill for rendering the Ministers of the Crown responsible: and that we will support every measure likely to do away the late unnecessary charges on the Establishment; that we will strenuously endeavour to procure a Law for the better security of the Liberty of the Press, and the personal Freedom of the Subject.

Dated this 26th Day of April, 1790.

As Candidates of this County of Wexford,  
Cornelius Grogan,  
Frederick Flood.

## W. W. GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1790, May 1. Whitehall.—“Mr. Grenville has the honor of transmitting to your Majesty the minute of a meeting of your Majesty’s confidential servants held last night, on the subject of the transactions in Nootka Sound.

“Mr. Grenville begs leave humbly to express to your Majesty his hopes that the measures submitted to your Majesty on this occasion will meet with your Majesty’s approbation, and that they may produce their effect without the necessity of your Majesty’s having recourse to those extremities which might otherwise become unavoidable.”—*Copy*.

*Cabinet Minute.*

1790, April 30. Whitehall.—

## PRESENT.

The Lord Chancellor.  
The Lord Privy Seal.  
Duke of Richmond.  
Duke of Leeds.  
Lord Chatham.  
Mr. Pitt.  
Mr. Grenville.

“Upon consideration of the information which has been received from Mr. Meares of the detention and capture of several British vessels at Nootka Sound on the coast of America, and of the circumstances of that transaction, as also of the papers which here have been delivered by Mr. del Campo relative thereto;

“Your Majesty’s servants have agreed humbly to submit to your Majesty their opinion that your Majesty’s Minister at the Court of Madrid should be instructed to present a memorial demanding an immediate and adequate satisfaction for the outrages committed by Mr. de Martinez; and that it would be proper, in order to support that demand, and to be prepared for such events as may arise, that your Majesty should give orders for fitting out a squadron of ships of the line.”—*Copy*.

## GEORGE III. to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, May 1. Windsor.—“The conduct of the Court of Spain certainly authorizes the measures proposed by the Minute of Cabinet; I owne I shall feel most anxious till the answer from the Court of Spain arrives, as I am not sanguine that it will be such as we must wish.

“By the messenger who will bring the letters arrived by the Dutch mail to-morrow morning, I wish to receive a line from Mr. Grenville whether a press will be necessary for equipping the squadron proposed, and whether a Privy Council for that purpose is recommended for Monday next.”

## W. W. GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1790, May 2. Whitehall.—“Mr. Grenville begs leave to humbly inform your Majesty that, upon consideration with the rest of your

Majesty's servants, it is thought necessary that a press should take place on Tuesday night, and that a council should be held to-morrow, if your Majesty approves of it, in order that the proper measures be taken for directing the press at the out-ports, at the same time as in the port of London.

"It is conceived that the time which would create the least observation would be between twelve and three, and Mr. Grenville humbly requests to be informed whether your Majesty would approve of your Ministers paying their respects to your Majesty at the Queen's House for that purpose. If any other arrangement should suit your Majesty's convenience better, Mr. Grenville humbly begs to be honor'd with your Majesty's commands."—*Copy*.

GEORGE III. to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, May 2. Windsor.—"Mr. Grenville's note is just arrived. I desire the Privy Council may be assembled at the Queen's House to-morrow at three in the afternoon. I suppose it will be right to compose it of the Cabinet Ministers, as the more secret the business can be kept the more probability of collecting some seamen in the first attempt."

W. W. GRENVILLE to the EARL OF WESTMORELAND.

[*Private and secret.*]

1790, May 3. Whitehall.—"I have nothing to add to my public letter of this date with respect to the nature of our discussions with Spain. You will not expect me to prophesy what will be the issue of it. The comparative view of the situation and strength of this country and of Spain would, I think, hold out a very flattering prospect of our being able to assert our rights, without the risk and expence of war.

"But, on the other hand, the object is so important to Spain, if she could carry it, and so much a favourite one with her even beyond its importance, that we must not be too sanguine in our hopes of succeeding without a contest.

"The prospect of a war is certainly in many respects a disagreeable one, and perhaps in none more so than with a view to Ireland. We must, however, rely on your firmness and prudence to meet this difficulty as you have encountered others. And certainly, we should not be justified from the consideration of this inconvenience to give up the national honour, and that high situation in which we now stand.

"You may depend upon it that every degree of consideration shall be had of the state of Government in Ireland. But some assistance we must naturally expect from thence in return for unlimited concessions, and I hope we shall not be entirely disappointed.

"Perhaps the most desirable of all objects, in the present state of things, would be the establishment of a militia in Ireland on a proper footing. This idea has sometimes been not unpopular there, as I believe. How far it is so now, or might be made so by those whose objects are incompatible with the public interests, you are best enabled to judge, and I should be glad to be informed of your sentiments upon it."—*Copy*.

THE EARL OF WESTMORELAND TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

*Private.*

1790, May 5. Dublin Castle.—“I pretexted to you, in recommending Mr. Talbot to the baronetage, that it would secure the manager of Lord Donegal and Lord Donegal’s 4 members; but the Duke of Portland has interfered, and the promises of patriotism have overset the influence of our managing Baronet. Lord Donegal has directed his members to vote for Ponsonby as Speaker; Sir Charles Talbot has returned members favourably inclined, some under engagement for office; Sir Charles comes to me with Lord Donegal’s terms, on which Sir Charles will engage that Lord Donegal will support Government in England and Ireland *totis manibus*. Sir Charles had been with Pitt; I wrote to Pitt, what had passed between Sir Charles and me. You must decide in England whether Lord Donegal’s weight, generally calculated, is worth the price he asks; an Irish Marquisate, and English Barony. I shall be ready to give the support you think expedient, but, agreeable as the assistance of 4 members might be to Irish Government, I can by no means recommend that English peerage should be made often the price of Irish support. Sir Charles Talbot has been over-reached in the present instance, but he certainly has a commanding influence over Lord Donegal; and the least encouragement would enable Sir Charles to resume his power, or at least to prevent the members he has returned, who are favourably inclined, from appearing against us. Urged by motives of private vanity and gratitude, as well as a well founded opinion that he best serves Lord Donegal’s interest in the maintenance of Government, he will catch at every opportunity that is offered him; and if you think the terms not advisable at present, a declaration of good disposition and willingness to converse with Sir Charles when he may come to England, might perhaps have some effect. I have, I suspect, omitted to inform you, that Lord Loftus supports Ponsonby for the Chair. Ponsonby claimed a promise made last year. Loftus explained that promise under an opinion that Ponsonby would be supported by the new Government as meditated at that time. Loftus agreed to a reference. Mr. Brownlow, referee, decided for Ponsonby. I believe, candidly speaking, Lord Loftus has no new views, and that Loftus is much displeased with Ponsonby for forcing him to this conduct. I have no doubt that Forster will carry the Chair by a tolerable majority; but many returns are uncertain, and people look so many ways that I cannot yet ascertain the numbers with the precision I could wish.”

W. W. GRENVILLE TO THE EARL OF WESTMORELAND.

*Private.*

1790, May 7. Whitehall.—“I have received your Excellency’s private letter relative to the conduct of Mr. Stewart [afterwards Lord Castlereagh] in Parliament, and particularly with regard to the Chair, and I trust I have put that business in a proper train.

“The appearance of both Houses on Wednesday was as favourable as possible; and if this business should lead to an issue which we shall all lament, it will be at least a satisfaction to reflect that everybody seems to agree in the necessity of what has been done.

“It seems extremely desirable that the Irish Parliament should not meet so early as the 20th, nor, indeed, if it could be avoided, till this

business was brought to a point one way or other. Whenever they do meet, you will undoubtedly think it right to pledge them to assist us.

"You will have the goodness to exert yourself, that there may not be a day's delay in embarking the troops for Jamaica, as soon as the 44 Gun Ships or any of them arrive. I have not mentioned their destination in my public letter, as the less that is talked of the better."

—*Copy.*

W. W. GRENVILLE to the LORD CHANCELLOR [THURLOW].

1791 [1790,] May 9. Whitehall.—"Not having had the pleasure of meeting you at the Duke of Leeds' office this morning, I am obliged to trouble your Lordship in this manner on the subject of the people removed from the Mosquito Shore. It has occurred to me that the object which your Lordship seemed to wish, that of hearing further and more precise information previous to any Parliamentary measure on this subject, might be attained, without any Act of Parliament, by the appointment of persons authorized by Government to make enquiries respecting the number of persons formerly settled on the Mosquito Shore, their occupation, and the extent and nature of their property. And that the persons applying for compensation might justly be told, that such enquiry was judged necessary previous to the decision of Government on the question whether any compensation should be allowed them.

"If this idea should meet with your Lordship's approbation, it might be carried into execution without delay. At all events some answer must be given to these people, as they have been long promised that they should receive an answer before the close of this session."—*Copy.*

W. W. GRENVILLE to the EARL OF WESTMORELAND.

*Private.*

1790, May 9. Whitehall.—"I was this day informed that large insurances were opened in the City upon provisions going from Cork to Spain, and this to a great extent.

"As the retarding their preparations in the present moment is a point of extreme importance, it is much wished that your Excellency would take such private measures with the Commissioners of the Revenue, as may throw all possible impediments in the way of such exportation; and that you would also consider whether it would be possible to proceed by way of embargo, supposing the object to turn out, upon accurate enquiry, to be of sufficient magnitude to call for it. You will have the goodness to let me hear, as soon as you can, what you hear on this subject."—*Copy.*

LORD THURLOW to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, May 10. House of Lords.—"I am not prepared to add anything to what I have already said on the subject of a national indemnity being given to the former inhabitants of the Mosquito Shore. Those ideas were certainly so vague and indistinct as to be capable of receiving a more specific shape from further enquiries; and the method you propose seems much the fittest for that purpose; because any application to Parliament tends to forestal the subject, by declaring, or



at least assuming, that the matter is of a kind to call for such an interposition. And though I think unfavourably of such precedents, those who entertain a different opinion ought to take all sufficient means to ascertain whether this case comes within the line, however it is to be described, which they think should go into example and future observance."

The EARL OF WESTMORELAND to W. W. GRENVILLE.

*Private.*

1790, May 10. Dublin Castle.—"The establishment of a militia in Ireland seems attended with unsurmountable difficulties; if it could be raised, would be burthensome and oppressive to a great degree, especially considering the disproportion of Protestants and Catholics. Considering the militia with a view to the government of England, the militia would form a military body of the inhabitants of the country, who, upon any disagreement between England and Ireland, would certainly be actuated by the popular opinion. The strength of the militia would form an argument against the necessity of so large a military force, and would probably, in the end, cause a reduction of the military establishment. It would change the power of the sword, *lex ultima regum*, from the English army to the gentlemen of the country. This body, if used, would be as expensive as the same number of efficient soldiers, that might be used offensively as well defensively; and, when the time of service required, I should not build much upon their exertions. I had forgotten to say, that such an establishment would impede the recruiting of the army by confining the best sort of recruits, a grievance you will find very sensibly felt in England.

"There is a Militia Act, 1781, 18 George 3rd, continued by several renewals to 1792. Nothing that I can learn was ever done in consequence of it: it seems very defective. The Duke of Rutland was very anxious for a militia establishment, but it was found so unpopular and difficult, that it was given up. I am told that the Duke afterwards was very happy that the plan had failed. Upon one idea only I think the subject can be considered . . . the danger that the volunteering spirit should be renewed, and whether that spirit might not be counteracted by this establishment. I am in hopes that the volunteering spirit is extinguished; and, at all events, I am not quite decided whether I should not think the militia the more dangerous force; the force would be permanent, the charge defrayed by the public. The volunteers, however insulting to the weak, and terrifying for the instant, could never have endured long, fatiguing, or expensive service. I have consulted with the most able and confidential persons of this country; you must be sensible how few can be trusted upon such a subject; to their honour I must say, they fairly stated the impropriety and danger of arming the country, thought the plan would be unpopular, inefficacious; that the power must come to the hands of Opposition in the countries in which they have estates; and that it was quite impracticable in the Catholic counties. I am most apprehensive that Opposition will press such a measure, as they must be sensible that the command of such a force must finally be lodged in themselves or their connexions; that this force would weaken the authority of England by rendering the British army less necessary, and would give additional strength to the aristocracy, with which they might defy the English Government. Having stated my opinion thus plainly, as I think it my duty, you will consider it only

a decisive upon the idea of Government introducing such a scheme as a measure of English policy. If the spirit of arming should arise to a violent degree, we must endeavour to avert the danger as well as possible; and perhaps, on such an occasion, this proposal might be worthy consideration as a means of diverting that military spirit; but, till that danger does arise, I would by no means advise you to calculate upon such a measure, and, notwithstanding the source of patronage it might afford to the Castle, I should most fearfully enter upon the discussion.

"As far as I can judge from the conversation I have ventured to hold with confidential persons, and from the calculation of our force in the new Parliament, the Irish Parliament will be ready to follow the example of England in maintaining the honour and dignity of the King and the nation; but pray favour me with some intelligence of your plans and objects, for, at present, not knowing quite so much as appears in the newspapers, I dare not talk or sound the people; nor do I know in what way to prepare myself for the consideration of the assistance you may require. I hope it is unnecessary that I should express my readiness to give every possible support that my situation or abilities will permit. I have anxiously waited for some dispatch from you, by which I should decide whether the Irish Parliament should or should not meet on 20th. I cannot delay longer than to-morrow the decision, when I will send a messenger to inform you."

"You have, enclosed, Lord Fitzgibbon's state of Butler's case. That family have been in constant opposition. Upon opening a negotiation by them at the commencement of the session, it was told them, that [as] we had no authority to treat upon the reversion of attainders, we could not open a treaty; if they voted against us, the thing would be impossible; that in the next Parliament, we would hear their proposals, and they might act as they pleased. The Butlers did not vote. Upon examining the case, we found the nicety of the question, as you will judge; it was only within a day or two that we conceived Butlers knew their own case. I therefore think it important, that we should speedily know your opinion upon the business. This family have two seats in Parliament; is very great and powerful; I am told could raise great number of soldiers; and if no objection occurred, it would certainly be advisable to attach this and other such families of importance in the country, to counterbalance the opposition of Ponsonby, Lord Shannon, . . . But in this case it is most advisable, for we can attach this family by the honour which they may very probably gain without our assistance; they will otherwise deliver themselves into the hands of Ponsonby, and, besides, stir a very delicate and unpleasant question. The difficulty seems in giving them the honour. If there is no claimant of the English title of the Duke of Ormond (which I believe is the case,) the whole attainder might be reversed; but, if there is any claimant to the English peerage, a reversion of the attainder as far as regards the Irish honour, would likewise be a delicate point. It seems a very advisable measure to attach this family; but you see the difficulties of the case, and as we cannot say anything without knowing your ideas, pray favour me with them."

Enclosing a statement by Lord FitzGibbon in reference to the Ormond peerage.

The SAME to the SAME.

*Private.*

1790, May 14. Dublin Castle.--"I received last night your private letter of 8th instant, and your letter military of 11th. Conceiving that



a strong British army is the *sine qua non* of British government, you may be assured that no exertion that I can stimulate shall be wanting to expedite the recruiting of 2500 men, deficient upon our establishment. I am informed, and believe many men might be levied by a favourable proclamation to deserters. I am sorry to say, severity and transportation have not lessened the number of unfortunate offenders : 78 deserted last month. An official letter continues our information upon the subject of provisions ; from this information you can reason as well as I can. I rather believe Spain has made provision contracts ; the provision is gone. It does not appear that any provision remains on hand in the merchant's stores, and the present season will not permit the curing sea provisions. I cannot, therefore, think an embargo at all necessary. The measure would be very injurious, and very unpopular and offensive in this country. Swayed perhaps a little by these considerations, I have almost persuaded myself that, with the market of the world open, Spain cannot be prevented from supplying her fleets with provisions ; that it may not be impolitic to permit Ireland to continue a provision trade (very beneficial to herself) of which England has the first choice ; and England likewise has the opportunity of stopping the enemy's supply, whenever the exigency requires it ; which power she would not have if Spain should find another market. Directions are gone to the officers at Cork, Limerick, and Waterford, by official delays, to stop the sailing of any provision ships that they may suspect to be intended for an enemy, until they have given information to Dublin ; and, if any important quantity should be discovered (a discovery not very probable) I propose a private purchase of the articles ; but you must send an authority, as the charge must finally be laid upon the English Treasury.

"I have by this night sent the official recommendation of peerages. Hobart proposes going to England in a day or two."

LORD AUCKLAND to W. W. GRENVILLE, at Whitehall.

*Private.*

1790, May 15. Hague.—"I have this moment received your letter, and cannot detain the courier to write many lines in answer to it. You may rely on my attending particularly to what you suggest. You will see in my despatches of this day, that this country, as you presume, speculates on retaining a mercantile access to the ports of Spain, though the Republic may furnish the stipulated succours to us. I have no idea that the Spaniards would long allow that construction : for the Dutch trade in the Mediterranean would give good prizes to Spain ; and the West India trade also. I feel it very important to have brought the States-General so far forward in the business, as you will see in my despatches of this date. I shall be impatient for answers to those despatches, and for authority to hire ten ships of the line immediately, exclusive of what we may demand under the treaty of alliance ; and I shall keep the Republic, in all respects, in a state of advanced preparation for our demands. And yet, I again repeat that I greatly doubt the truth of the reports transmitted to us respecting the extent of the Spanish preparations.

"The whole idea of so extensive and, at the same time, so wild and so profligate an enterprise in politics is contradicted, within my mind, by all the personal observation which I could make in that country, by many natural circumstances, and by every recollection that I have of all that I heard and saw. Notwithstanding this, I feel the full expediency of our armaments at all events ; and think that we cannot urge them too ostensibly or too effectively.

"It would be a material circumstance at this moment if we can complete the commercial *projet* which I have sent, and I see no material objections to it. Such a treaty would have a good effect at this moment, and many resulting conveniences ; but it should not be delayed.

"The second article of the *projet* was sent in an absurd form, by the accidental omission of *alliée* between *nation* and *belligerante*. However I had already desired the whole article to be omitted.

"I send by this messenger some curious despatches from Berlin."

HENRY DUNDAS to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1790, May] 16. Wimbledon.—"There is a vacancy of a Baron of Exchequer in Scotland. As the recommendation to that office has always gone from the Secretary of State's Office, I write to you my recommendation of Mr. Archibald Cockburn, advocate, to succeed as Baron of Exchequer to Mr. Baron Stewart deceased. I have an express from Scotland to-day to say that, from the absence of Baron Norton and Baron Gordon, there were only attending the Chief Baron and Sir John Dalrymple ; and therefore it was wished the new commission should be expedited without delay."

W. W. GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1790, May 18. Whitehall.—"Mr. Grenville has the honour of humbly submitting to your Majesty that he has received an application some time past from one of the sheriffs, and one from the inhabitants of St. Sepulchre's parish, stating the great inconvenience and disorder which arise from the execution of the sentences for burning women who are convicted of high treason ; such sentences being now executed almost in the centre of the town.

"A Bill is now pending in Parliament for altering this sentence into that of hanging, in all cases where sentence of burning is now pronounced ; and this Bill has, as Mr. Grenville is informed, been approved by Lord Kenyon. There is a clause in it which empowers your Majesty to change any sentence of this nature, which shall have been pronounced before the passing of the Bill, but not carried into execution.

"At the last Recorder's Report a woman convicted for coining was left for execution, and she is to suffer to-morrow unless, under these circumstances, your Majesty should think it proper that she should be respited for a short time, in order that if the above mentioned Bill should pass into a law, her sentence may be changed to that of hanging. Mr. Grenville therefore humbly requests to be honoured with your Majesty's commands on this subject."—*Copy*.

GEORGE III. to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, May 18. Queen's House.—"In consequence of Mr. Grenville's statement of the inconvenience occasioned by the present mode of putting the law into execution in the case of women guilty of treason, and that by the Bill now depending this will be removed ; I consent to the woman being respited that she may suffer agreeable to that Bill when passed into a law."

W. W. GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1790, May 25. Whitehall.—"Mr. Grenville has the honour of transmitting to your Majesty some despatches received this morning from

Lord Dorchester; and as from the tenour of those letters, and also from the accounts which have been received from India of the motions of Tippoo Sultan, it appears probable that, in the event of a war with Spain, great difficulties would be found in making any considerable detachment of troops in diminution of the present military force either in India, or in Canada, Mr. Grenville humbly begs leave to submit to your Majesty's consideration whether, in order in some degree to supply the want which will be felt of troops for offensive operations, your Majesty would approve of sending a body of your Majesty's Hanoverian troops, in the same manner as was done in the last war, to augment the garrison of Gibraltar. Mr. Grenville begs leave to mention that, if this idea should be approved of by your Majesty, he will take immediate steps for directing a sufficient number of transports to be sent to such place as your Majesty shall fix for the embarkation, and at such time as your Majesty shall be pleased to point out.

"Mr. Grenville is not sufficiently apprized of the detail of the arrangements which have been made on former occasions, but he hopes that, if your Majesty should approve of the general idea, your Majesty will have the goodness to direct such explanations as your Majesty shall think proper, to be given respecting your Majesty's intentions on the subject.

"If your Majesty should think it practicable to afford this assistance, Mr. Grenville hopes he shall be excused for taking the liberty to add, that the facility which would thereby be given to other operations would be greatly encreased by the troops being ordered to hold themselves, as soon as possible, in readiness for embarkation."—*Copy.*

W. W. GRENVILLE to the LORD CHANCELLOR [THURLOW.]

1790, May 25. St. James's Square.—"By the resignation of Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court of Calcutta is vacant, and has been so for a considerable time. I must naturally feel very unwilling to suggest to the King any arrangement on that subject without having the advantage of your Lordship's assistance and advice on a point so important in itself, and on which your Lordship is so much more competent to decide than I am.

"I have heard from report, that Sir Robert Chambers is supposed to be a proper person to succeed to the head of that Court in which he has now sat for so many years. And I have seen a strong recommendation from Lord Cornwallis in favour of a Mr. Dunkin, a lawyer who has practised, as I understand, in that Court with considerable reputation. The inclosed papers relative to Mr. Dunkin have been put into my hands by Mr. Dundas.

"I have no other knowledge either of Sir Robert Chambers or of Mr. Dunkin than what I have now stated; and I should be extremely desirous of knowing your Lordship's opinion with respect to the nomination of a Chief Justice, and also of a Puisne Judge, in case your Lordship should advise the placing Sir Robert Chambers at the head of the Court, before I venture to submit any suggestion of mine to his Majesty on a subject of this nature."—*Copy.*

GEORGE III. to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, May 26. Queen's House.—"On coming to town I have found Mr. Grenville's note conveying a wish that I would furnish a body of

Hanoverians to augment the garrison of Gibraltar; the idea is new to me, I therefore can only express at present an inclination to furnish them for that service; but as it requires some arrangement, I will by tomorrow evening write more fully on the subject; it is impossible I can collect them under six weeks, so that there is no immediate hurry for ordering the transports."

HENRY DUNDAS to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1790,] May 26. London.—"I wish you would give the memorandum I left with you, as soon as you can conveniently, to your friend the Bishop, that I may be enabled to write Mr. Thomas's connexions in Fifeshire that you have done it."

LORD THURLOW to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, May 27. ———.—The Chancellor presents his compliments to Mr. Grenville. He has read over the inclosed papers, and they appear to contain very ample testimonials in favour of Mr. Dunkin, of whom the Chancellor has no other knowledge. A like account has been given of him by Mr. Macnamara, and by some of the Judges, under an apprehension conceived by them, that his Majesty might expect the names of the Indian Judges to be proposed by him. Had that been so, he meant to have found some opportunity of conversing with Mr. Dunkin."

HENRY DUNDAS to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, May 30. Wimbledon.—"In order that I might be perfectly confident of the grounds of the propositions I stated on Friday evening in our discussion of the Dutch *projet*, I thought it right to send for Mr. Fergusson, lately from Bengal, that I might know the sentiments of the greatest European merchant, I suppose, ever came from India. The result of the conversation is to confirm me with confidence in the following points:—

1. "That the spice trade, except as a monopoly, is of no value worth mentioning. 2. That a place of intercourse in the course of navigation between India and China, where our ships may meet the traders and inhabitants of the Eastern Isles, and barter their commodities, is essentially necessary; and 3. That Rhio is, without exception, the best, or to speak more properly, the only unexceptionable place for that purpose."

LORD AUCKLAND to W. W. GRENVILLE.

*Private.*

1790, June 8. Hague.—"I have not been inattentive to your hint as to the expediency of securing as much intelligence from the Spanish ports as can be obtained by means of Dutch Agents. The Pensionary has taken every possible step for this purpose; and, in this case, as well as in the naval equipments, he refuses our money. The naval businesses are going forwards with abundant alacrity; and, if mere justice is done to the Republic in the eyes of Europe on this occasion, it will appear that we have a very efficient and useful ally in these Provinces; and it will add to the just opinion which prevails respecting our naval strength."

"If the Dutch squadron should go to Portsmouth or Plymouth, I trust that all possible attention will be shewn to Admiral Kingsbrozer, Count de Kloon? and other principal persons. It would have a good effect, if the Spanish affairs should be settled, to have a joint summer cruise of the English fleet and Dutch squadron; and perhaps a proper intimation to Petersburg, under such circumstances, would finish the whole war.

"I entreat as a great favour of you, that you will contrive to expedite the return of the commercial *projet*; the articles of contraband and Trincomalee are of such importance to us, and the other articles, to the best of my belief, of such indifference, that I believe it to be greatly our interest to expedite the business; but the delay creates more ill-humour among some useful friends here than would have arisen from entirely declining the negotiation, which has now lasted two years and a half."

HENRY DUNDAS to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1790,] June 14. Melville Castle.—"I think it right to send you the perusal of the enclosed letters, which have been in my possession more than two years; but it is likewise right to apprise you that Colonel Cunningham is the same person whom the Duke of Athole mentioned to you for the Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Man. I am sorry the Duke did so, as it was natural to produce upon you the impression it did. The fact however is, that the Duke has no connexion with Mr. Cunningham, and I know not if he ever saw him. He mentioned him from a piece of officious civility to me, knowing that he was a person who I thought, with very considerable merit, had been hardly dealt with, and had resolved to serve when I could. If however you have any other person in view, or you think the Duke having mentioned him to you is a great reason for negating him, I do not urge the point with you; but let me earnestly entreat Mr. Pitt and you to fix upon some person without any further delay, for the time fast approaches when the Duke of Athole means to go to the Isle of Man, and I cannot help thinking that, with every pretension in the world to the favour and goodwill of the present Government, he will have just cause to complain, if, at the time everybody avows themselves disposed to give an impartial investigation of his case, they will allow the island to remain under the government of a person who not only does not treat him with common civility, but is known to be a active partisan in the hands of those by whom he is opposed in his proposition for an enquiry; and this must appear the harder when it is considered that the man himself is desirous, for a long time past, to quit his situation."

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1790,] June 16. [Stowe.] "I am glad that Pitt sees as strongly as I do the necessity of the step upon which we have said so much. Every moment confirms me in the opinion which I gave you in either of the alternatives; and, the more I consider the subject, the more I am convinced that this step will answer *every purpose*, and will save much very serious difficulty. I agree with you as to the difficulty of the moment, though, in some points, there might be a public and a personal convenience in not delaying it, but in others it is highly objectionable. Jemmy, who is here, mentioned the idea to me as one which he had heard discussed more than once.



"Our election is fixed for Tuesday; no idea of a contest, though a foolish handbill has alarmed Lord Verney's friends. I hope that you will come here the Saturday or Sunday, and, if so, you can return to town on Tuesday night. What answer have you had from Drake? You must take care to have some one to propose you, for I cannot look to it as I have not your answers; if, therefore, Drake declines, you must solicit some other. Perhaps Lord Wenman might be persuaded. We have a breakfast at Wotton, and another at the Cobham Arms."

W. W. GRENVILLE to HENRY DUNDAS.

*Secret.*

1790, June 25. St. James's Square.—"The difficulties of our Dutch negotiation seem to encrease on us instead of diminishing. I understand from Nagel, that he imagines the cession of Rhio to be as much out of the question as that of Trincomalé, and he assures me that the verbal instruction which he received when he came over here, from the leading people at Amsterdam, was not to hear of giving up either of those two posts, but of the two, the latter rather than the former.

His chief objection, as he stated it, was that Prince of Wales's Island and Rhio together gave us the key of both extremities of the straits and put them entirely at our mercy, especially if those ports were fortified. Though I do not agree in all his reasoning, I cannot deny that there is something in it, and it occurred to me that Rhio (as its advantages were last stated to you by Mr. Fagel) seemed to answer all the objects of the Prince of Wales's Island; and therefore that we might, if pushed to extremities, consent to shove that into the bargain, giving up both Negapatnam and Prince of Wales's Island for Rhio. I wish you would let me know what you think of this idea. I think I remember that Lord Cornwallis says, if the And[aman] answer, he meant to withdraw the establishment from Prince of Wales's Island.

"Pray let me have your opinion, as soon as you can find time to turn this over in your mind."—*Copy.*

The SAME to the SAME.

*Private.*

1790, June 30, St. James's Square.—"I have received and considered your statement and letter respecting the election of the sixteen. I am not sure that I understand this complicated subject, but, as far as I do, I cannot help thinking the statement very sanguine, particularly as to Lord Stormont, whose being rejected seems to depend on assuming that none of the other Opposition candidates, supposed to hold out to the last, will give him a vote without requiring his vote in return; which I can hardly think probable, if they see that his election depends upon it.

"I have seen the Duke of Buccleugh, who promises to use his utmost diligence to set out. I am to see him again before he goes, in order to see whether any thing remains to be done here.

"Lord Marchmont I understand to be quite desperate; Lord Bute there seem some hopes of; Lord Bellenden is supposed to have given his proxy to the Opposition.

"Lord Castlestewart will give us his proxy as Lord Ochiltree, provided he can come over to qualify. It is clearly worth while to tender it, as, if his claim should afterwards be decided in his favour, I appre-

hend his vote must then be counted. Can you get Sir John Sinclair to give his in the same manner? are there any other claimants?

"The Duke of Argyle is not yet come home. I will speak to Pitt about the Duke of Hamilton.

"Would it not be possible to make your four Independents insist on the meeting of the others being called earlier than Lord Selkirk proposes, for that uncertainty seems to be the greatest present difficulty.

"I have got from Lord Cathcart the forms of proxies, and lists, and will take care that all those which pass through my hands shall be correct."—*Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND to W. W. GRENVILLE.

*Private.*

1790, June 30. Hague.—"I felt that the return of the commercial *projet*, so soon after my last mention of it to you, was owing to your efficiency and punctuality. I once more entreat your attention to it. Your alterations of the *projet* served to shew me that there was danger in the articles respecting the Eastern seas and the Spice islands, as they had originally been proposed:—and I trust that I have managed well in bringing it within our power to reject them altogether. As to the rest, I entreat you to give an early reading to my despatches of this date, and to No. 54. There is nothing in the *projet*, as it now stands, which may not be decided in half an hour's conversation; it contains no matter whatever of new reference:—and I think that, in its present form, it would do great credit to us all to pass it without an hour's delay: and, what is more material, that it would be of essential importance to the public interests. Under this impression, I solicit you to expedite a speedy return to me.

"The other news which I transmit this day is of a warlike tendency, in a degree quite unexpected."

HENRY DUNDAS to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, July 1. Melville Castle.—"I have yours of the 25th. The more I think on the subject, the more I am satisfied that a station for the purposes of commerce is necessary in the Eastern seas; and, all things considered, there seems no reason to doubt that Rhio from its local situation ought to be that place, and reasons which render Rhio the most eligible go to prove that the Prince of Wales's Island is not so. Its importance therefore depends entirely on the report Commodore Cornwallis shall make respecting the Andaman harbours; but, even if that report should prove not so favourable as we expect, still I think both Prince of Wales's Island and Negapatnam ought to be given up rather than lose Rhio; for, if we continue on habits of friendship with the Dutch, the use we will, of course, have of Trincomalé does not render either the Andamans or Prince of Wales' Island of so *essential* consequence, but the want of a station such as Rhio would be hourly felt in the exercise of our commerce; and there is no substitute for it the moment we, by giving the spice trade exclusively to the Dutch, depart from an unlimited communication directly with the Malays in their respective islands."

W. PITT to LORD CAMELFORD.

[1790, July 1-9.] Downing Street.—"I have looked at the papers respecting Bodmin which my brother received from you, and have had

an opportunity of asking a legal opinion upon the subject, since I came to town this evening. It seems clear that the senior Alderman acted unwarrantably in rejecting those who had polled before the Mayor, and, if their votes were sufficient to decide the election, we can have no prospect of our friends succeeding either on a return or on petition. But, at all events, if it is to be tried at all, it will be wiser (as far as I can learn) to do it by a petition; and to advise the Alderman not to send his return to the Sheriff. He will probably incur no risk by letting the return drop, and, if he should make it, he would be liable to an action from those whose votes he rejected."

The SAME to the SAME.

1790, July 10. Downing Street.—"I return the letter which you have been so good to send me; the information it gives is very satisfactory. I do not take it to be of much consequence, in whose name the Bodmin petition is presented, but I rather imagine it will be proper to have one in the name of your candidates, another in that of the voters. There will however be full time to decide this as, even supposing Parliament to sit on the 10th of August, there will be fourteen days for presenting petitions. You will probably think it right in the mean time to take more learned opinions."

W. W. GRENVILLE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

*Private.*

1790, July 15. St. James's Square.—"Pitt wrote to you yesterday by a messenger on the subject of the election of the 16. Lord Marchmont has been tried again, but the result has been so positive a refusal as to preclude the least hope of success by *any* mode. Lord Bute will, I hope, be more disposed to act as we wish. Nothing has been done about Lord Dysart, because we waited to hear from you and the Duke whether we should apply to him to stand, as Lord Balcarras's letter recommends, on the supposition of Lord Galloway's being engaged against us, which however appears to us quite incredible. I see no means of doing any thing about Lord Bellenden. Lord Castlestewart came over from Ireland to qualify, and executed a proxy for Lord Somerville, which he sent to the Duke of Buccleugh at Edinburgh. I hope he has received it.

"Pray send us the list of voting Lords, according to your present canvass.

Mr. Pitt says he thinks, from Lord Roseberry's language, that he will vote for the Duke's list, either *in toto*, or with very few exceptions."—*Copy.*

The SAME to the SAME.

*Private.*

1790, July 16. St. James's Square.—"You will have heard already from me that Lord Castlestewart's proxy is executed in favour of Lord Somerville. If he is full, and if his other proxies cannot be more easily transferred, either the Duke of Buccleugh or you should send an express to Lord Castlestewart, at Stewart Hall near Dungannon in Ireland, stating the circumstance, and sending a fresh form of proxy; mentioning at the same time to what other Peer it should be given.



"I take it for granted, by seeing Lord Galloway's name in your lists, that he has not joined the *soidisant* Independents, which would indeed have been a strange step for him to take."—*Copy*.

The SAME to the SAME.

1790, July 19. St. James's Square.—"I am sincerely sorry to be obliged to say that both Lord Marchmont and Lord Bute are, I fear, quite hopeless. The former certainly so, having once more positively refused, and not in very gracious terms. The latter is too ill to come to town, and I believe the mountain either cannot or will not go to Mahomet.

"Lord Dysart returned for answer that he had already qualified, and sent his proxy; so that if you do not by this time know that he is for you, he is probably against you."—*Copy*.

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, July 24. [Stowe.] "I enclose to you a letter which is written in the style and almost in the phrases which he generally uses, and, consequently, no inference *whatsoever* can be drawn from it. But I transmit it that you may see that he has put no stop *in limine* to *what I hinted at*. As to the point which possibly he may think (as you state it) *material*, I should be very sorry that it should *be to be solicited* (sic), because I think it ought to be upon public grounds, and the favour is done to Government and not to the individual. I still continue to think that the one thing which is the worst of all, is that which I fear is the most likely to happen, namely, the *Res stantes*.

"It is impossible for me to give any opinion upon the proposition of meeting Parliament, as I can have no *datum*; but, if you have money, the temptation is very great, if (as I guess) you are not likely to bring your negotiation to a conclusion, whether for peace or war, by the 10th. Parliament may, by calling out the militia, be always summoned in case of danger in fourteen days."

"The papers announce Lord George Lenox's appointment, which, many weeks ago, we agreed was exactly the best appointment for Gibraltar. I hope therefore that it is true.

"Young states to me a dreadful defalcation to the revenue from the failure of sugars in Jamaica, Antigua, and Barbados.

"I will not tell you how impatient I am for *his* arrival; you may depend upon hearing as soon as anything has passed: but you would not wish me to bring it on but by degrees, and feeling my way."

The EARL OF MORNINGTON to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, July 25. Spa.—"My journey began so unfortunately that I despaired of advancing even as far as this place. My carriage broke down within three miles of London the first day of my travels; I returned and waited a day for the repair of the springs, after which I proceeded towards Dover; but just before I reached the town the same spring broke again. My first hope was that I might be able to find a new set of springs at Dessin's at Calais, and with this view I crossed the sea, carrying the wreck with me; but Dessin swore he had no springs that would answer for my carriage. In this difficulty I thought it best to hire a carriage from Dessin (as he meant I should do) to carry me to this place, and I dispatched Gerald to London for a new set of springs.

He is to follow me to this place as soon as the carriage is ready, and Monsieur Dessin is to charge himself with the conveyance of carriage, brother, and baggage, and to take back the crazy hackney coach in which I arrived here without any accident, in contradiction to every possible calculation, on Thursday night. I know you will rather enjoy the idea of all these calamities, for which reason I have *narrated* the story at length. I contrived to save my bed from the wreck and to bring it with me; otherwise I am convinced I should have fallen a prey to the bugs and fleas long ago, as they make their public appearance in open daylight, through the whole of the road, seeking whom they may devour; and they alarmed me much more than the armies either of Brabant or Liege; but my tin water cups protected me till I arrived here, and I find the beds very clean where I lodge.

"When we travelled together we did not see the country about Brussels, because, you may remember, we passed it in the night. It is beautiful beyond all description; it put me in mind of Burke's account of the Rohilla country. There is not one inch of ground uncultivated; the whole has the appearance of a garden. It is hardly possible to believe it ever was the scene of war; and I could not help regretting that it should be likely to become so again, when I met crowds of armed raggamuffians, something between Irish Volunteers and London watchmen, in every village. Such an universal spirit of resistance is scarcely credible; and the appearance was not very agreeable to a peaceable traveller, who could not know exactly what might be thought fair plunder by fellows who seemed to have no other property than their firelocks, and to be under no sort of control or discipline. I really think I did not meet ten men from Cassel to Spa without arms, and at the doors of the cottages, I saw women and children cleaning old rusty guns and pistols. However I was not at all molested (excepting at the gate of every great town where my passport was examined) until I reached Brussels. There a *Commis* was sent to examine my papers, which consisted of notes on Italian posting, eating, and drinking by General Dalrymple and Tom Tyrrwhit, and a large packet of unanswered letters from the worthy electors of Windsor. These I had no objection to exposing to the inspection of the States of Brabant; but, notwithstanding my submission, there was some difficulty in getting my passport backed, because it seems the road to Spa is forbidden ground, for what reason I cannot imagine. From Brussels to Spa I passed very quietly, particularly through the *pays de Liège*, where they are happy to receive any traveller bound for Spa, on account of the importance of the supply of Spa to the whole neighbourhood in a full season.

"The greatest part of the *pays de Liège* is a dreary dismal country, something like the best parts of Ireland. Just about the town the prospects are very fine, but as soon as you reach the tops of the hills on the road to Spa the country is dismal again, and reminded me of the neighbourhood of Buxton, the most black of all heaths. However, the approach to Spa is beautiful, and, as far as I can judge, the rides and walks are fine. It is something to be within a mile of the Forest of Arden, and a great deal to eat mutton *des Ardennes*, which is, at least, equal to what the *Gros Diable de Veste rouge* used to bring us from Cross Fell. In this Arden we cannot complain that we are not *where bells do knoll to church*, for I have been kept awake for two nights by the midnight bell of a convent of Capuchin Friars, which stands on a hill just opposite the door. The *Pere Gardien* is a very polite sensible beggar, and their garden is the only shady walk, excepting one at the other end of the town within a mile of Spa. They say that the whole

country hereabouts is as quiet as in any time of perfect peace. This is the intelligence of the physicians, innkeepers, and such disinterested persons. A little accident indeed is acknowledged by everybody. An English gentleman was riding the other morning from the *Sauveniere* to the *Geronstère* spring and, by mistake, a Brabançon dragoon belonging to a marauding party on their march to Herve, pursued the Englishman for near a mile, and then fired at him within sight of the *Geronstère* spring; but the gentleman was not wounded, and on a representation to the Government of Brussels, a civil apology was returned, and sentinels are now placed at each of the springs on the hills to protect the water drinkers. It is impossible to feel the least uneasiness under such protection, and when it evidently appears that the shot of the dragoon was a mere blunder, and could not have been made by the order of any Officer whatever. The same accident cannot happen again, after the judicious measures taken by the magistrates of Spa with the Government of Brussels.

"As I meant to go to Paris by Brussels, I wish for a common passport from the Secretary of State for the Foreign Department for me and *ma suite*; the passport may be for the journey from London to Spa, and from Spa to Italy, by any road I may choose to travel. I should be much obliged to you if you would send me such a passport immediately by any safe conveyance. I believe the common post is safe enough. The passport should be dated on the first of July or any day previous to my leaving London, which was the 14th. William Gardiner at Brussels would take care of the passport for me, if it was sent to him by the ordinary messenger. I am very anxious to know what you are doing in England, and I rely on you for early intelligence; if you have not time, which I know is very probable, let your secretary write."

LORD AUCKLAND TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

*Private and Secret.*

1790, July 27. Hague.—"Intimation has been received from the French islands by some principal houses at Amsterdam, that it is the intention of the planters to send some cargos of their produce direct to the Dutch ports, in defiance of the regulations on that subject which have hitherto been maintained in France. The Pensionary has consulted me on this subject, and seems disposed to admit the cargos: I have not given him any answer, nor am I clear as to the line which ought to be adopted. On the one hand, if such a plan in the French islands should become in any degree general, it will add greatly to the French embarrassments, and will go a great way towards wresting in effect those islands from France; on the other, I greatly and seriously doubt whether it would not be the best policy, in the present circumstances of the times, for the settled Governments of Europe to discourage the spirit of innovation and revolt, wherever it may shew itself in the dependencies of other States. I should be glad to know your sentiments on this question, which cannot, I believe, take place in the English ports; I forget whether foreign sugars can be entered there for exportation.

"I had great hopes that the commercial *projet* would have been long ago returned to me; there are evidently in England some objections to it, though I must confess that they have not occurred to me here; but the delay occasions much personal ill humour among the Commissaries, to whom the inconvenience is certainly great: I am in daily expectation that they will make a report and resign their appointment.

P P 2

"Since I last wrote to Mr. Pitt, I have received from the Office a communication of the instructions sent to Spain on the 5th instant. They appear to me to place our demand of satisfaction on its true ground, and I have little doubt that M. de Florida Blanca will give way; though his late conduct has been so inexplicable that it is rash to offer any predictions respecting him. If the Spanish answer should be pacific, would it not be a wise and dignified conduct before we disarm, to arrange the Baltic business? The other affairs of the continent are at present in good train."

"If the King of Sweden can keep his head above water till his best ally the Equinox arrives to his aid, it seems highly probable that a general pacification may be accomplished, nearly upon the ground of the *status quo*, strictly as before the war. This would be good political morality, and an excellent lesson to States and Sovereigns disposed to make war."

W. W. GRENVILLE to HENRY DUNDAS.

*Private.*

1790, July 29. St. James's Square.—"I am much obliged to you for your letters with the enclosed accounts of the election of the 16. Lord Errol's absence is truly provoking, as so much turned upon his vote. I have some doubt from the expressions in one of your letters whether you adverted to the effect of the doubtful votes, particularly in the two last cases stated in the enclosed paper, which I send you for that purpose. It seems highly material that we should, as soon as we can, settle at least in our own minds, if not with our leading friends, what candidates to support, in the different cases of a new election that may occur. We have the difficulty in most of them of being obliged to make a selection, giving the preference of some of our former candidates over others. Lord Galloway is arrived in town much dissatisfied with our friends; and they, as I perceive from some of their letters, are no less so with him. He applies for an English peerage to solve the difficulty; but I think I may venture to prophecy that this solution will not be given him, as a reward for bringing Lord Selkirk in. If however some determination is not taken on this subject, without delay, they will have all the advantage of a prior canvass for Lords Selkirk and Hopetoun, who, I already hear, think themselves secure in the event of their going to a new election.

"You seem to hint in one of your letters at the possibility of breaking the association, in consequence of the ridiculous manner in which some of the friends of Government, who embarked in that measure, have been put by, in favour of the Opposition candidates.

"Nothing could be more desirable than this, but I much fear it cannot be accomplished while Lord Hopetoun and others remain out, nor is it possible to bring them in, preferably to our own candidates.

"You do not mention whether the votes of the Duke of Gordon, Lord Abercorn, . were tendered. It is material to know this, as, if they were, the question must of course come on again before the House of Lords, and we should be prepared for it. If they were not tendered on the 24th, I am clearly of opinion that they ought to be so at the election which must take place to complete the list. In the present state of the Scotch Peerage, it is ridiculous to lose a number of votes sufficient to be perfectly decisive of every election in our favour, from a fear of

maintaining a question in which the right is entirely on our side.”—*Copy.*

HENRY DUNDAS to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, August 1. Donira Lodge.—“Mr. Home would send you, as I directed him, a state of the election of the Peers. He has sent me one which, not knowing whether the one he sent to you is equally distinct, I think it right to send you a copy of. It was really hard that among all our chances we did not get one more vote, as it would have saved a great deal of trouble, and would have seated with certainty three more of our friends. As it now stands it is really very puzzling, and unless Lord Ochiltree's vote can be sustained, I suspect both Lords Selkirk and Hopetoun will be seated at the expence of two of those who stood on our interest. I am unacquainted with the principles on which the House of Lords proceed on such a question. If they should say, we will not enter on the merits of the controverted votes at all, but finding the return deficient in three, we must send it back by a new proclamation to choose three more; in that case the six double returned would all again be candidates, and I should suppose, by proper exertion, we would carry three of our friends; but, if the return is not to be rectified immediately, but to remain in its present state till the whole merits of the contested rights are decided upon, then the final result must depend upon the contingencies stated to you in the enclosed paper.

“If the first was to be the mode of proceeding, I suppose you would make proper applications to Lords Morton and Findlater to postpone their creations till the new election was over; but, if the whole business is to be taken up together, and of course the proceeding be tedious, I do not think it would be fair to those two Lords to ask them to run the natural risk which attends every such delay.

“I need scarcely mention it to you, as I believe you are aware of the consequences, and must therefore judge for yourselves, but was I in the situation of either Mr. Pitt and you with a long political life before you, I would without delay, I mean in the course of next winter, take some method of having the opinion of the judges on the right of the British peers to vote; and if they declare it in their favour, I would remove the doubt by a short explanatory law to remove the doubts. That point gained, there is an end of every future difficulty, and the effects of such a measure would not end with your *power as Ministers.*”

W. PITT to W. W. GRENVILLE.

[1790, July—August.—.]—*Draft to Lord Auckland. Page 8.*  
“*The words any other* . . . referred to here, seem in Lord Auckland's Number 96, not to be meant to apply to the colonies of the neutral nation itself, or to colony trade of any kind, as distinguished from trade in general. I take the construction of the original passage to be that Dutch ships should not be considered as entitled to carry on trade from the colonies of a power at war, or *any other trade*, to which they are not admitted in time of peace.

“If I am right in supposing this to be obviously the construction, the paragraph I have referred to in page 8, must be altered, but the observation at the beginning of page 9 will still apply, and should stand as at present.



"The paragraph ending at the top of the last page but two seems to imply, as it is now worded, that there may be negotiations which the King does not wish to conduct fairly.

"After the words *his former offer*, instead of what now follows, query inserting *or that his not renewing it can be, in the smallest degree, inconsistent with the liberal and amicable manner in which he is particularly anxious to conduct the negotiation.*

*Projet.*

"There seems some awkwardness and confusion in the arrangement of the first article. The first exception respecting *contraband* is made under the term *à l'exception de* . as if that were the only exception. The second is afterwards added under the phrase of *bien entendu que*, which would seem rather to import that it was an explanation of the construction of the foregoing part of the article than an exception from it, whereas it certainly is the latter. The arrangement seems also to be made less methodical, by this second exception being inserted between the first exception of *contraband*, and the enumeration of the articles comprised under that term. Perhaps the whole would be clearer, if this Article were divided into three. The first to end *à l'exception cependant de ce qui est énoncé dans les deux articles suivantes*, or with words to that effect. The second article to provide that the ships of either party shall not carry to the ports of the enemy any articles of *contraband*, and then to proceed to the enumeration of those articles.

"The third article to contain the proposed provision respecting colony trade.

"I do not see any alteration that can be made in the terms of that provision, except that it may perhaps be as well to insert the word "*ordinairement*" before *permis*, towards the end of the paper A.

"It may otherwise be made a doubt whether any article, such as corn which is subject to occasional prohibition, might not be construed to remain prohibited (as far as concerns importation in the ships of the neutral nation) during the whole war, if it should happen to have been accidentally prohibited just before the commencement.

"There is only one objection which seems to apply to the terms of the provision, but I can see no remedy for it; and I do not think it material enough to prevent making the proposal.

"The objection is this, that the provision may not only prevent (as it is intended to) the neutral nation from carrying on the colony trade of the enemy, but may also prevent its carrying on a trade *bonâ fide* on its own account, which it might otherwise possibly have the means of doing during the war.

"For instance, if we were to be at war with France, and to take most of their islands, or if their islands were to revolt, France might naturally have recourse to a neutral nation for the produce of the colonies of that nation, whose subjects might carry it to France on their own account.

"This however is only an additional objection which may be made by the Dutch, and is not one which ought to have much weight with us."

W. W. GRENVILLE to LORD AUCKLAND.

[1790, July-August. Whitehall.]—"I have now the honour to transmit to your Excellency the draft of a *projet* for the commercial

treaty with the States General, which will I trust, enable your Excellency to bring that business speedily to a conclusion. The *projet* is formed on that transmitted by your Excellency in your dispatch No. 58, and marked G.; the alterations are not many, and I cannot help hoping that they are not such as will ultimately be considered by those with whom your Excellency treats, as obstacles to a successful conclusion of the negotiation.

"On the most material of them, that which relates to the commerce of one of the allies at a time, when the other is engaged in war, it is not impossible that some difficulty may still arise.

"Your Excellency is sufficiently acquainted with the nature and grounds of that policy which His Majesty's servants are desirous of adopting on this subject, as far as it can be done, to make it unnecessary for me to recapitulate what I have said in my former dispatches on that head. The difficulties of carrying this principle to its utmost extent, in any treaty to be negotiated with the Republic, are, on the other hand, sufficiently obvious; and, on the whole, the King's servants are of opinion that, for the sake of preserving the influence and interest of this country in Holland, it may be expedient to give up, by positive stipulation, a part of what we had insisted on as the law of nations, in return for securing the rest by a like express and positive stipulation. They have preferred this to the idea of leaving the question undetermined under general words which, if strictly interpreted, do not perhaps give up the point contended for by this country, but which bear at first sight the appearance of doing so; and which would, in fact, keep alive a principle of dissention between the two countries, which could not fail to show itself on the first occasion of war.

"The idea adopted in the *projet* now sent is that of settling;

"First. That no articles of that description called *contrebande de guerre* (under the enumeration thereof contained in your Excellency's *projet*) shall be carried to enemies' ports in neutral ships, whether such goods are the property of enemies or of neutrals.

"Secondly. That no right shall accrue to the neutral nation, in consequence of the war, to carry on with the enemy any sort of commerce which was not permitted to such neutral nation previous to the commencement of the war; and particularly that neutrals shall neither trade to nor from the enemies' colonies, nor protect the commerce of such colonies in its passage home, either by means of neutral ports in the West Indies and elsewhere, or by what is called transshipping.

"Thirdly, that enemies' goods, not falling under either of the two descriptions above mentioned, may be carried in neutral ships to the enemies' European ports.

"With respect to the first of these principles, it does not seem necessary to enter into any detail, as nothing is added on this subject to the article in your Excellency's *projet*.

"The second is that which is most material and requires particular attention, as it is on the accuracy, precision, and efficacy of the stipulations which can be adopted in this respect, that the propriety of conceding the third point entirely depends.

"The statement by Sir Joseph Yorke, in 1758, expressly includes *le commerce direct ou indirect avec les colonies Francoises de l'Amerique*. The resolution of the States-General of the 25th September of that year, to which this statement refers, claimed the privilege (as to the future) of navigating freely to the Dutch colonies, without saying *from where*,

and also of navigating *from* those colonies to enemies' ports in Europe; which two claims seem, by their consequences, to include the full liberty and privilege of covering the property of the French colonies, by so easy a method as that of carrying it to a Dutch port in the West Indies, and from thence to France.

"The same difficulty occurs with respect to the words proposed by your Excellency in your dispatch No. 96, unless the words *any other* . . . are to be understood of the colonies of the neutral nation itself. As those words now stand, this does not appear sufficiently clear for the purpose of a stipulation on which so essential a point is in future to rest. It seems doubtful to what extent the Dutch may be prevailed upon to accede to the principle of the exclusion of neutrals from such commerce with the hostile nation as was not permitted to them before the war.

"The words of the first article, as it stands in the *projet*, which I now enclose to your Excellency, include the whole principle for which it seems material to contend, as far as relates to the right of protecting the property of the enemies' colonies; because they except from the general liberty of carriage all articles coming directly or *indirectly* from such colonies. But it is obvious that, under those words, the execution of this principle must be, in many cases, extremely difficult, where French sugars . have been first carried to a neutral island and are shipped from thence for Europe; because it may not be easy to distinguish between such articles as are the produce of the French island, and have been brought originally from thence, and similar articles produced in the neutral island.

"The principle stated by your Excellency, under the explanation above mentioned of the word alluded to, goes one degree further than what I have just mentioned, and would afford the fullest means for the execution of that which is our substantial object. Because if it is settled that neutral vessels shall not carry on with a hostile power *any sort* of trade, (not only in articles brought by them from the colonies of such power, but any sort of trade whatever) to which they were not admitted in time of peace, this would, under the present European system of colonial commerce, as fully include the case of French sugars carried as Dutch, in Dutch vessels, from a Dutch island, but going to a French port, as if they were carried avowedly as French, in French ships, and directly from the French colonies.

"It is with this view that the words in the separate paper, A, have been drawn: and if your Excellency can procure their insertion, or the admission of any other words equally applying to the difficulty above-mentioned, there seems no longer to be any material objection to the signature of the treaty.

"But if your Excellency should find it [impossible] to carry this point, you will consider with the Grand Pensionary whether any other practicable mode can be adopted of defining the means of ascertaining such articles as come *indirectly* from the colonies of the hostile nation. That Minister will, I am persuaded, be willing to enter fairly and liberally into this consideration, as it is evident that nothing can be so injurious to the political system by which the two nations are so happily united, as the adopting, on this important subject, such stipulations as by the uncertainty of their wording, or by the difficulty of their execution, will lead to the revival of those disputes to which every interruption of the friendship of the two countries has been owing. Your Excellency will not therefore conclude anything on this head without further instruc-



tions, except by the adoption of the paper (A), or of such other words as shall equally meet the difficulty which I have mentioned, and which applies both to the neutral ports in the West Indies, and to the practice of transshipping.

"If the paper A is admitted, it should immediately follow the restriction in the first article, which relates to the trade with the colonies of the hostile nation; and, in that case, it seems desirable for greater clearness, that the remainder of that article relative to the description of *contrebande de guerre* should be made a distinct article.

"The third of the principles which I have above mentioned is provided for by the words *ceux meme qui appartiendront* . . . in the first article of the *projet* now sent. But your Excellency must understand that the insertion of these words is proposed, or agreed to, only on the supposition that the execution of the exception relative to the colony trade is sufficiently provided for, either in the manner above stated, or by some other mode adequate to the object.

"The second article is copied *verbatim* from your Excellency's *projet*.

"The alterations at the beginning of the third are suggested for greater clearness.

"The 4th, 5th, and 6th Articles are also copies from the former *projet*. But it will be necessary, at the end of the 5th Article, to insert the same words as were added to the 11th Article of the treaty of alliance with the Republic, in order to meet the case of linens, imported into Great Britain or Ireland.

"The 7th and 8th Articles are omitted, agreeably to the suggestion in your Excellency's dispatch No 96. The subject of those articles may possibly be again advantageously brought forward, if they can be connected with the cession of Cochin on reasonable terms, or with an exchange of that place for Tellicherry.

"The present circumstances of the war in India might, however, possibly throw some difficulties in the way of the actual execution of such an arrangement. Some advantage would unquestionably accrue to this country from the article respecting Trincomalee as it stood in your Excellency's *projet*; but that advantage would be much less than had been originally asked; our exclusive enjoyment of it is not stipulated in that article, but is made dependent on the continuance of orders which the Company might at any time revoke; and it does not appear to be an equivalent of such a nature as can be accepted in return for a territorial cession. With respect to the withdrawing our original offer both on this subject and on that of the spice trade, I have already fully stated to your Excellency that the offers on those subjects were made conditional as the return for what we asked. And it not having been found expedient on the part of the Republic to comply with what had been desired by this country, it never can be held by them that His Majesty was under any sort of obligation to adhere to his former offer, even in a negotiation which it [is] His Majesty's object to conduct, on his side, in the fairest and most amicable manner.

"No other alteration is made in the *projet* transmitted by your Excellency. The words in the 14th Article of that *projet*, are retained as containing a reserve which certainly cannot on any ground be deemed unreasonable; especially as it never can be made use of against the Dutch commerce, without applying equally to all other nations.

"It will be highly satisfactory to His Majesty if your Excellency should be enabled to conclude the treaty on these grounds, because he is anxious, as far as possible, to remove anything which might serve as a foundation for renewing animosities between the two countries, whose interests are, and must always be so much the same. And I cannot help trusting that an arrangement of this nature must be satisfactory to the Republic, both for the reason I have just stated, and because the treaty offers great advantages to the Dutch in India, which are compensated on their part by the sacrifice of a disputed right, which could never be exercised by them without becoming a ground of misunderstanding, and probably of war, between the two nations."—*Copy.*

ALEXANDER BRUCE to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, August 4. Edinburgh.—"I had the honour, in October last, to receive from Mr. Goddard the acknowledgement of your receipt of a paper written by me, relative to the general cure of sickness among mankind. After this, Mr. Dundas has sent for me and mentioned your very favourable opinion of the manuscript treatise itself (to which that paper is a supplement) entitled a *Discovery relative to war.*"

"To other marks of attention, Mr. Dundas was pleased to say that it should be published by order, in order to bring it, with every advantage, under the due consideration of our military and naval officers. In the course of the last war, the loss sustained at sea and land of the killed, did not exceed 10 to 12,000 men, in every quarter of the globe; the returns can best inform Ministry of the dreadful havoc the sickness made in our fleets and armies.

"The Empress of Russia has caused the treatise to be translated into *Russe*; and if it has been attended to since Admiral Greig's death, she will have little danger to apprehend from her present enemies. Our army in the Carnatic have availed themselves of a single copy I sent them, and, by the best information I have from that quarter, there was no sickness among them. The 36th Regiment were mustered by the Commissary the morning of the 14th of January last, and of upwards of 820 men, five only were absent and in hospitals.

"If I should be so fortunate as to obtain your consent to send the treatise to the press, I shall zealously obey the order; and should its effect be acknowledged in the fleet and army, Ministry may then think of the author."

HENRY DUNDAS to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, August 4. Donira Lodge—"Yours of the 29th July reached me here last night. The letter I wrote you a few days ago will, before this time, have conveyed to you a more distinct state of the election than the one formerly conveyed. The steps to be taken in consequence of the return must be decided on by the Chancellor and our friends in the House of Lords. Till I know that, you will perceive that I can take no further steps; but if it comes to a new election, either of three or of *one* (in the event of Lords Selkirk and Hopetown being seated) I cannot say I am apprehensive of a defeat, if all our exertions are used.

"If there is an election of *three*, we will be under no embarrassment, for the Duke of Buccleugh will have no difficulty in persuading Lord Napier to postpone his pretensions till a future opportunity, and then Galloway, Stair and Somerville must be our candidates. Lord

Hopetoun will be very angry, as he is indeed at present, but it is entirely his own fault; and however sincerely I regret any coolness that may arise with him from what has happened, or likely to happen, it would be both unfair and impolitic not to stand by those candidates who have embarked with us in the late contest. Mr. Pitt will communicate to you the correspondence which has passed between Lord Hopetoun and me, and I hope you will approve of taking it up the key I have done. If there is only one vacancy, I really think, under all circumstances, Galloway must be adopted, not solely on his own account, but of his connexions in Government, whom I take it for granted none of us would wish to disgust. Next to Galloway, Stair is the natural object of predilection from rank, fortune. The votes of no British peers were tendered except those of Duke of Queensbury and Lord Abercorn; and, although I am not positive, I am rather apt to believe that Lord Stair is the only one of our candidates in both lists. The Duke of Gordon's was too late. He sent a proxy to the Duke of Buccleugh, but his Grace having two before, it was of no use, and the express with his signed list did not return till after the election. I need say no more on the subject of British peers voting; you are in full possession of my sentiments on that subject. I suppose before this reaches you, both Lords Elgin and Cathcart are with you; they are both capable to give you any information you wish for. I never knew much of the former till this occasion, but I formed a very respectable opinion of him. Do not omit in time to secure, if possible, such Lords as Ballendean, Kirkudbright. . . They may not feel any further obligations to encumber them in their future votes."

W. W. GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

[1790, August 4-5. St. James's Square.] "Mr. Grenville humbly begs leave to mention to your Majesty that, as he understood that a Spanish courier is expected every hour with an account from Count Florida Blanca to the Marquis del Campo, similar to that which has this morning been received from Mr. FitzHerbert, and as it therefore appeared impossible that the signature of the declarations could long remain a secret, Mr. Grenville thought that your Majesty would approve of his taking upon himself to send the notices which have been usual in similar cases, without waiting for your Majesty's express commands, as the interval might have afforded an opportunity for practices in the alley.

"Mr. Grenville humbly begs leave to offer his congratulation to your Majesty on the event itself, which, as far as it goes, appears highly satisfactory, and seems to offer the most favourable prospect of such an ultimate termination of the business as may correspond with your Majesty's wishes."—*Copy*.

GEORGE III to Mr. GRENVILLE.

1790, August 5. Windsor. "Mr. Grenville would not have followed that judicious line of conduct I ever expect from him, had he not felt I must approve of his not an instant delaying sending the usual notices of the signature of the Spanish Declaration, that the effects of stock jobbing may be prevented. Undoubtedly appearances seem very satisfactory, and prognosticate a favourable termination of the business. If the Court of Spain had this constantly in view, I am surprised it has been so long delayed. I cannot conclude without expressing that thanks to the

Almighty for having prevented a catastrophe that, however honorable it might have been, must, when fresh taxes had been layed, must have shewn how little the country is in a state to carry on war, and might have occasioned that discontent which would have been encouraged by too many ill disposed persons."

HENRY DUNDAS to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, August 6. Donira Lodge.—"You will recollect, in some of our conversations, Mr. Colquhoun of Glasgow having been mentioned as a man of intelligence in the American trade and connexions, and who might be of use in some parts of the negotiations going forward. An objection occurred founded on his connexion with the city of Glasgow, and their particular situation with regard to their debts. I mentioned this to the Lord President, who had warmly recommended him on various occasions. This has produced a letter to me from Mr. Colquhoun of which I send you the perusal; and I send you another letter from him, enclosing an extract of a letter from some of his correspondents in America.

"I am this day going to a great county meeting, and ball of the ladies in Perthshire. The Duke of Athole, Lord Braedalbane, Lord Kinnoul, in short all the contending interests in the county will be there. I am curious to see how we shall all mix after the violent contest we lately had for the county and burghs. As we beat them in both, in a high style, it is easy for us to behave well, but I know not whether our vanquished friends will be able to carry it off with good humour."

The SAME to the SAME.

1790, August 18. Donira Lodge.—"I have the enclosed letter last night from Lord Errol. I have wrote to him to express my hopes that he will not leave Britain without letting me hear from him again. If any thing is yet fixed upon as to what is to be the future mode of proceeding, you will perceive the propriety of my being apprized of it as soon as convenient."

The SAME to the SAME.

1790, August 19. Donira Lodge.—"Mr. Robert Blair, who writes the enclosed, is professor of practical astronomy in the University of Edinburgh, and perhaps one of the most ingenious men and best philosophers you ever knew. The letter he sends to me is from his brother, the officer who you will recollect to have been employed in the survey of the Andaman harbour, concerning which we entertain such sanguine expectations. The letter is proper for your perusal in every point of view, but I send it on account of what is stated respecting the opinion of Commodore Cornwallis. It is more recent than any thing I have seen. Perhaps there is more recent at the Admiralty or your Office, but nothing official has reached me of of so late a date on the subject."

2 enclosures :

Number 1.—ROBERT BLAIR to HENRY DUNDAS.

1790, August 6. Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury.—"I should still have delayed writing, if it were not for a letter which I have just received from my brother, and which I use the freedom of enclosing, as

it may possibly contain some farther information concerning an object, about whose importance such sanguine hopes are, and I hope justly, entertained. As I know how readily you will overlook any impropriety in giving a hint on a subject of which you are so much better a judge, I shall also venture to mention a thought which occurred to me on reading Archibald's letter.

"I have heard through a friend, who has long corresponded with Lieutenant Mears, that a proposal has been made to Government to send the convicts to one of the Sandwich Islands (which I believe the Lieutenant has purchased from the natives) instead of sending them to New Holland.

"Might they not be conveyed at much less expence, and turned to much better account, if sent to colonise Chatham Island? The supply of Europeans which would thus be at hand, to recruit our military and naval armaments in India, seems alone to be an object of great magnitude. The limited extent of the island, its proximity to the seat of Government, and the military force and fortifications necessary, at any rate, to protect the harbour, would effectually prevent their ever becoming troublesome. But I have said more than enough on a subject, which, if worth attending to, must have already occurred to you."

#### Number 2.—ARCHIBALD BLAIR to ROBERT BLAIR.

1789, December 26. Port Cornwallis, Chatham Island.—"Commodore Cornwallis arrived here the 19th, and seems perfectly satisfied that it is a place of infinite national importance. I have therefore little doubt but the Government of Bengal will instantly take the necessary steps to establish it as our principal naval port in India. He proposes to return here next south-west monsoon, and I have the satisfaction to perceive that he approves of what I have done. He quits this place soon to visit Penang, when I shall be left to execute his commands. The vessel I commanded proceeds to Calcutta with dispatches, and will return with provisions and men.

"The soil is productive, the climate healthy; we are well provided with fish, turtle from Diamond Island in great abundance, and vegetables from the Carnicobar."

#### LORD AUCKLAND to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, September 4. Hague.—"I have not yet had energy enough to return to the commercial treaty. In truth the objections made to the *projet* were so unexpected, that they have made me doubt my own comprehension of the subject. It had appeared to me that in the present, and indeed in any state of Europe, the articles which I had undertaken to secure for us on the subject of naval stores . (and to the confusion of the Armed Neutrality), were not merely eligible, but of extreme importance; *Diis aliter visum est*. I suspect however that there is a misapprehension. We suppose that the Dutch meant to maintain a claim to carry the produce of the colonies of France and Spain in time of war: this was not the case. I will, when I write officially, propose words to ascertain that point, though I should have thought it preferable to have left it open as a point which we take for granted; but if I am to propose clauses to the full rigour of all the doctrines so well argued in Lord Hawkesbury's printed pamphlet, and so far beyond what is practised in respect to all other nations, all negotiation is at an end;



and we have only to hope that the Dutch will join offensively with us in all our wars.

"The Indian point, on which you feel stronger doubts, would not in any result make a serious difficulty ; I mean the equivalent for Negapatnam. The Republic has ceased to wish to have Negapatnam, and I suspect it to be more for our interest than for theirs that they should have it. I even doubt whether, in the result of the treaty, they would have taken possession of it. On the other hand, the offer respecting Trincomalee was a solid advantage, though I fear that I explained it ill. At present that port is completely shut against the vessels of all the world ; the offer was that it should be open to our vessels only.

"I have made many enquiries as to the means of getting Cochin. The Pensionary thinks that the same reasoning which makes Negapatnam an unimportant object to the Dutch Company, must greatly diminish the value of Cochin, and inclines to think that the Dutch ought to renounce all expensive possessions on these coasts. M. de Rendorp, who has the principal influence with the Company, has promised to inform himself as to the particulars. Though the intrinsic value may be small, it is an embarrassing circumstance that the Dutch paid three millions of florins (280,000*l.*) for the place.

"My chaplain who went with Mr. Fitzherbert to Spain, is just returned to me from Madrid. According to his account, the Spanish Ministers were extremely urgent, when the Declarations were signed, to disarm, and return to a state of peace. I sincerely hope that late vote of the *Assemblée Nationale* may not change their ideas. That vote is a most impudent *gasconade* ; and the best comment on it is the proposition, made in the same week, to issue eighty millions sterling of paper money under the title of *papier territorial*, and a quantity of bad copper under the title of *billons*.

"I fear that the transactions of that wicked and wild anarchy are tending faster to a crisis than we ought to wish. It is desirable certainly that they should exhibit a salutary example to surrounding nations ; but I should be sorry to see them hurried to a bankruptcy, which will be the first step, if they can find any pretext, for a war with us ; and would be a great object to them even if they should begin without money or men, (that they can command.)

"The King of Sweden, in order to maintain the consistency of his character, has finished his war in the same absurd way that he began it. The lateness of the season seems to put out of the question all idea of our sending a fleet to the North, even if the principal motive had continued ; but I cannot see why we should be in so great a hurry to force the peace between the Empress and the Turks. It appears extremely probable that such a peace will take place either now or early in the spring ; but, if it should not, there is no reason for it that affects us ; perhaps the contrary. The Turks are at least as able to continue the war against the Empress, single handed, as they were when they began ; and she is without assistance ; and is also menaced and distracted in various quarters. It appears to me, therefore, that we should recommend strongly to the King of Prussia to temporise, and to let matters take their course.

"I shall very sincerely lament the circumstance, if the course of the Spanish negotiation should force us to prolong the extent and expense of our great armament through the year ; though certainly, in the troubled state of Europe, a considerable degree of preparation ought, at all events, to be maintained."

## HENRY DUNDAS to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, September 27. Donira Lodge.—“I have delayed so long answering your last letter from a daily expectation of hearing something decisive as to peace or war, in consequence of what you said in your letter. I cannot help feeling uneasy on that subject. If a general peace is established all over Europe, the price of the armament, although high, will not be grudged; but it occurs to a bystander that so long a negotiation with Spain is scarcely consistent with the decisive tone held at the commencement of that business. My feeling however is perhaps an erroneous one, and all will depend on the ultimate result being more or less complete, with a view to a final termination of all further disputes in that quarter of the world.

“I return you Mr. Bruce’s letter. I do not recollect ever having any conversation with him about his manuscript. I do recollect, when a friend of his spoke of him with a view of doing something for him, I expressed a wish, if his facts were well authenticated, that they could be better methodised and put in shape for information to naval and military men. All information on such a subject is useful, and I suppose any expense attending it would be a trifle. I am afraid however to enter upon the subject with him, for fear of his looking up to me for a provision which it may not be in my power to give to him. I believe he is poor; and his being an author and speculative man does not improve his attention to the skin trade, which I believe is his proper occupation.

“I had a visit here both from the Duke of Buccleugh and Lord Cathcart, and conversed with them on what you state relative to the Scotch election. I shall return to Edinburgh about a week hence, when I shall learn more on that business, and put things in some more active course of preparation, if I find that there is any defect of that kind. I am totally ignorant as to those blunders in point of form to which you allude as prejudicial to our friends. Indeed I have not been in the way of getting information on the subject. I do not imagine, however, that there is any danger of our friends coming under any engagements prejudicial to any new elections that may take place. This is the most material thing to be attended to at present. But, in fact, all other considerations on the subject are frivolous in comparison with the radical cure of establishing the right of the British peers to vote.

“I do not see you can make a better of it than to appoint Sir Robert Chalmers and Dunkin to the Supreme Judicature in India.

“I have not myself any knowledge of Malet except by character, and that is on all hands, particularly Lord Cornwallis’s, so very unexceptionable, and indeed meritorious, that I should certainly wish his inclinations respecting the Baronetage to be gratified. Lord Cornwallis seems desirous of it from the letter I gave you, and if Mr. Malet has been a meritorious and successful negotiator at the Court of Poonah, the present seems rather a proper moment.”

## The EARL OF MORNINGTON to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, September 27. Paris.—“I was very happy to receive your kind letter, although the immediate effect of it was to determine my resolution in favour of a long banishment from England, which I had flattered myself I might have mitigated into a tour to Spa, and Paris. Your letter has quite convinced me that my best plan, under all circum-

stances, is to proceed to Italy, and accordingly I mean to set out tomorrow. You are well able to judge how strange the contrast must be between Paris governed, and Paris governing; but it is so strange in so many ways, that I own I find great difficulty in attempting to answer your question of what strikes me most, for I am quite perplexed by the number and variety of ridiculous and absurd things, which I hear and see every where, and every day. The common people appear to me to be exactly as gay as I ever remember them, though it is undoubtedly true that the greater part of them is starving for want of employment, especially the tradesmen; and notwithstanding they all talk the highest language in favour of the Revolution, they laugh at the National Assembly without scruple, and say they had rather have Aristocratical Louis, than Democratical Assignats. The streets are crowded with newsmen and hawkers, crying about libels of all sorts from morning till night, exactly in the manner you must have observed in Dublin; nothing is too indecent or abusive; I enclose a blackguard libel merely for the sake of the title, and the *refrein* at the end of every sentence; it will give you some notion of the style of this species of production. There being an end of the police, it is not possible to imagine any kind of bawdy print that is not publicly stuck up in the Palais Royal, and on the Boulevards; the Attorney General's blood would boil at the sight of such audacious bawdery. The object seems to be every where to mark a contempt for all former regulations. At the *spectacle*, they have introduced monks and nuns and crucifixes on the stage; and the actors are violently applauded, merely for wearing these forbidden garments. The *parterre* is more riotous than twenty English upper galleries put together; a few nights ago Richard Cœur de Lion was acted, and a woman of fashion was absolutely forced to leave the house, because she clapped with too much violence while the famous song of *O Richard, O mon roi!* was singing; a hundred fellows started up together roaring *à bas la femme en eventail blanc*, and would not suffer the actors to proceed till this *Aristocrate* left the house. The moment she was gone, there was a most violent applause; and a perfect calm succeeded. On some occasions, however, the National Guard appear to maintain the order of the *spectacle* with spirit. The other night at the *Comédie Française*, now the *Théâtre de la Nation*, in consequence of a riot in the *parterre*, six National Guards came in to keep the peace; they were instantly repulsed, and completely driven out of the door by the people; upon which the officer sent in the whole guard of thirty men, who, with fixed bayonets, fairly chased the whole *parterre* over the orchestra upon the stage, and then drove them off the stage and through the back doors of the house. Nothing can be more tiresome than all their new plays and operas; they are a heap of hackneyed public sentiments on general topics of the rights of men and the duties of kings, just like Sheridan's grand paragraphs in the *Morning Post*: these are applauded to the skies.

"I do not know whether you have heard that many of the *Petits Maitres*, in order to show their attachment to the Democracy, have sacrificed their curls, *toupeés*, and *queues*; some of them go about with cropped locks like English farmers without any powder, and others wear little black scratch wigs, both these fashions are called *Têtes à la Romaine*, which is a comical name for such folly. I must not forget that I have seen several wear gold earrings with their black scratches. I have not had time to go much into French society, during the few days I have been here, but I understand from every body whom I have seen that nothing can be more changed than the whole of their manners. The



*Democrates* out of the Assembly are very few indeed among the people of any distinction, and the *Aristocrates* are melancholy and miserable to the last degree ; this makes the society at Paris very gloomy ; the number of deserted houses is immense, and if it were not for the Deputies, the Ambassadors, and some refugees from Brussels, there would be scarcely a gentleman's coach to be seen in the streets.

" You have certainly been informed of the principles of the two clubs, the *Enragés*, whose name is easily understood, and the *Quatre Vingt Neuf* ; the latter is something like our armed neutrality, or rather what our armed neutrality would have been ; for this club, acting together, can give a majority either to the *côté gauche* or *droite* in the Assembly. Have you been told that one leading principle of the club 1789 is a resolution to reform all the defective (that is in their opinion all the) Governments in Europe, and for this laudable purpose they have sent missionaries into many countries already, to preach the example of France, and to teach all mankind how ill they have been governed, and how preferable a state of anarchy and confusion is to the trammels of order and law. I assure you this pious zeal is not feigned ; and I most sincerely hope we may not feel its effect in Ireland where, I have been informed, the new reformers look for many proselytes, and where the Whig Club will not fail to contribute to the good work of regeneration, whatever part of their time they can spare from the labour of answering the Chancellor's invectives. I have never been at this club of 1789, although they admit English members of Parliament, because I understand nothing is done publicly excepting the recital of speeches and motions intended for the Assembly ; and with these I have been sufficiently tired at the Assembly itself. I have been there several times, and it is not possible to imagine so strange a scene ; the confusion at times surpasses all that ever has been known since government appeared in the world ; and the President is a true Anarch who ' by decision more embroils the fray.' They have no regular form of debate on ordinary business ; some speak from their seats, some from the floor, some from the table, and some from the tribunes or desks, in what Mr. Woodfall calls *conversations* ; they speak without preparation, and I thought many of them acquitted themselves well enough in that way, where only a few sentences were to be delivered ; but on these occasions the riot is so great that it is very difficult to collect what is said. I am certain that I have seen above a hundred in the act of addressing the Assembly together, all persisting to speak, and as many more replying in different parts of the House, sentence by sentence ; then the President claps his hands on both ears and roars order, as if he was calling a coach ; sometimes he is quite driven to despair ; he beats his table, his breast, and would, I am persuaded, kick his clerks if there was not a desk between him and their seat ; wringing his hands is quite a common action and I really believe he swears. I am sure he looks exactly as if he did, but it is often impossible to hear him. At last he seizes a favourable moment of quiet, either to put the question or to name who ought to speak ; then five hundred reclamations all at once renew the confusion, which seldom ends till the performers are completely hoarse, and obliged to give way to a fresh set. On great occasions the speakers deliver their speeches from the tribune, and these are always written speeches, or so generally, that I believe Mirabeau and Maury and Barnave are the only exceptions ; and even these often read their speeches. Nothing can be more fatiguing than these readings, which entirely destroy all the spirit and interest of debate. I must however acknowledge that I have been so unlucky as

not to hear any of their distinguished orators read. I heard Mirabeau and Maury both speak a few sentences in the midst of one of the riots I have mentioned, and I preferred Maury, whose manner is bold and unaffected, and his voice very fine; Mirabeau appeared to me to be full of affectation, and he has a bad voice, but he is the most admired speaker. There are four galleries which contain above twice the number admitted into the gallery in England, and here a most extraordinary scene is exhibited; for the galleries approve and disapprove by groaning and clapping, exactly as if the whole was a *spectacle*. Their approbation is always confined to Mirabeau and his party; and therefore it is commonly believed that the persons in the galleries are hired for their attendance and applause by that party; but I cannot speak positively to this fact. While the orators are reading their speeches, the Assembly frequently shews a most singular degree of patience, such as I am certain the English House of Commons is not capable of; but if any sentiment is uttered of a disagreeable kind to either party, the uproar begins in a moment. Dullness and monotony are borne in perfect silence; and during such speeches, the President generally amuses himself with reading some pamphlet or newspaper, a practice which I beg to recommend for the benefit of Addington and his successors. They seem to have no notion of regularity or consistency of any kind. In spite of the decree of the Assembly, I heard the Abbé Maury call Mirabeau le Comte de Mirabeau, and so far from any notice being taken of this disorder, the President himself called Mirabeau by the same title a few minutes after. I forgot to mention one circumstance that had a most comical effect. The *Huissiers* of the Assembly—the Clementsons, Pearsons, *et cetera*, walk up and down the room during times of great tumult, bellowing silence as loud as they can hollow, and endeavouring to persuade the disorderly orators to sit down.

“I went to Court this morning at the Tuilleries, and a most gloomy Court it was; many of the young people of the first fashion and rank wear mourning always from economy; when I say many, I mean in proportion to the numbers remaining at Paris, which is very small indeed. The king seemed well, but I thought his manner evidently humbled since I was introduced to him before; he now bows to everybody, which was not a Bourbon fashion before the Revolution. The queen looked very ill; the Dauphin was with her, and she appeared anxious to shew him. They say here that he is her shield; she never stirs out without him. The King’s late answer to the Assembly with respect to the hunt at Versailles, is much approved by the *Aristocrates*. I was told that Mirabeau said of it; *Il me semble qu’il s’est oublié; pour le moment, il se croyoit encore Roi de France*.

“I have not attempted to write one word of politics, which you must have much more correctly through other channels; I have only mentioned as many of the strange things I have happened to see as I could recollect. Tomorrow I set out for Lyons. I wish you could find out whether Lord Buckingham has received a letter from me lately.”

HENRY DUNDAS to [W. PITT].

1790, October, 2. Donira Lodge.—“Before I left London I mentioned to you a Captain Shaw who had a request depending before Mr. Grenville. Many friends of mine are interested about him, particularly Mr. Brodie, who is a worthy friend, and whom I wish

at all times to oblige. Mr. Brodie writes to me that you are perfectly acquainted with the object of Mr. Shaw's wishes. If it is one in which Mr. Grenville can oblige me without offending others, I wish you to mention the subject to him at a convenient time."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1790, November 9. [Stowe].—"Lady C[amelford] has written to me in great anxiety about T. Pitt's situation, and with much earnestness to know Lord Mulgrave's *probable destination*. That arrangement is probably now wholly at an end; but, for very obvious reasons, I wish *you* to lose no time in settling with Lord Chatham an arrangement for the boy. I am still very partial to the idea of sending him to the North-west coast of America, concluding that you will (immediately upon this convention, and the time of year is particularly fit for it), send an able and proper officer to see Nootka restored, and to endeavour to push the discovery of those seas and shores as far as he can go eastward. I shall write to her that I conclude Lord Mulgrave's commission at an end, and that, upon my arrival in town, I will converse with Lord Chatham; but I wish *you* to take this opportunity, which, for every reason, will prosper better in your hands than in mine."

"I like your convention better in its own words than in yours; but still I think you will find it necessary to know the limits of the Spanish settlements to the southward. Falkland's Islands are, I understand, settled by Spain."

"I conclude that this makes no alteration in the step which we have so often talked over. I do not by this (as you will easily believe) doubt upon your indecision, but upon the indecision of others; and I must now write for *him* to come up."

W. W. GRENVILLE to the LORD CHANCELLOR [THURLOW].

[1790, November 23-30.]—"In consequence of the arrangement which Mr. Pitt informs me he has communicated to your Lordship, I am desirous of availing myself of the first opportunity that may suit your Lordship's convenience, to wait upon you, in order to express to you personally the strong wish which I feel to act on every occasion, in the situation in which his Majesty has been pleased to place me, in the fullest concert with your Lordship; and how happy I shall be if I can be of any assistance in carrying on the public business in such a manner as may be satisfactory to your Lordship, and advantageous to his Majesty's service." *Copy*.

LORD THURLOW to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1790, November 23-30.].—"Give me leave to congratulate you upon the honour to which his Majesty has been pleased to advance you, and to assure you, at the same time, that I shall be happy to co-operate with you in every part of his Majesty's service, or, to speak my mind with less reserve, on every occasion whatever.

"I shall be happy to meet you whenever it is agreeable. But as your time is not less engaged than mine, if you please, we will settle that tomorrow at the levée."

HENRY DUNDAS to LORD GRENVILLE.

1790, December 5. ————"You will bring an old house about my ears if you have forgot to present my address to the King. It is neither in the *Gazette* of last Tuesday, nor last night."

## LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

*Private.*

1790, December 15. Hague.—“Though I am sorry that, in the nature of things, you cannot be in two places at once, and that you are lost to the House of Commons in order to be acquired to the House of Lords, I very sincerely congratulate you on the promotion to the Peerage.

“Your Lordship will have seen in the correspondence, that the late disagreement which had taken place here between the mediating Ministers and M. de Mercy, took a sudden and most satisfactory turn, which put it in our power to conclude a convention conformable to the views of the allied Courts, and well suited to the re-establishment of the important provinces in question, under the House of Austria, with the old constitution and many improvements, and with our guaranty both to the possession and to the constitution. I trust and hope that this instrument will have your entire approbation. Mr. Burges will, at my request, send you one of the printed copies which have been made here for the *Besogne secrete*.

“Will you permit me once more to entreat you to promote the return of the commercial *project* to me.”

## LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

*Private.*

1790, December 31. Hague.—“There is an expression in your letter of the 24th which involves a question of great importance, and leads me to add to the interruptions to which your Christmas recess must be subject. The force of my mind is not equal to the idea of prolonging a state of war between other nations for the sake of a separate political interest; but I have long doubted whether we shall advance the purposes either of wisdom or of philanthropy by forcing the war between Russia and the Porte to a close, previous to settling several points which are connected both with our alliances and with our commerce. Under this impression, I have lately stepped out of my line so far as to intimate the expediency of negotiating amicably with Russia, instead of adopting the menacing memorials and naval equipments recommended by M. de Hertzberg; and, in another despatch, which will have arrived subsequent to the date of your letter, I urged the possibility of attaining, previous to the Turkish pacification, all the eligible arrangements respecting Poland, Dantzic, the Vistula, and even our commercial treaty with Russia. My drift in these expressions was to intimate the danger of losing many objects of positive advantage for the sake of gratifying the sentiment of making a peace, which, *perhaps*, will have no other effect than that of shifting, in the course of a year or two, the scenes of war from the borders of the Black Sea to those of the Baltic. If the Turks were in a state to maintain themselves, there could not be a doubt as to the eligible line of conduct for us, and also for the King of Prussia; and even as matters are, it is evident that we ought not to precipitate into the war; perhaps we ought not even to menace it. You will find that the late successes of the Russians, though they sound well in gazettes, are of little real importance; the winter will have forced Prince Potemkin to return towards Berder; and if the war continues another year, the Porte will, as usual, bring large armies of Asiatics forwards in the spring, and the Russians will again wait, as

usual, till the Asiatics return homewards in the ensuing autumn. I do not find that the Turkish empire in Europe is exposed to any real danger except by water; hitherto we have imperfect accounts of their means of defence in that respect. An invitation from the Divan to a joint squadron of British and Spanish vessels to cruise amicably within the Dardanelles would, of all menacing measures, be the best; and such a coalition (though the word is out of vogue) would be founded on sound principles. But the worst of all steps, so far as I can collect, would be the commencement of a land war by Prussia against Russia. The impression of such an attack would hardly be perceptible to the Empress; and the calamitous return which her *flotilles* could easily make to it, would force us into a most expensive system of succours and of equipments.

"As to Poland, much might be done and speedily, provided that the Poles could act with a little steadiness and consistency. M. Ozinski will, I hope, have explained himself. It is the Pensionary's opinion that we ought to confine our Polish negotiations to the trade of the Vistula, and to the cession of Dantzic. In his last note to me he says, *nous sommes occupés à rediger les instructions de Monsieur Reede pour la Pologne; je ne crois pas que nous serons, en tout, d'accord avec les idées de M. Ewert, parceque nous n'aimons pas trop de nous embourber dans la politique incomprehensible de cette Republique. Mais quant aux objets de commerce, il me paroît que nous n'avons qu'un même but, et une même intérêt.*—

"If it becomes evident that the Turks cannot maintain the war, and also that the Empress is determined to have some considerable cession made to her as the price of peace, the question will arise whether we ought to engage in the war, and in all its consequences, in order to enforce the principle which we enforced so successfully against Austria. As I should dread the decision of that question in either way, I feel very solicitous that some mode should be found to postpone and avoid it. At any rate, we have three or four or five months for negotiation; and we ought to use them in every possible mode, previous to recurring to any form of expression which may commit us in the war. Such at least is my creed, *currente calamo*.

"In the mean time I beg leave to recall to your attention your obliging promise to expedite to me the return of the commercial *projet*; if we can execute it in the form last recommended, surely it would be a good and creditable work."

N. L.  
3-1-64.

10









